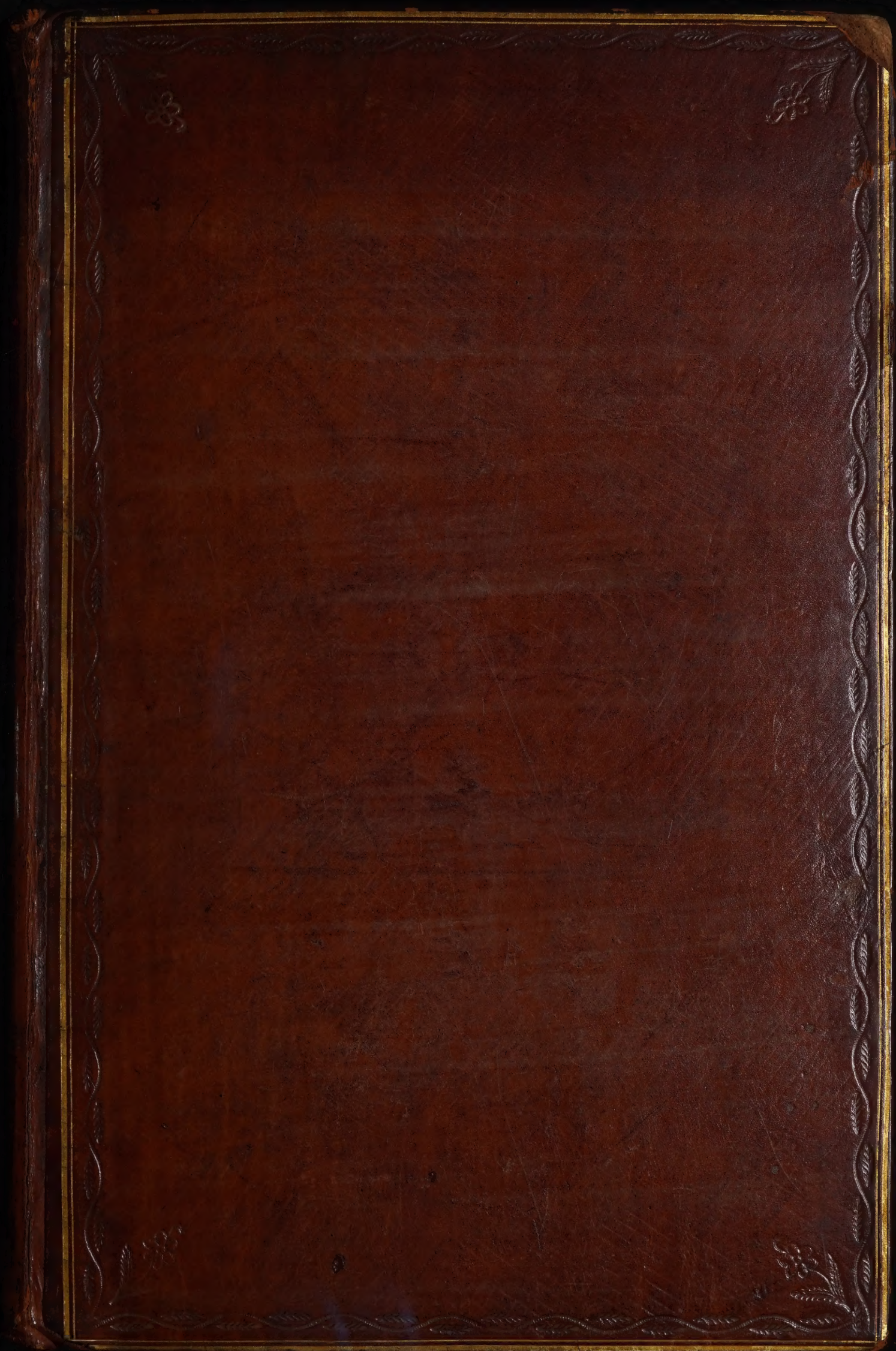




THE
ENGLISH
VOYAGES

HAKLVYT
—
VOL. III

LOND. 1600









Hugh A. Wyndham.

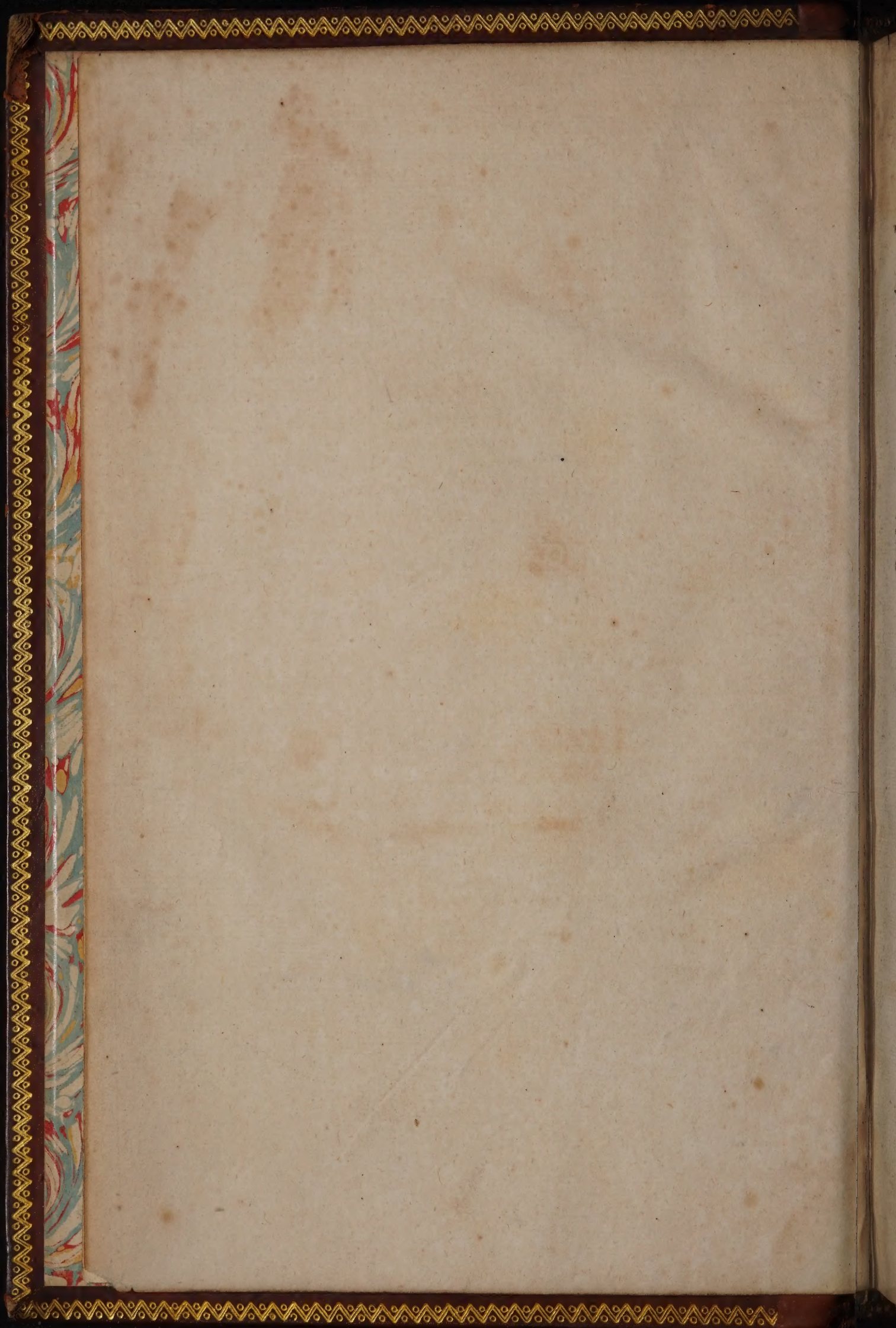


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THE

THIRD AND LAST VOLUME OF THE VOY-

AGES, NAVIGATIONS, TRAF-
fiques, and Discoueries of the *English Nation*, and in
some few places, where they haue not been, of strangers, per-
formed within and before the time of these hundred yeeres, to all
parts of the *Newfound world* of *America*, or the *West Indies*, from 73.
degrees of Northerly to 57. of Southerly latitude:

As namely to *Engronland*, *Meta Incognita*, *Eslotiland*,
Tierra de Labrador, *Newfoundland*, vp *The grand bay*, the gulfe of *S. Lau-*
rence, and the Riuer of *Canada* to *Hochelaga* and *Saguenay*, along the coast of *Aram-*
bec, to the shores and maines of *Virginia* and *Florida*, and on the West or backside of them
both, to the rich and pleasant countries of *Nueva Biscaya*, *Cibola*, *Tignex*, *Cicnic*,
Quinira, to the 15. prouinces of the kingdome of *New Mexico*, to the
bottome of the gulfe of *California*, and vp the
Riuer of *Buena Guia*:

And likewise to all the yles both small and great lying before the
cape of *Florida*, *The bay of Mexico*, and *Tierra firma*, to the coasts and Inlands
of *Newe Spaine*, *Tierra firma*, and *Guiana*, vp the mighty Riuer of *Orenoque*,
Desschebe, and *Maramon*, to euery part of the coast of *Brasil*, to the Riuer of *Plate*,
through the Streights of *Magellan* forward and backward, and to the
South of the said Streights as farre as 57. degrees:

And from thence on the backside of *America*, along the coastes, harbours,
and capes of *Chili*, *Pern*, *Nicaragua*, *Nueva Espanna*, *Nueva Galicia*, *Culiacan*,
California, *Nova Albion*, and more Northerly as farre as 43. degrees:

Together with the two renowned, and prosperous voyages of *Sir Francis Drake*
and *M. Thomas Candish* round about the circumference of the whole earth, and
diuers other voyages intended and set forth for that course.

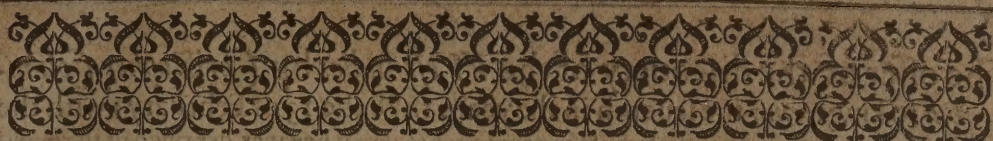
Collected by *RICHARD HAKLVYT* Preacher, and sometimes
Student of Christ-Church in Oxford.



Imprinted at London by *George Bishop*, *Ralfe*
Newberie, and *ROBERT BARKER*.

ANNO DOM. 1600.

Anno Domini 1600.



THE THIRD AND LAST

Volume of the principall Nauigations, Voyages,

Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

made to the Northwest, West, and Southwest

parts of the World, with the Letters, Privileges,

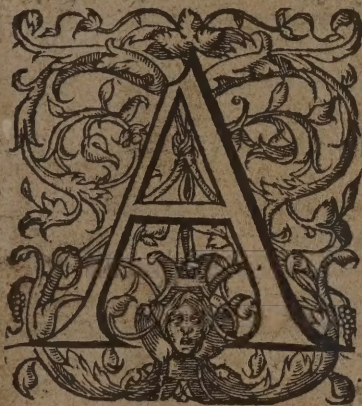
Discourses, Obseruations, and other

necessary things concern-

ing the same.

The most ancient Discouery of the *West Indies* by *Madoc* the

sonne of *Owen Guyneth* Prince of *North-wales*, in the yeere 1170: taken
out of the history of *Wales*, lately published by *M. David Powel* Doctor of Diuinity.



After the death of *Owen Guyneth*, his sonnes fell at debate
who should inherit after him: for the eldest sonne bozne in ma-
trimony, *Edward* or *Iorwerth Drwydion*, was counted vn-
meet to gouerne, because of the maine vpon his face: and
Howell that tooke vpon him all the rule was a base sonne, be-
gotten vpon an Irish woman. Therefore *David* gathered all
the power he could, and came against *Howell*, and fighting with
him, slew him; and afterwards iuioued quietly the whole land
of *North-wales*, until his brother *Iorwerth*'s sonne came to age.

Madoc another of *Owen Guyneth* his sonnes left the land in
contention betwixt his brethren, & prepared certaine ships,
with men and munition, and sought aduentures by Seas,
sailing West, and leauing the coast of *Ireland* so farre North,

Madoc the son
of *Owen Guy-
neth*.

that he came vnto a land vnknownen, where he saw many strange things.

This land must needs be some part of that Countrey of which the *Spaniards* affirme them-
selues to be the first finders since *Hannos* time. Whereupon it is manifest that that countrey
was by *Britaines* discovered, long before *Columbus* led any *Spaniards* thither.

Humf. Lloyd.

Of the voyage and returne of this *Madoc* there be many fables sained, as the common people
doe vse in distance of place and length of time rather to augment then to diminish: but sure it is
there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitfull countreys
that he had seene without inhabitants, and vpon the contrary part, for what barren & wild ground
his brethren and nephewes did murder one another, he prepared a number of ships, and got with
him such men and women as were desirous to liue in quietnesse: and taking leaue of his friends,
tooke his journey thitherward againe. Therefore it is to be supposed that he and his people in-
habited part of those countreys: for it appeareth by *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, that in *Acuza-
mil* and other places the people honored the crosse. Whereby it may be gathered that *Christians*
had bene there before the comming of the *Spaniards*. But because this people were not many,
they followed the maners of the land which they came vnto, & vsed the language they found there.

The second
voyage of *Ma-
doc* the sonne
of *Owen Guy-
neth*.
Gomara, lib. 2.
cap. 16.

This *Madoc* arriuing in that *Westerne* country, vnto the which he came in the yere 1170, left
most of his people there, and returning backe for more of his owne nation, acquaintance & friends
to inhabit that faire & large countrey, went thither againe with ten sailles, as I find noted by *Guy-
tyn Owen*. I am of opinion that the land whereunto he came was some part of the *West Indies*.

M. Powel's ad-
dition.

Gutyn Owen.

Carmina Meredith filij Rhef mentionem facientia de *Madoco* filio *Oweni Guynedd*, & de sua
nauigatione in terras incognitas. *Vixit hic Meredith circiter annum Domini 1477.*

Madoc wyf, mwyedic wedd,
Iawn genau, *Owyn Guynedd*.
Ni synnum dir, fy enaid oedd
Nada mawr, ond y moroedd.

The same in
English.

Madoc I am the sonne of *Owen Gwynedd*
With stature large, and comely grace adorne:
No lands at home nor store of wealth me please,
By minde was whole to search the Ocean seas.

These verses
I receiued of
my learned
friend *M. Wil-
liam Camden*.

The

2 The English Voyages, Nauigations, Colum. offer accepted.

The offer of the discouery of the West Indies by Christopher Columbus to king Henry the seventh in the yeere 1488 the 13 of February: with the kings acceptation of the offer, & the cause whereupon hee was deprived of the same: recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the history of Don Fernand Columbus of the life and deeds of his father Christopher Columbus.



Christophoro Colon temendo, se parimente i Re di Castiglia non assentissero alla sua impresa, non gli bisognasse proporla di nouo à qualche altro principe, & così in ciò passasse lungo tempo; mandò in Inghilterra un suo fratello, che haueua appresso di se, chiamato Bartholomeo Colon: il qual, quantunque non hauesse lettere Latine, era però huomo pratico, & giudicioso nelle cose del mare, & sapea molto bene far carte da nauigare, & sphere, & altri instrumenti di quella professione, come dal suo fratello era instrutto. Partito adunque Bartholomeo Colon per Inghilterra, volle la sua sorte, che desse in man di corsali, i quali lo spogliarono insieme con gli altri della sua naue. Per la qual cosa, & per la sua povertà & infirmità, che in così diuersi terre lo assalirono crudelmente, prolungo per gran tempo la sua ambasciata, fin che, acquistata un poco di facultà con le carte, ch'ei fabricaua, cominciò a far pratiche co' il Re Enrico settimo, padre de Enrico ottauo, che al presente regna: a cui appresentò un mappamondo, nel quale erano scritti questi versi, che fra le sue scritture lo troua, & dame saranno qui posti piu tosto per l' antichità, che per la loro eleganza.

*Terrarum quicumque cupis feliciter oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctæ pictura docebit,
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius, atque
Isidorus: non vna tamen sententia cuique.
Pingitur hic etiam nuper sulcata carinis
Hispanis Zona illa, prius incognita genti
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.*

Et piu di sotto diceua.

Pro Authore sue Pictore.

*Ianua cui patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de Terra Rubra, opus edidit istud,
Londonijs anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno
Octauo, decimæque die cùm tertia mensis
Februarij. Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.*

Et, perciocche auuertirà alcuno, che dice Columbus de Terra Rubra, dico, che medesimamente io viddi alcune sottoscrizioni dell' Ammiraglio, primo che acquistasse lo stato, on' egli si sottoscriveua, Columbus de Terra Rubra. Ma, tornando al Re d' Inghilterra, dico, che, da lui il mappamondo veduto, & ciò che l' Ammiraglio gli offeriua, con allegro volto accettò la sua offerta, & mandolo a chiamare. Ma, perciocche Dio l' haueua per Castiglia serbata, già l' Ammiraglio in quel tempo era andato, & tornato con la vittoria della sua impresa, secondo che per ordine si racconterà. Lasciarò hora di raccontar ciò, che Bartolomeo Colon haueua negoziato in Inghilterra, & tornaro all' Ammiraglio, &c.

The same in English.

Christopher Columbus fearing least if the king of Castile in like maner (as the king of Portugal had done) should not condescend vnto his enterprize, he should be inforced to offer the same againe to some other prince, & so much time should be spent therein, sent into England a certaine brother of his which he had with him, whose name was Bartholomew Columbus, who, albeit he had not the Latine tongue, yet neuertheless was a man of experience and skillfull in Sea causes, and could very wel make sea cards & globes, and other instruments belonging to that profession, as he was instructed by his brother. Wherefore after that Bartholomew Columbus was departed for England, his lucke was to fall into the hands of pirats, which spoiled him with the rest of them which were in the ship which he went in. Upon which occasion, and by reason of his poverty

pouerty and sicknesse which cruelly assaulted him in a countrey so farre distant from his friends, he deferred his ambassage for a long while, vntill such time as he had gotten somewhat handsome about him with making of Sea cards. At length he began to deale with king Henry the seventh the father of Henry the eight, which reigneth at this present: vnto whom he presented a mappe of the world, wherein these verses were written, which I found among his papers: and I will here set them downe, rather for their antiquity then for their goodnesse.

The occasion why the West Indies were not discovered for England.

Thou which desirest easily the coasts of lands to know,
This comely mappe right learnedly the same to thee will shew:
Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Isodore maintaine:
Yet for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.
Were also is set downe the late discovered burning Zone
By Bozringals, vnto the world which whilom was vnknown,
Whereof the knowledge now at length thorow all the world is blown.

And a little vnder he added:

For the Authour or the Drawer.

He, whose deare native soile hight stately Genua,
Euen he whose name is Bartholomew Colon de Terra Rubra,
The yeere of Grace a thousand and foure hundred and fourescore
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more,
In London published this worke. To Christ all laud therefore.

And because some peraduenture may obserue that he calleth himselfe Columbus de Terra Rubra, I say, that in like maner I haue seene some subscriptions of my father Christopher Columbus, before he had the degree of Admirall, wherein he signed his name thus, Columbus de Terra Rubra. But to returne to the king of England, I say, that after he had seene the map, and that which my father Christopher Columbus offered vnto him, he accepted the offer with ioyfull countenance, and sent to call him into England. But because God had reserued the sayd offer for Castile, Columbus was gone in the meane space, and also returned with the performance of his enterprise, as here after in order shall be rehearsed. Now will I leaue off from making any farther mention of that which Bartholomew Colon had negotiated in England, and I will returne vnto the Admirall, &c.

King Henry the seventh his acceptance of Columbus offer.

Another testimony taken out of the 60 chapter of the foresayd history of Ferdinando Columbus, concerning the offer that Bartholomew Columbus made to king Henry the seventh on the behalfe of his brother Christopher.



Ornato adunque l' Ammiraglio dallo scoprimento di Cuba & di Giamaica, irò nella Spagnuola Bartolomeo Colon suo fratello, quello, che era già andato a trattare accordo col Re d' Inghilterra sopra lo scoprimento delle Indie, come di sopra habiam detto. Questo poi, ritornandosene verso Castiglia con capitoli conceduti, haueua inteso a Parigi dal re Carlo di Francia, l' Ammiraglio suo fratello haueua già scoperta l' Indie: per che gli souenne per poter far il Viaggio di cento scudi. Et, Auenga che per cotal noua egli si fosse molto affrettato, per arrinar l' Ammiraglio in Spagna, quando non dimeno giunse a Siniglia, egli era già tornato alle Indie cò 17 nauigli. Perche, per esser quanto ei gli hauea lasciato, di subito al principio dell' anno del 1494 sen' andò ai Re Catholici, menando seco Don Diego Colon, mio fratello, & me ancora, accioche seruissimo di paggi al serenissimo principe Don Gionanni, il qual vna in gloria, si come hauea commandato la Catholica Regina donna Isabella, che allhora era in Vagliadolid. Tosto adunque che noi giungemmo, i Re chiamarono Don Bartolomeo, & mandaronlo alla Spagnuola con tre navi, &c.

The same in English.

Christopher Columbus the Admirall being returned from the discovery of Cuba and Iamayca, found in Hispaniola his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who before had beene sent to treat of an agreement with the king of England for the discovery of the Indies, as we haue

have sayd before. This Bartholomew therefore returning vnto Castile, with the capitulations granted by the king of England to his brother, vnderstood at Paris by Charles the king of France, that the Admirall his brother had already performed that discovery: whereupon the French king gaue vnto the sayd Bartholomew an hundred French crownes to beare his charges into Spaine. And albeit he made great haste vpon this good newes to meet with the Admirall in Spaine, yet at his comming to Siuil his brother was already returned to the Indies with seuentene saile of shippes. Wherefore to fulfill that which he had left him in charge in the beginning of the yeere 1494 he repaired to the Catholike princes, taking with him Diego Colon my brother and me also, which were to be preferred as Pages to the most excellent Prince Don Iohn, who now is with God, according to the commandement of the Catholike Queene Lady Isabell, which was then in Validolid. Assoone therefore as we came to the Court, the princes called for Don Bartholomew, and sent him to Hispaniola with three shippes, &c.

THE ENGLISH VOYAGES, NAVIGATIONS,
and Discoveries (intended for the finding of a Northwest pas-
sage) to the North parts of *America*, to *Meta incognita*, and the backe-
side of *Gronland*, as farre as 72 degrees and 12 minuts: performed first by
Sebastian Cabota, and since by Sir *Martin Frobisher*, and M.
John Davis, with the Patents, Discourses, and
Aduertisements thereto belonging.

The Letters patents of King *Henry* the seuenth granted vnto *Iohn*
Cabot and his three sonnes, *Lewis*, *Sebastian*, and *Sancius* for the discoverie of
new and vnknown lands.



Enricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus, ad quos præsentēs literæ nostræ peruenerint, salutem.

Notum sit & manifestum, quod dedimus & concessimus, ac per præsentēs damus & concedimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, dilectis nobis Ioanni Caboto ciui Veneriarum, Lodouico, Sebastiano, & Sancio, filijs dicti Ioannis, & eorum ac cuiuslibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, plenam ac liberam auctoritatem, facultatem & potestatem nauigandi ad omnes partes, regiones, & sinus maris orientalis, occidentalis, & septentrionalis, sub banneris, vexillis, & insignijs nostris, cum quinque nauibus siue nauigijs, cuiuscunque portituræ & qualitatis existant, & cum tot & tantis nautis & hominibus, quot & quantos in dictis nauibus secum ducere voluerint, suis & eorum proprijs sumptibus & expensis, ad inueniendum, discooperiendum, & inuestigandum quascunque insulas, patrias, regiones siue prouincias gentilium & infidelium quorumcunque, in quacunque parte mundi positas, quæ Christianis omnibus ante hæc tempora fuerint incognitæ. Concessimus etiam eisdem & eorum cuiuslibet, eorumque & cuiuslibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, ac licentiam dedimus ad affigendum prædictas banneras nostras & insignia in quacunque villa, oppido, castro, insula seu terra firma à se nouiter inuentis. Et quod prænominatus Ioannes, & filij eiusdem, seu hæredes & eorum deputati, quascunque huiusmodi villas, castra, oppida, & insulas à se inuentas, quæ subiugari, occupari, possideri possint, subiugare, occupare, possidere valeant tanquam vasalli nostri, & gubernatores, locatenentes, & deputati eorundem, dominium, titulum & iurisdictionem earundem villarum, castrorum, oppidorum, insularum, ac terræ firmæ sic inuentorum nobis acquirendo. Ita tamen, vt ex omnibus fructibus, proficijs, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, & obuentionibus ex huiusmodi nauigatione prouenientibus, præfatus Iohannes, & filij ac hæredes, & eorum deputati, teneantur & sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo, toties quoties ad portum nostrum Bristollia applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur & sint stricti) deductis omnibus sumptibus & impensis necessarijs per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucris facti, siue in mercibus, siue in pecunijs persolvere: Dantes nos & concedentes eisdem suisque hæredibus & deputatis, vt ab omni solutione custumarum omnium & singulorum honorum & mercium, quas secum reportarint ab illis locis sic nouiter inuentis, liberi sint & immunes. Et insuper dedimus & concessimus eisdem ac suis hæredibus & deputatis, quod terræ omnes firmæ, insulæ, villæ, oppida, castra, & loca quæcunque à se inuenta, quorquot

quotquot ab eis inueniri contigerit, non possint ab alijs quibuscumque nostris subditis frequentari seu visitari, absque licentia prædictorum Ioannis & eius filiorum, suorumque deputatorum, sub pœna amissionis tam nauium quàm bonorum omnium quorumcunque ad ea loca sic inuenta nauigare præsumendum. Volentes & strictissimè mandantes omnibus & singulis nostris subditis, tam in terra quàm in mari constitutis, vt præfato Ioanni, & eius filijs ac deputatis, bonam assistentiam faciant, & tam in armandis nauibus seu nauigijs, quàm in prouisione com-
meatus & victualium pro sua pecunia emendorum, atque aliarum omnium rerum sibi prouidendarum pro dicta nauigatione sumenda suos omnes fauores & auxilia impertiant. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium quinto die Martij anno regni nostri vndecimo.

Ann. Dom.
1495.

The same in English.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Be it knownen that we haue giuen and granted, and by these presents do giue and grant for vs and our heires, to our welbeloued John Cabot citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, sonnes of the sayd John, and to the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, full and free authorizty, leaue, and power to saile to all parts, countreys, and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, vnder our banners and ensignes, with five ships of what burthen or quantity soeuer they be, and as many mariners or men as they will haue with them in the sayd ships, vpon their owne proper costs and charges, to seeke out, discouer, and finde whatsoeuer isles, countreys, regions or prouinces of the heathen and infidels whatsoeuer they be, and in what part of the world soeuer they be, which before this time haue bene vnknownen to all Christians: we haue granted to them, and also to euery of them, the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, and haue giuen them licence to set vp our banners and ensignes in euery village, towne, castle, isle, or maine land of them newly found. And that the aforesayd John and his sonnes, or their heires and assignes may subdue, occupy and possesse all such townes, cities, castles and isles of them found, which they can subdue, occupy and possesse, as our vassals, and lieutenants, getting vnto vs the rule, title, and iurisdiction of the same villages, townes, castles, & firme land so found. Yet so that the aforesayd John, and his sonnes and heires, and their deputies, be holden and bounden of all the fruits, profits, gaines, and commodities growing of such nauigation, for euery their voyage, as often as they shall arriue at our port of Bristol (at the which port they shall be bound and holden onely to arriue) all maner of necessary costs and charges by them made, being deducted, to pay vnto vs in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine so gotten. We giuing and granting vnto them and to their heires and deputies, that they shall be free from all paying of customes of all and singular such merchandize as they shall bring with them from those places so newly found. And moreouer, we haue giuen and granted to them, their heires and deputies, that all the firme lands, isles, villages, townes, castles and places whatsoeuer they be that they shall chance to finde, may not of any other of our subiects be frequented or visited without the licence of the foresayd John and his sonnes, and their deputies, vnder paine of forfeiture aswell of their shippes as of all and singular goods of all them that shall presume to saile to those places so found. Willing, and most straightly commanding all and singular our subiects aswell on land as on sea, to giue good assistance to the aforesayd John and his sonnes and deputies, and that as well in arming and furnishing their ships or vessels, as in prouision of food, and in buying of victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be prouided necessary for the sayd nauigation, they do giue them all their helpe and fauour. In witness whereof we haue caused to be made these our Letters patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the fift day of March, in the eleuenth yeere of our reigne.

Bristol thought
to meetest port
for Westerne
discoueries.
Freedom frō
custome.

Billa signata anno 13 Henrici septimi.



Ex tertio die Februarij, anno 13, licentiam dedit Ioanni Caboto, quod ipse capere possit sex naues Anglicanas, in aliquo portu, siue portibus regni Angliæ, ita quod sint de portagio 200. doliorum, vel subtrus, cum apparatu requisito, & quod recipere possit in dictas naues omnes tales magistros, marinarios, & subditos regis, qui cum eo exire voluerint, &c.

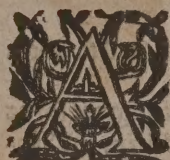
A record of the
rolls touching
the voyage of
John Cabot and
Sebastian his
sonne.

The

The same in English.

The king vpon the third day of February, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gaue licence to John Cabot to take five English ships in any haven or hauens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or vnder, with all necessary furniture, and to take also into the said ships all such masters, mariners, and subiects of the king as willingly will go with him, &c.

An extract taken out of the map of *Sebastian Cabot*, cut by *Clement Adams*, concerning his discouery of the *West Indies*, which is to be seene in her Maiesties priue gallerie at *Westminster*, and in many other ancient merchants houses.



Nno Domini 1497 Ioannes Cabotus Venetus, & Sebastianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt peruiam, quam nullus prius adire ausus fuit, die 24 Iunij, circiter horam quintam bene manè. Hanc autem appellauit Terram primum visam, credo quod ex mari in eam partem primum oculos iniecerat. Nam quæ ex aduerso sita est insula, eam appellauit insulam Diui Ioannis, hac opinor ratione, quod aperta fuit eo die qui est sacer Diuo Ioanni Baptista: Huius incolæ pelles animalium, exuiasque ferarum pro indumentis habent, easque tanti faciunt, quanti nos vestes preciosissimas. Cum bellum gerunt, vtuntur arcu, sagittis, hastis, spiculis, clauis ligneis & fundis. Tellus sterilis est, neque vllos fructus affert, ex quo fit, vt visis albo colore, & ceruis inusitata apud nos magnitudinis referta sit: piscibus abundat, iisque sane magnis, quales sunt lupi marini, & quos salmones vulgus appellat; soleæ autem reperiuntur tam longæ, vt vine mensuram excedant. Imprimis autem magna est copia eorum piscium, quos vulgari sermone vocant Bacallaos. Gignuntur in ea insula accipitres ita nigri, vt coruorum similitudinem mirum in modum expriment, perdicæ autem & aquilæ sunt nigri coloris.

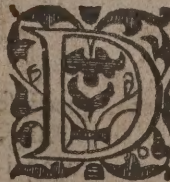
The same in English.

In the yere of our Lord 1497 John Cabot a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian (with an English fleet set out from Bristol) discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of June, about five of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That Island which lieth out before the land, he called the Island of S. John vpon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discovered vpon the day of John the Baptist. The inhabitants of this Island vse to weare beasts skinner, and haue them in as great estimation as we haue our finest garments. In their warres they vse bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soile is barren in some places, & yeeldeth litle fruit, but it is full of white beares, and staggess farre greater then ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons: there are soles also aboute a yard in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Sauages call baccalaos. In the same Island also there breed hauks, but they are so blacke that they are very like to rauen, as also their partridges, and egles, which are in like sort blacke.

A discourse of *Sebastian Cabot* touching his discouery of part of the *West India* out of England in the time of king *Henry the seuenth*, vsed to *Galeacius Butrigarius* the Popes Legate in *Spaine*, and reported by the sayd Legate in this sort.

This discourse is taken out of the second volume of the voyages of Baptista Ramusius.

Sebastian Cabots Pilot map of Spaine.



De you not vnderstand sayd he (speaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to passe to India toward the North-west, as did of late a citizen of Venice, so valiant a man, and so well practised in all things pertaining to navigations, and the science of Cosmographie, that at this present he hath not his like in Spaine, inso much that for his vertues he is preferred aboue all other pilots that saile to the West Indies, who may not passe thither without his licence, and is therefore called Piloto mayor, that is, the grand Pilot. And when we sayd that we knew him not, he proceeded, saying, that being certaine peres in the city of Siuil, and desirous to haue some knowledge of the navigations of the Spaniards, it was tolde him that there was in the city a valiant

baliant man, a Venetian bozne named Sebastian Cabot, who had the charge of those things, being an expert man in that science, and one that coulde make Cardes for the Sea with his owne hand, and that by this report, seeking his acquaintance, hee found him a very gentle person, who entertained him friendly, and shewed him many things, and among other a large Mappe of the world, with certaine particuler Navigations, as well of the Portugals, as of the Spaniards, and that he spake further vnto him to this effect.

When my father departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandises, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing neuerthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere. And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Colonius Genuese had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the Court of King Henry the 7. who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing moze diuine then humane, to saile by the West into the East where spices growe, by a way that was neuer knowne before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And vnderstanding by reason of the Sphere, that if I should saile by way of the North-west, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the King to be aduertised of my deuise, who immediatly commanded two Caruels to bee furnished with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was as farre as I remember in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Sommer. I began therefore to saile toward the North-west, not thinking to finde any other land then that of Cathay, & from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land raine towards the North, which was to mee a great displeasure. Neuerthelesse, sayling along by the coast to see if I could finde any gulfes that turned, I found the lande still continient to the 56. degree vnder our Pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to finde the passage, I turned backe againe, and sailed downe by the coast of that land toward the Equinoctiall (euer with intent to finde the saide passage to India) and came to that part of this firme lande which is now called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland: by reason whereof there was no moze consideration had to this voyage.

Whereupon I went into Spaine to the Catholique king, and Queene Elizabeth, which being aduertised what I had done, entertained me, and at their charges furnished certaine ships, where- with they caused me to saile to discover the coastes of Brasile, where I found an exceeding great and large riuer named at this present Rio de la plata, that is, the riuer of silver, into the which I sailed and followed it into the firme land, moze then fife scoze leagues, finding it euery where very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which with admiration came running dayly to our ships. Into this Riuer runne so many other riuers, that it is in maner incredible.

The second voyage of Cabot to the land of Brasil, and Rio de plata.

After this I made many other voyages, which I nowe pretermitt, and waring olde, I giue my selfe to rest from such trauels, because there are nowe many yong and lustie Pilots and Hariners of good experience, by whose forwardnesse I doe reioyce in the fruit of my labours, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see.

The office of Pilote maior.

The foresaide Baptista Ramusius in his preface to the thirde volume of the Navigations, writeth thus of Sebastian Cabot.

In the latter part of this volume are put certaine relations of Iohn de Varazana, Florentine, and of a great captaine a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Iaques Cartier a Briton, who sailed vnto the land situate in 50. degrees of Latitude to the North, which is called New France, which landes hitherto are not thoroughly knowne, whether they doe ioyne with the firme land of Florida and Noua Hispania, or whether they bee separated and deuided all by the Sea as Islands: and whether that by that way one may goe by Sea vnto the countrey of Cathaia. As many yeeres past it was writen vnto mee by Sebastian Cabota our Countrey man a Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the art of Navigation, and the knowledge of Cosmographie, who sailed along and beyond this lande of New France, at the charges of King Henry the seventh king of England: and he aduertised mee, that hauing sailed a long time West and by North, beyond those Islands vnto the Latitude of 67. degrees and an halfe, vnder the North pole, and at the 11. day of Iune finding still the open Sea without any manner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to haue passed on still the way to Cathaia, which is in the East, and would haue done it, if the mu-

The great probability of this North-west passage.

time

time of the shipmaster and Partners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place. But it seemeth that God doeth yet still reserve this great enterprize for some great prince to discover this voyage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spices from India into Europe, were the most easie and shortest of all other wayes hither to found out. And surely this enterprize would be the most glorious, and of most importance of all other that can be imagined to make his name great, and fame immortall, to all ages to come, farre more then can be done by any of all these great troubles and warres which daily are vled in Europe among the miserable Chyistian people.

Another testimonie of the voyage of *Sebastian Cabot* to the West and Northwest, taken out of the sixt Chapter of the third Decade of *Peter Martyr of Angleria.*

Scrutatus est oras glaciales Sebastianus quidam Cabotus genere Venetus, sed à parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus (vix moris est Venetorum, qui commercij causa terrarum omnium sunt hospites) transportatus penè infans. Duo is sibi nauigia, propria pecunia in Britannia ipsa instruxit, & primò tendens cum hominibus tercentum ad Septentrionem donec etiam Iulio mense vastas repperit glaciales moles pelago natantes, & lucem ferè perpetuam, tellurè tamen libera, gelu liquefacto: quare coactus fuit, vti ait, vela vertere & occidentem sequi: tetenditque tantum ad meridiem littore sese incuruante, vt Herculei freti latitudinis fere gradus equarit: ad occidentemque profectus tantum est vt Cubam Insulam à læua, longitudine graduum penè parem, habuerit. Is ea littora percurrent, quæ Baccalaos appellauit, eosdem se repperisse aquarum, sed lenes delapsus ad Occidentem ait, quos Castellani, meridionales suas regiones adnauigantes, inueniunt. Ergò non modò verisimilius, sed necessario concludendum est, vastos inter vtràmque ignotam hæcenus tellurem iacere hiatus, qui viam præbeant aquis ab oriente cadentibus in Occidentem. Quas arbitror impulsu cælorum circulariter agi in gyrum circa terræ globum, non autem Demogorgone anhelante vomì, absorberique vt nonnulli senserunt, quod influxu, & refluxu forsan assentire daretur. Baccalaos, Cabotus ipse terras illas appellauit, eò quod in earum pelago tantam repperit magnorum quorundam piscium, tynnos æmulantium, sic vocatorum ab indigenis, multitudinem, vt etiam illi interdum nauigia detardarent. Earum Regionum homines pellibus tantum coopertos reperiēbat, rationis haudquaquam expertes. Vrsorum inesse regionibus copiam ingentem refert, qui & ipsi piscibus vescantur. Inter densa namque piscium illorum agmina sese immergunt vrsi, & singulos singuli complexos, vnguibusque inter squammas immisis in terram raptant, & comedunt. Propterea minimè noxios hominibus visos esse ait. Orichalcum in plerisque locis se vidisse apud incolas prædicat. Familiarem habeo domi Cabotum ipsum, & contubernalem interdum. Vocatus namque ex Britannia à Rege nostro Catholico, post Henrici Maioris Britanniae Regis mortem, concurialis noster est, expectatque indies, vt nauigia sibi parentur, quibus arcanum hoc naturæ latens iam tandem detegatur.

The same in English.

These North Seas haue bene searched by one Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infant, his parents caried with them into England, hauing occasion to resort thither for trade of marchandise, as is the maner of the Venetians to leaue no part of the world vnsearched to obtaine riches. Hee therefore furnished two ships in England at his owne charges, and first with 300 men directed his course so farre towards the North pole, that euen in the moneth of Iuly he found monstrous heapes of ice swimming on the sea, and in maner continually day light, yet saw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had bene molten by the heat of the Sunne. Thus seeing such heapes of yce before him, hee was enforced to turne his sailes and follow the West, so coasting still by the shore, that he was thereby brought so farre into the South, by reason of the land bending so much Southwards, that it was there almost equall in latitude, with the sea Fretum Herculeum, hauing the Northpole eleuate in maner in the same degree. He sailed likewise in this tract so farre towards the West, that hee had the Island of Cuba on his left hand, in maner in the same degree of longitude. As hee traueiled by the coastes of this great land, (which he named Baccalaos) he saith that hee found the like course of the waters toward the West, but the same to runne more softly and gently then the swift waters which the Spaniards found in their Nauigations Southward. Wherefore it is not onely more like to be true, but oughe also

A current toward the West.

also of necessitie to be concluded that betweene both the lands hitherto unknowne, there should be certaine great open places whereby the waters should thus continually passe from the East vnto the West: which waters I suppose to be driuen about the globe of the earth by the vncessant moving and impulsion of the heauens, and not to bee swallowed vp and cast vp againe by the breathing of Demogorgon, as some haue imagined, because they see the seas by increase and decrease to ebbe and flowe. Sebastian Cabot himselfe named those lands Baccalaos, because that in the Seas thereabout hee found so great multitudes of certaine bigge fishes much like vnto Tunies, (which the inhabitants call Baccalaos) that they sometime stayed his shippes. He found also the people of those regions couered with beastes skimes, yet not without the vse of reason. He also saith there is great plentie of Beares in those regions which vse to eate fish: for plunging themselves into y^e water, where they perceiue a multitude of these fishes to lie, they fasten their clawes in their scales, and so draw them to land and eate them, so (as he saith) the Beares being thus satisfied with fish, are not noisome to men. Hee declareth further, that in many places of these Regions he saw great plentie of Copper among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friend, whom I vse familiarly, and delight to haue him sometimes keepe mee company in mine owne house. For being called out of England by the commandement of the Catholique King of Castile, after the death of King Henry the seuenth of that name King of England, he was made one of our counsell and Assistants, as touching the affaires of the new Indies, looking for ships dayly to be furnished for him to discover this hid secret of Nature.

The people of Island say the Sea and yce fetterh also West. Ionas Arngimus.

Copper found in many places by Cabote.

The testimonie of *Francis Lopez de Gomara a Spaniard*, in the fourth Chapter of the second Booke of his generall history of the West Indies concerning the first discouerie of a great part of the West Indies, to wit, from 58. to 38. degrees of latitude, by *Sebastian Cabota* out of England.

In which brought most certaine newes of the countrey & people of Baccalaos, saith Gomara, was Sebastian Cabot a Venetian, which rigged vp two ships at the cost of K. Henry the 7. of England, hauing great desire to traffique for the spices as the Portingals did. He caried with him 300. men, and tooke the way towards Island from beyond the Cape of Labrador, vntill he found himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that in the moneth of July it was so cold, and the ice so great, that hee durst not passe any further: that the dayes were very long, in a maner without any night, and for that short night that they had, it was very cleare. Cabot feeling the cold, turned towards the West, refreshing himselfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards he sailed along the coast vnto 38. degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England.

A note of *Sebastian Cabots* first discouerie of part of the *Indies* taken out of the latter part of *Robert Fabians* Chronicle not hitherto printed, which is in the custodie of *M. Iohn Stow* a diligent preseruer of Antiquities.

In the 13. yeere of K. Henry the 7. (by meanes of one Iohn Cabot a Venetian which made himselfe very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and Islands of the same, as by a Sea card and other demonstrations reasonable he shewed) the king caused to man and victuall a ship at Bristow, to search for an Island, which he said hee knew well was rich, and replenished with great commodities: Which shippe thus manned and victualled at the kings cost, diuers Marchants of London ventured in her small stocks, being in her as chiefe patron the said Venetian. And in the company of the said ship, sailed also out of Bristow three or foure small ships fraught with sleight and grosse marchandizes, as course cloth, caps, laces, points & other trifles. And so departed from Bristow in the beginning of May, of whom in this Maiors time returned no tidings.

Cabots boiage from Bristol wherein he discovered Newfound land, & the northerne parts of that land, and from thence as farre almost as Florida.

Of three Sauages which *Cabot* brought home and presented vnto the King in the foureteenth yere of his raigne, mentioned by the foresaid *Robert Fabian*.

In this yeere also were brought vnto the king three men taken in the Newfound Island that before I spake of, in William Purchastime being Maior: These were clothed in beastes skins, & did eate raw flesh, and spake such speech that no man could vnderstand them,

10 The English Voyages, Navigations, Seb. Cab. pension.

them, and in their demeanour like to brute beastes, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which vpon two yeeres after, I saw two apparelled after the maner of Englishmen in Westminster pallace, which that time I could not discern from Englishmen, til I was learned what they were, but as for speech, I heard none of them utter one word.

A brieft extract concerning the discoverie of Newfound-land, taken out of the booke of *M. Robert Thorne*, to doctor *Leigh*, &c.

I Reason, that as some sicknesses are hereditarie, so this inclination or desire of this discovery I inherited from my father, which with another marchant of Bristol named *Hugh Eliot*, were the discoverers of the Newfound-lands; of the which there is no doubt (as now plainly appeareth) if the Mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, but the lands of the West Indies, from whence all the golde cometh, had bene ours; for all is one coast as by the Card appeareth, and is aforesaid.

The large pension granted by K. Edward the 6. to *Sebastian Cabota*, constituting him *grand Pilot of England*.



Edwardus sextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ rex, omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentis hæc literæ nostræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos in consideratione boni & acceptabilis seruitij, nobis per dilectum seruientem nostrum Sebastianum Cabotam impensis atque impendendi, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia, & mero motu nostro, nec non de adujsamento, & consensu præclarissimi auunculi nostri Edwardi Ducis Somerseti personæ nostræ Gubernatoris, ac Regnorum, dominiorum, subditorumque nostrorum protectoris, & cæterorum consiliariorū nostrorum, dedimus & concessimus, ac per præsentis damus, & concedimus eidem Sebastiano Cabotæ, quandam annuitatem siue annualem redditum, centum sexaginta & sex librarum, tresdecim solidorum, & quatuor denariorum sterlingorum, habendam, gaudendam, & annuatim percipiendam prædictam annuitatem, siue annalem redditum eidem Sebastiano Cabotæ, durante vita sua naturali, de thesauro nostro ad receptum scacarij nostri Westmonasterij per manus thesaurariorum, & Camerariorum nostrorum, ibidem pro tempore existentium, ad festa annuntiationis beate Mariæ Virginis, natiuitatis sancti Ioannis Baptistæ, Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, & Natalis Domini per æquales portiones soluendam. Et vterius de vberiori gratia nostra, ac de adujsamento, & consensu prædictis damus, & per præsentis concedimus præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ, tot & tantas Denariorum summas, ad quot & quantas dicta annuitas siue annalis redditus centum sexaginta sex librarū, tresdecim solidorum, & quatuor denariorū, a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli vltimò præterito huc vsq; se extendit, & attingit, habendas & recipiendas præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ & assignatis suis de thesauro nostro prædicto per manus prædictorum Thesaurariorum, & Camerariorum nostrorum de dono nostro absque computo, seu aliquo alio nobis, hæredibus, vel successoribus nostris proinde reddendo, soluendo, vel faciendo: eo quod expressa mentio, &c. In cuius rei testimonium, &c. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium 6. die Ianuarij, Anno 2. Regis Edwardi sexti.

Anno D.
1549.

The same in English.

Edward the sixt by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the faith, to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting. Know ye that we, in consideration of the good and acceptable service done, and to be done, vnto vs by our beloued seruant Sebastian Cabota, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, meere motion, and by the aduise and counsel of our most honourable vncle Edward duke of Somerset gouernour of our person, and Protector of our kingdomes, dominions, and subiects, and of the rest of our Counsaile, haue giuen & granted, and by these presents do giue and graunt to the said Sebastian Cabota, a certaine annuities, or yerely reuennue of one hundredeth, threescore & sixe pounds, thirtene shillings foure pence sterling, to haue, enioy, and yerely receiue the foresaid annuities, or yerely reuennue, to the foresaid Sebastian Cabota during his natural life, out of our Treasurie at the receit of our Exchequer at Westminster, at the hands of our Treasurers & paymasters, there remayning for the time being, at the feast of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Natiuitie of S. John Baptist, S. Michael & Archangel, & the Natiuitie of our Lord, to be paid by equal portions,

And

And further, of our more speciall grace, and by the aduise and consent aforesaide wee doe giue, and by these presents doe graunt vnto the aforesaide Sebastian Cabora, so many, and so great summes of money as the saide annuities or yeerely reuenue of an hundred, threescore and five pounds, thirteene shillings 4. pence, doeth amount and rise vnto from the feast of S. Michael the Archangel last past vnto this present time, to be had and receiued by the aforesaid Sebastian Cabora, and his assignes out of our aforesaid Treasurie, at the handes of our aforesaid Treasurers, and officers of our Exchequer of our free gift without accompt, or any thing else therfore to be peeld, payed, or made, to vs, our heires or successours, forasmuch as herein expresse mention is made to the contrary.

In witness whereof we haue caused these our Letters to be made patents: Witness the King at Westminster the sixt day of Januarie, in the second yeere of his raigne. The yeere of our Lord 1548.

A discourse written by Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight, to proue a passage by the Northwest to Cathaia, and the East Indies.

¶ The Table of the matters in euery Chapter of this discourse.

Capitulo 1.

TO proue by authoritie a passage to be on the North side of America, to goe to Cathaia, China, and to the East India.

Capitulo 2.

TO proue by reason a passage to be on the North side of America, to goe to Cathaia, Molucca, &c.

Capitulo 3.

TO proue by experience of sundry mens traualles the opening of this Northwest passage, whereby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Capitulo 4.

TO proue by circumstance, that the Northwest passage hath bene sailed throughout.

Capitulo 5.

TO proue that such Indians as haue bene driuen vpon the coastes of Germania came not thither by the Southeast, and Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America.

Capitulo 6.

TO proue that the Indians aforesaid came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorough passage nauigable that way.

Capitulo 7.

TO proue that these Indians came by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of this passage by experience.

Capitulo 8.

What seuerall reasons were alleaged before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lords of her Highnesse priuie Council, by M. Anthonie Jenkinson a Gentleman of great traualle and experience, to proue this passage by the Northeast, with my seuerall answers then alleaged to the same.

Capitulo 9.

How that this passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffike, then the other by the Northeast, if there were any such.

Capitulo 10.

What commodities would ensue, this passage being once discovered.

TO proue by authoritie a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cathaia, and the East India.

Chapter 1.

When I gaue my selfe to the studie of Geographie, after I had perused and diligently scanned the descriptions of Europe, Asia & Afrike, and conferred them with the Happs and Globes both Antique and Moderne: I came in fine to the fourth part of the world, commonly called America, which by all descriptions I found to bee an Island enuironed round about with Sea, hauing on the Southside of it the frete or straight of Magellan, on the West side Mar del Sur, which Sea runneth towards the North, separating it from the East parts of Asia, where the Dominions of the Cathaians are: On the East part our West Ocean, and on the North

North side the sea that seuereth it from Groneland, thozow which Northzen Seas the Passage lyeth, which I take now in hand to discover.

Plato in Timæo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, discourseth of an incomparable great Island then called Atlantis, being greater then all Affrike and Asia, which lay Westward from the Straights of Gibraltar, nauigable round about: affirming also that the Princes of Atlantis did as well enjoy the gouernance of all Affrike, and the most part of Europe, as of Atlantis it selfe.

Also to proue Platos opinion of this Island, and the inhabiting of it in ancient time by them of Europe, to be of the more credite; Marinus Siculus in his Chronicle of Spaine, reporteth that there haue bene found by the Spaniards in the gold Mines of America, certaine pierces of Honey ingraued with the Image of Augustus Caesar: which pierces were sent to the Pope for a testimonie of the matter, by Iohn Rufus Archbishop of Conſentinum.

Proclus pag. 24.

Iustine Lib. 4.

Plinie.

Moreouer, this was not only thought of Plato, but by Marsilius Ficinus, an excellent Florentine Philosopher, Crantor the Græcian, and Proclus, and Philo the famous Iew (as appeareth in his booke De Mundo, and in the Commentaries vpon Plato) to be ouerflown and swallowed vp with water, by reason of a mightie earthquake, and streaming downe of the heauenly Fludgates. The like whereof happened vnto some part of Italy, when by the forciblenes of the Sea, called Superum, it cut off Sicilia from the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in Iustine, in the beginning of his fourth booke. Also there chanced the like in Zeland a part of Flanders.

And also the Cities of Pyrrha and Antissa, about Meotis palus: and also the Citie Burs, in the Corynethian bolome, commonly called Sinus Corinthiacus, haue bene swallowed vp with the Sea, and are not at this day to be discerned: By which accident America grew to be unknown of long time, vnto vs of the later ages, and was lately discovered againe, by Americus Vespucius, in the yeere of our Lord 1497. which some say to haue bene first discovered by Christophorus Columbus a Genuois, Anno 1492.

The same calamitie happened vnto this Ile of Atlantis 600. and odde yeeres before Plato his time, which some of the people of the Southeast parts of the world accompted as 9000. yeeres: for the maner then was to reckon the Moone her Period of the Zodiak for a yeere, which is our vsuall moneth, depending à Luminari minori.

So that in these our dayes there can no other wayne or Islande be found or iudged to bee parcel of this Atlantis, then those Westerne Islands, which beare now the name of America: counteruailing thereby the name of Atlantis, in the knowledge of our age.

A minore ad maius.

Then, if when no part of the sayd Atlantis was oppressed by water, and earthquake, the coasts round about the same were nauigable: a farre greater hope now remaineth of the same by the Northwest, seeing the most part of it was (since that time) swallowed vp with water, which could not betterly take away the olde deeps and chanelis, but rather, be an occasion of the enlarging of the olde, and also an inforcing of a great many new: why then should we now doubt of our Northwest passage and nauigation from England to India? &c. seeing that Atlantis now called America, was euer known to be an Island, and in those dayes nauigable round about, which by access of more water could not be diminished.

Also Aristotle in his booke De mundo, and the learned Germaine Simon Gryneus in his annotations vpon the same, saith that the whole earth (meaning thereby, as manifestly doth appeare, Asia, Africk, and Europe, being all the countreys then known) is but one Island, compassed about with the reach of the sea Atlantine: which likewise proueth America to be an Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia, or the rest.

Strabo lib. 15.

Also many ancient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean sea (which lieth East of India) Atlanticum pelagus, and that sea also on the West coasts of Spaine and Africk, Mare Atlanticum: the distance betweene the two coasts is almost halfe the compasse of the earth.

Valerius Anselmus in Catalogo annorum & principum, fol. 6. Gen. 9. 10.

So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifestly, that the East Indian Sea had the name Atlanticum pelagus of the mountaine Atlas in Africk, or yet the sea adioyning to Africk, had the name Oceanus Atlanticus of the same mountaine: but that those seas and the mountaine Atlas were so called of this great Island Atlantis, and that the one and the other had their names for a memorial of the mighty prince Atlas, sometime king thereof, who was Iaphet yongest sonne to Noah, in whose time the whole earth was diuided betweene the three brethren, Sem, Cam, and Iaphet.

Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northwest will be found fauourable to this our enterprize, and am the rather imboldened to beleue the same, for that I finde it not onely confirmed by Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient Philosophers: but also by all the best moderne Geographers,

Geographers, as Gemma Frisius, Munsterus, Appianus, Hunterus, Gastaldus, Guyccardinus, Michael Tramafinus, Franciscus Demongenitus, Bernardus Puteanus, Andreas Vauasor, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and also Ortelius, who doth coast out in his generall Mappe set out Anno 1569, all the countreys and Capes, on the Northwest side of America, from Hochelaga to Cape de Paramantia: describing likewise the sea coastes of Cataia and Gronland, towards any part of America, making both Gronland and America, Islands disioyned by a great sea, from any part of Asia.

All which learned men and painefull traouellers haue affirmed with one consent and voice, that America was an Island: and that there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Gronland, by the which any man of our countrey, that will giue the attempt, may with small danger passe to Cataia, the Moluccæ, India, and all other places in the East, in much shorter time, then either the Spaniard, or Portugall doeth, or may doe, from the neereſt parte of any of their countreys within Europe.

What moued these learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what ende so many and sundry traouellers of both ages haue allowed the same: But I coniecture that they would neuer haue so constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cause, and many probable reasons, to haue lead them thereunto.

Now least you should make small accompt of ancient wryters or of their experiences which trauelled long before our times, reckoning their authoritie amongst fables of no importance: I haue for the better assurance of those proofes, set downe some part of a discourse, wrytten in the Saxon tongue, and translated into English by M. Nowel seruant to Sir William Cecil, lord Burleigh, and lord high treasurer of England. wherein there is described a Nauigation, which one Ochther made, in the time of king Alfred, King of Westſaxe Anno 871. the words of which discourse were these: Hee sailed right North, hauing alwaies the desert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord the maine sea, continuing his course, vntill hee perceiued that the coast bowed directly towards the East, or else the Sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre, where he was compelled to stay vntill he had a westerne winde, or somewhat vpon the North, and sayled thence directly East alongſt the coast, so farre as hee was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary vntill hee had a North winde, because the coast there bowed directly towards the South, or at least opened he knew not howe farre into the land, so that he sayled thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could trauell in the space of fve dayes, where hee discovered a mighty riuer, which opened farre into the land, and in the entrie of this riuer he turned backe againe.

Whereby it appeareth that he went the very same way, that we now doe perely trade by S. Nicholas into Moscouia, which way no man in our age knew for certaintie to be by sea, vntill it was since discovered by our English men, in the time of King Edward the first: but thought before that time that Groneland had ioyned to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore was accompted a new discovery, being nothing so indeede, as by this discourse of Ochther it appeareth.

Neuerthelesse if any man should haue taken this voyage in hand by the encouragement of this onely authoz, he should haue bene thought but simple: considering that this Nauigation was wrytten so many yeres past, in so barbarous a tongue by one onely obscure authoz, and yet we in these our dayes finde by our owne experiences his former reports to be true.

How much more then ought we to beleue this passage to Cataia to bee, being verified by the opinions of all the best, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainly set out in the best and most allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Cosmographical tables & discourses of this our age, and by the rest not denied, but left as a matter doubtfull.

To prooue by reason, a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cataia, &c.

Chap. 3.

First, all seas are maintained by the abundance of water, so that the neerer the end any Riuer, Bay or Hauen is, the shallower it wareth, (although by some accidentall barre, it is sometime found otherwise) But the farther you sayle West from Island towards the place, where this fret is thought to be, the more deepe are the seas: which giueth vs good hope of continuance of the same Sea with Mar del Sur, by some fret that lyeth betweene America, Gronland and Cataia.

Also if that America were not an Island, but a part of y^e continent adioyning to Asia, either

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We ought by reasons right to haue a reuerent opinion of worthy men.

A Nauigation of one Ochther made in king Alfreds time.

A perfect description of our Moscouia voyage.

23p Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, Chanceller and Secretary.

Experimented by our English sithers.

the people which inhabite Mangia, Anian, & Quinzay, &c. being borderers vpon it, would befoze this time haue made some road into it, hoping to haue found some like comodities to their owne.

Frede makes
the old wile
to trotte.

3 Or els the Scythians and Tartarians (which often times heretofore haue sought farre and neere for new seats, driuen thereunto through the necessitie of their cold and miserable countreys) would in all this time haue found the way to America, and entred the same, had the passages bene neuer so straitte or difficult; the countrey being so temperate, pleasant and fruitfull, in comparison of their owne. But there was neuer any such people found there by any of the Spaniards, Portugals, or Frenchmen, who first discovered the Inland of that countrey: which Spaniards, or Frenchmen must then of necessitie haue seene some one ciuill man in America, considering how full of ciuill people Asia is: But they neuer saw so much as one token or signe, that euer any man of the known part of the world had bene there.

4 Furthermoze it is to be thought, that if by reason of mountaines, or other craggy places, the people neither of Cataia or Tartarie could enter the countrey of America, or they of America haue entred Asia if it were so ioyned: yet some one sauage or wandring beast would in so many yerres haue passed into it: but there hath not any time bene found any of the beasts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie &c. in America: nor of those proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, &c. or any part of Asia. Which thing proueth America, not onely to be one Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia: But also that the people of those Countreys, haue not had any traffique with each other.

5 Whereouer at the least some one of those painefull travellers, which of purpose haue passed the confines of both countreys, with intent only to discover, would as it is most likely haue gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of land, or Isthmos, to haue ioyned them together, or els haue declared some cause to the contrary.

6 But neither Paulus Venerus, who liued and dwelt a long time in Cataia, euer came into America, and yet was at the sea coastes of Mangia, ouer against it where he was embarked, and perfourmed a great Nauigation along those seas: Neither yet Verarzanus, or Franciscus Vascques de Coronado, who trauelled the North part of America by land, euer found entry from thence by land to Cataia, or any part of Asia.

The Sea hath
three motions.
1 Motum ab ori-
ente in occiden-
tem.
2 Motum fluxus
& refluxus.
3 Motum circu-
larem.
Ad cœli motum
elementa omnia
(excepta terra)
mouentur.

7 Also it appeareth to be an Island, insomuch as the Sea runneth by nature circularly from the East to the West, following the diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, which carrieth with it all inferiour bodie mouable, as wel celestia as elemental: which motion of the waters is most euidently scene in the Sea, which lieth on the Southside of Africke, where the current that runneth from the East to the West is so strong (by reason of such motiō) that the Portugals in their voyages Eastward to Calicut, in passing by Cap. de buona Sperança are enforced to make diuers courses, the current there being so swift as it striketh from thence all along Westward vpon the fret of Magellan, being distant from thence, neere the fourth part of the longitude of the earth: and not hauing free passage and entrance thow the fret towards the West, by reason of the narrowness of the sayd Straite of Magellan, it runneth to salue this wrong (Nature not yeelding to accidentall restraints) all along the Easterne coastes of America, Northwards so far as Cape Fredo, being the farthest knowne place of the same continent towards the North: which is about 4800 leagues, reckoning therewithal the trending of the land.

8 So that this current being continually maintained with such force, as Iaques Cartier affirmeth it to be, who met with the same being at Baccalaos, as he sayles along the coastes of America, then either it must of necessitie haue way to passe from Cape Fredo, thow this fret, Westward towards Cataia, being knowen to come so farre, onely to salue his former wrongs, by the authority befoze named: or els it must needes strike ouer, vpon the coast of Island, Norway, Finmarke, and Lappia, (which are East from the sayd place about 360 leagues) with greater force then it did from Cape de buona Sperança, vpon the fret of Magellan, or from the fret of Magellan to Cape Fredo, vpon which coastes Iaques Cartier met with the same, considering the thownesse of the Tut from the sayd Cape Fredo, to Island, Lappia, &c. And so the cause Efficient remaining, it would haue continually followed along our coasts, through the narrow seas, which it doth not, but is disgessed about the North of Labrador, by some through passage there thow this fret.

Posita causa, po-
nitur effectus.

Conterenus.

The like course of the water in some respect happeneth in the Mediterrane sea (as affirmeth Conterenus) whereas the current which commeth from Tanais, & Pontus Euxinus, running along all the coastes of Greece, Italy, France, and Spaine, and not finding sufficient way out through Gibraltar, by meanes of the straitnesse of the fret it runneth backe againe along the coastes of Barbary, by Alexandria, Natolia, &c.

It may (peradventure) bee thought that this course of the sea doth sometime surcease, and thereby

thereby impugne this principle, because it is not discerned all along the coast of America, in such sort as Iaques Cartier found it: Whereunto I answered this: that albeit, in every part of the Coast of America, or elsewhere this current is not sensibly perceived, yet it hath evermore such like motion, either in the uppermost or nethermost part of the sea: as it may be proved true, if ye sink a sayle by a couple of ropes, neere the ground, fastening to the nethermost corners two gunne chambers or other weights: by the driving whereof you shall plainly perceive, the course of the water, and current, running with such course in the bottome.

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinary motion of the sea, in the Ocean: howe farre soeuer you be off the land.

9 Also there commeth another current from out the Northeast from the Scythian Sea (as M. Ienkinson a man of rare vertue, great trauaile and experience, told me) which runneth Westward towards Labrador, as the other did, which commeth from the South: so that both these currents, must haue way thorow this our fret, or else encounter together and runne contrarie courses, in one line, but no such conflicts of streames, or contrary courses are found about any part of Labrodor, or Terra noua, as witnesse our peery fishers, and other saylers that way, but is there digested, as aforesayd, and found by experience of Barnard de la Torre, to fall into Mar del Sur.

10 Furthermore, the current in the great Ocean, could not haue bene maintained to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world vnto this day, had there not bene some thorow passage by the fret aforesayd, and so by circular motion bee brought againe to maintaine it selfe: For the Tides and courses of the sea are maintayned by their interchangeable motions: as fresh riuers are by springs, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condensation.

So that it resteth not possible (so farre as my simple reason can comprehend) that this perpetuall current can by any meanes be maintained, but onely by continuall reaccess of the same water, which passeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by such circular motion as aforesayd. And the certaine falling thereof by this fret into Mar del Sur is prooued by the testimonie and experience, of Bernard de la Torre, who was sent from P. de la Nariuidad to the Moluccæ, Anno domini 1542. by commandement of Anthony Mendoza, then Viceroy of Noua Hispania, which Bernard sayled 750. Leagues, on the Northside of the Aequator, and there met with a current, which came from the Northeast the which brought him backe againe to Tidore.

Wherefore, this current being prooued to come from C. de buona Sperança to the fret of Magellan, and wanting sufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the straire, is by the necessity of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Iaques Cartier met the same, and thence certainly knowen, not to strike ouer vpon Island, Lappia, &c. and found by Bernard de la Torre in Mar del Sur, on the backside of America: therefore this current (hauing none other passage) must of necessity, fall out thorow this our fret into Mar del Sur, and so trending by the Moluccæ, China, and C. de buona Sperança, maintaineth it selfe by circular motion, which is all one in nature, with Motus ab Oriente in Occidentem.

So that it seemeth, we haue now more occasion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a passage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter shall be sufficiently remooued. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reason it self, grounded vpon experience, assureth vs of this passage, if there were nothing els to put vs in hope thereof. But least these might not suffice, I haue added in this chapter following, some further prooue hereof, by the experience of such as haue passed some part of this discouerie: and in the next adioining to that the authority of those, which haue sailed wholly, thorow euery part thereof.

To proue by experience of sundry mens trauels, the opening of some part of this Northwest passage: whereby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Chap. 3.

Paulus Venetus, who dwelt many yeres in Caraija, affirmed that hee sayled 1500 miles vpon the coastes of Mangia, and Anian, towards the Northeast: alwayes finding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went, but also as farre as he could discerne.

2 Also Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passing from Mexico by Ceuola, through the countrey of Quinira, to Siera Neuada, found there a great sea, where were certaine ships laden

An objection answered. The sea both euermore perceiue this circular motion, either in Suprema, or Concaua superficie aquæ.

The pee set westward enen as peere from Island. Auth. Iona Aingrimo.

The flowing is occasioned by reason that the heate of the moone boyleth, and maketh the water thinn by way of rarefaction. An experience to proue the falling of this current into Mar del Sur.

Alcatrazzi be
Pellicanes.

Baroslib's. Of
his first De-
cas cap. 1.

with Merchandise, carrying on their prowes the pictures of certaine birds called Alcatrazzi, part whereof were made of golde, and part of siluer, who signified by signes, that they were thirty dayes comming thither: which likewise proueth America by experience to be disioyned from Cataia, on that part by a great Sea, because they could not come from any part of America, as Natiues thereof: for that, so farre as is discovered, there hath not bene found there any one Shippe of that countrey.

3 In like maner, Iohn Baros testifieth that the Cosmographers of China (where he himselfe had bene) affirme that the Sea coast trendeth from thence Northeast, to 50 degrees of Septentrional latitude, being the furthest part that way which the Portugals had then knowledge of: And that the said Cosmographers knew no cause to the contrary, but that it might continue further.

By whose experiences America is proued to be separate from those parts of Asia, directly against the same. And not contented with the iudgements of these learned men only, I haue searched what might be further sayd for the confirmation hereof.

4 And I found that Franciscus Lopez de Gomara affirmeth America to be an Island, and likewise Gronland: and that Gronland is distant from Lappia 40 leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5 Moreover, Aluarus Nunnius a Spaniard, and learned Cosmographer, and Iacobus Cartier, who made two voyages into those parts, and sayled 900 miles vpon the Northeast coastes of America doe in part confirme the same.

6 Likewise Hieronymus Fracastorius, a learned Italian, and trauailer in the North parts of the same land.

7 Also Iaques Cartier hauing done the like, heard say at Hochelaga in Noua Francia, how that there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the end was not knowen: which they presupposed to be the passage to Cataia.

Written in the
discourses of
Nauigation.

Furthermore, Sebastian Cabota by his personal experience and trauel hath set forth, and described this passage in his Charts, which are yet to be seene in the Queens Maiesties priuie Gallerie at Whitehall, who was sent to make this discovery by king Henrie the seventh, and entered the same fret: affirming that he sayled very farre Westward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northside of Terra de Labrador the eleuenth of Iune, untill he came to the Septentrional latitude of 67 degrees and a halfe, and finding the Seas still open, sayd, that he might, & would haue gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Master and Mariners had not bene.

Now as these mens experience hath proued some part of this passage: so the chapter following shal put you in full assurance of the rest, by their experiences which haue passed through euery part thereof.

To prooue by circumstance that the Northwest passage hath bene sayled throughout.

Chap. 4.

Quinque sensus.

1. Visus.
2. Auditus.
3. Olfactus.
4. Gustus.
5. Tactus.

Singularia sensu
vniuersalia vero
mente percipiuntur.

The diuersitie betweene brute beastes and men, or betweene the wise and the simple is, that the one iudgeth by sense onely, and gathereth no surety of any thing that he hath not seene, felt, heard, tasted, or smelled: And the other not so onely, but also findeth the certaintie of things by reason, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore I haue added proofes of both sorts, that the one and the other might thereby be satisfied.

1 First, as Gemma Frisius reciterh, there went from Europe three brethren through this passage: whereof it tooke the name of Frerum trium fratrum.

2 Also Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos, (who wrote 57 yeeres before Christ) that there were certaine Indians driuen by tempest, vpon the coast of Germanie which were presented by the king of Sueuia, vnto Quintus Metellus Celer, the Proconsull of France.

3 And Plinie vpon the same sayth, that it is no maruell though there be Sea by the North, where there is such abundance of moisture: which argueth that hee doubted not of a nauigable passage that way, through which those Indians came.

4 And for the better prooue that the same authoritie of Cornelius Nepos is not by me wrested, to proue my opinion of the Northwest passage: you shall finde the same affirmed more plainly in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer Dominicus Marius Niger, who sheweth how many wayes the Indian sea stretcheth it selfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewise driuen through the North Seas from India, vpon the coastes of Germany, by great

Lib. 2. cap. 66.

Page 590.

great tempest, as they were sayling in trade of marchandize.

5 Also while Frederic Barbarossa reigned Emperour, Anno Do. 1160, there came certaine other Indians vpon the coast of Germanie.

6 Likewise Orhon in the storie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours, there were also certaine Indians cast by force of weather, vpon the coast of the sayd countrey, which foresaid Indians could not possibly haue come by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America, nor yet by the Northeast: therefore they came of necessitie by this our Northwest passage.

Quouched by
Franciscus Lopes
de Gomara in
his historie of
India, lib. 1.
cap. 10.

To prooue that these Indians asorenamed came not by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any other part of Afrike, or America.

Cap. 5.

First, they could not come from the Southeast by the Cape de bona Speranga, because the roughnes of the Seas there is such (occasioned by the currents and great winds in that part) that the greatest Armadas the king of Portugal hath, cannot without great difficulty passe that way, much lesse then a Canoa of India could liue in those outrageous seas without shipwacke (being a vessell of very small burden) and haue conducted themselues to the place aforesayd, being men vnerpert in the Arte of nauigation.

2 Also, it appeareth plainly that they were not able to come from alongst the coast of Afrike aforesayd, to those parts of Europe, because the winds doe (for the most part) blow there Easterly off from the shore, and the current running that way in like sort, should haue driuen them Westward vpon some part of America: for such winds and tides could neuer haue led them from thence to the said place where they were found, nor yet could they haue come from any of the countries aforesayd, keeping the seas allwayes, without skilful mariners to haue conducted them such like courses as were necessary to perforce such a voyage.

3 Presupposing also, if they had bene driuen to the West (as they must haue bene, comming that way) then they should haue perished, wanting supplie of victuals, not hauing any place (once leauing the coast of Afrike) untill they came to America, nor from America untill they arrived vpon some part of Europe, or the Islands adioynning to it, to haue refreshed themselves.

4 Also, if (notwithstanding such impossibilities) they might haue recovered Germanie by comming from India by the Southeast, yet must they without all doubt haue striken vpon some other part of Europe before their arriual there, as the Isles of the Acores, Portugal, Spaine, France, England, Ireland, &c. which if they had done, it is not credible that they should or would haue departed vndiscovered of the inhabitants: but there was neuer found in those dayes any such ship or men but only vpon the coasts of Germanie, where they haue bene sundry times and in sundry ages cast aland: neither is it like that they would haue committed themselves againe to sea, if they had so arriued, not knowing where they were, nor whither to haue gone.

5 And by the Southwest it is vnpossible, because the current aforesayd which cometh from the East, striketh with such force vpon the fret of Magellan, and falleth with such swiftnesse and furie into Mar del Zur, that hardly any ship (but not possibly a Canoa, with such unskillfull mariners) can come into our Western Ocean through that fret, from the West seas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught vs.

This streame
son by later ex-
perience is pro-
ued utterly un-
true.

6 And further, to prooue that these people so arriuing vpon the coast of Germany, were Indians, & not inhabitants of any part either of Africa or America, it is manifest, because the natives both of Africa and America neither had, or haue at this day (as is reported) other kind of boates then such as do beare neither mastes nor sailes, (except onely vpon the coasts of Barbarie and the Turkes ships) but do carie themselves from place to place neere the shore by the oze onely.

That the In-
dians could
not be natives
either of Africa,
or of America.

To prooue that those Indians came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow nauigable passage that way.

Cap. 6.

It is likely that there should be no thorow passage by the Northeast, whereby to goe round about the world, because all Seas (as aforesayd) are maintained by the abundance of water, waring more shallow and shellie towards the ende, as we find it doeth by experience in Mare Glaciali, towards the East, which breedeth small hope of any great continuance of that sea, to be nauigable towards the East, sufficient to saile thereby round about the world.

Quicquid natu-
rali loco priua-
tur, quam citissi-
me corrumpitur.

Qualis causa ta-
lis effectus.

Similium similis
est ratio.

Quicquid cor-
rumpitur à con-
trario corrumpi-
tur.

Omne simile
gignit sui simile.

2 Also, it standeth scarcely with reason, that the Indians dwelling vnder Torrida Zona, could endure the iniurie of the cold ayre, about the Septentrional latitude of 80. degrees, vnder which eleuation the passage by the Northeast cannot bee (as the often experience had of all the South parts of it sheweth) seeing that some of the inhabitants of this cold climate (whose Summer is to them an extreme Winter) haue bene stroken to death with the cold dampes of the aire about 72 degrees, by an accidental mishap, and yet the aire in such like Eleuation is alwaies cold, and too cold for such as the Indians are.

3 Furthermore, the piercing cold of the grosse thicke aire so neere the Pole wil so stiffen and furre the sailes and ship tackling, that no mariner can either hoist or strike them (as our experience farre neerer the South, then this passage is presupposed to be, hath taught vs) without the vse whereof no voyage can be performed.

4 Also, the aire is so darkened with continuall mists and fogs so neere the Pole, that no man can well see, either to guide his ship, or direct his course.

5 Also the compasse at such eleuation doth very suddenly vary, which things must of force haue bene their destructions, although they had bene men of much more skill then the Indians are.

6 Moreover, all baires, gulfes, and riuers doe receiue their increase vpon the flood, sensibly to be discerned on the one side of the shore or the other, as many waies as they be open to any maine sea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Persicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thamesis, and all other known hauens or riuers in any part of the world, and each of them opening but on one part to the maine sea, doe likewise receiue their increase vpon the flood the same way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doeth, onely by the West; as M. Ienkinson affirmed vnto me: and therefore it followeth that this Northeast sea, receiuing increase but onely from the West, cannot possibly open to the maine Ocean by the East.

7 Moreover, the farther you passe into any sea towards the end of it, on that part which is shut by from the maine sea (as in all those aboue mentioned) the lesse and lesse the tides rise and fall. The like whereof also happeneth in Mare Glaciale, which prometh but small continuance of that Sea toward the East.

8 Also, the further yee goe toward the East in Mare Glaciale, the lesse salt the water is: which could not happen, if it were open to the salt Sea towards the East, as it is to the West onely, seeing Every thing naturally ingendreth his like: and then must it be like salt throughout, as all the seas are, in such like climate and eleuation.

And therefore it seemeth that this Northeast sea is maintained by the riuers Ob, and such like freshets, as Mare Goticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in the vppermost parts thereof by the riuers Nilus, Danubius Neper, Tanais, &c.

9 Furthermore, if there were any such sea at that eleuation, of like it should be alwaies frozen throughout (there being no tides to hinder it) because the extreme colones of the aire being in the vppermost part, and the extreme colonesse of the earth in the bottome, the seathere being but of small depth, where by the one accidentall colonesse doth meet with the other, and the Sunne not hauing his reflection so neere the Pole, but at very blunt angles, it can neuer be dissolued after it is frozen, notwithstanding the great length of their day: for that the sunne hath no heate at all in his light or beames, but proceeding onely by an accidentall reflection, which there wanteth in effect.

10 And yet if the Sunne were of sufficient force in that eleuation, to preuaile against this ice, yet must it be broken before it can be dissolued, which cannot be but through the long continuance of the sunne aboue their Horizon, and by that time the Sommer would be so farre spent, and so great darkenes and cold ensue, that no man could be able to endure so cold, darke, and discomfortable a navigation, if it were possible for him then, and there to liue.

11 Further, the ice being once broken, it must of force so dyne with the windes and tides, that no ship can saile in those seas, seeing our Fishers of Island, and the New found land, are subiect to danger through the great Illands of Ice which fleete in the Seas (to the sailers great danger) farre to the South of that presupposed passage.

12 And it cannot be that this Northeast passage should be any neerer the South, then before recited, for then it should cut off Ciremissi, & Turbi Tartari, with Vzesucani, Chisani, and others from the Continent of Asia, which are known to be adioyning to Scythia, Tartaria, &c. with the other part of the same Continent.

And if there were any thorowe passage by the Northeast, yet were it to small ende and purpose for our traffique, because no shippe of great burden can navigate in so shallow a Sea:

and

and ships of small burden are very vnfit & vnproffitabie, especially towards the blustering North, to perforce such a voyage.

To proue that the Indians aforementioned, came only by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of our passage by experience.

Cap. 7.

It is as likely that they came by the Northwest, as it is unlikely that they should come either by the Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, or from any other part of Africa or America, and therefore this Northwest passage hauing bene already so many wayes proued, by disproouing of the others, &c. I shall the lesse neede in this place, to vse many wordes otherwise then to conclude in this sort, That they came onely by the Northwest from England, hauing these many reasons to leade me thereunto.

1 First, the one halfe of the windes of the compasse might bring them by the Northwest, bearing alwayes betweene two sheats, with which kind of sayling the Indians are onely acquainted, not hauing any vse of a bow line, or quarter winde, without the which no ship can possibly come either by the Southeast, Southwest or Northeast, hauing so many sundry Capes to double, whereunto are required such change and shift of windes.

2 And it seemeth likely that they should come by the Northwest, because the coast whereon they were driuen, lay East from this our passage, And all windes doe naturally driue a ship to an opposite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwise guided by Arte, which the Indians do utterly want, & therefore it seemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might doe with one wind.

True, both in ventis oblique flantibus, as also in ventis ex diametro spirantibus.

3 For if they had come by the Cape de buona Sperança, then must they (as aforesaid) haue fallen vpon the South parts of America.

4 And if by the fret of Magellan, then vpon the coasts of Afrike, Spaine, Portugall, France, Ireland or England.

5 And if by the Northeast, then vpon the coasts of Ceremissi, Tartarij, Lappia, Island, Terra de Labrador, &c. and vpon these coasts (as aforesaid) they haue neuer bene found.

So that by all likelihood they could neuer haue come without shipwracke vpon the coastes of Germanie, if they had first striken vpon the coastes of so many countries, wanting both Arte and shipping to make orderly discouery, and altogether ignorant both in the Arte of Nauigation, and also of the Rockes, f lats, Sands or Hauens of those parts of the world, which in most of these places are plentifull.

6 And further it seemeth very likely, that the inhabitants of the most part of those countries, by which they must haue come any other way besides by the Northwest, being for the most part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, would haue deuoured them, slaine them, or (at the least wise) kept them as wonders for the gaze.

So that it plainly appeareth that those Indians (which as you haue heard in sundry ages were driuen by tempest vpon the shore of Germanie) came onely through our Northwest passage.

7 Moreouer, the passage is certainly proued by a Nauigation that a Portugall made, who passed through this fret, giuing name to a Promontorie farre within the same, calling it after his owne name, Promontorium Corterialis, neere adioynning vnto Polisacus fluius.

8 Also one Scolmus a Dane entred and passed a great part thereof.

9 Also there was one Saluaterra, a Gentleman of Victoria in Spaine, that came by chance out of the West Indias into Ireland, Anno 1568. who affirmed the Northwest passage from vs to Cataia, constantly to be beleued in America nauigable. And further said in the presence of Sir Henry Sidney (then lord Deputie of Ireland) in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andrew Vrdaneta, more then eight yeeres before his then comming into Ireland, told him there, that he came from Mar del Sur into Germany through this Northwest passage, & shewed Saluaterra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a Sea Card made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, wherein was plainly set downe and described this Northwest passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius mappe.

And further, this Frier tolde the king of Portugall (as he returned by that countrey homeward) that there was (of certaintie) such a passage Northwest from England, and that he meant to publish the same: which done, the king most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the passage knowne to any nation: For that (said the king) if England had knowledge and

The words of
the king of
Portugall, to
Andro Vdaneta
a Frier, touch-
ing the concea-
ling of this
Northwest
passage from
England to Ca-
taia.
An objection.

Aristotle lib. de
mundo, cap. 2.
Berofus lib. 5.

and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spaine and me. This Frier (as Saluaterre reported) was the greatest Discoverer by sea, that hath bene in our age. Also Saluaterre being perswaded of this passage by the frier Vrdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered most willingly to accompanie me in this Discovery, which of like he would not haue done if he had stood in doubt thereof.

And now as these moderne experiences cannot be impugned, so, least it might be objected that these things (gathered out of ancient writers, which wrote so many yeeres past) might serue little to prooue this passage by the North of America, because both America and India were to them then utterly unknown: to remooue this doubt, let this suffice: That Aristotle (who was 300. yeeres before Christ) named Mare Indicum. Also Berofus (who liued 330 yeeres before Christ) hath these words, Ganges in India. Also in the first chapter of Hester be these words, In the dayes of Assuerus which ruled from India to Aethiopia, which Assuerus liued 580 yeeres before Christ. Also Quintus Curtius (where he speaketh of the conquests of Alexander) mentioneth India. Also, Arianus, Philostratus, and Sidrach in his discourses of the warres of the king of Bactria, and of Garaab, who had the most part of India vnder his gouernment. All which assureth vs, that both India and Indians were known in those dayes.

These things considered, we may (in my opinion) not only assure our selues of this passage by the Northwest, but also that it is nauigable both to come and go, as hath bene prooued in part and in all, by the experience of diuers, as Sebastian Cabora, Corterialis, the three brethren aboue named, the Indians, and Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico, &c.

And yet notwithstanding all this, there be some that haue a better hope of this passage to Cataia by the Northeast then by the West, whose reasons with my seuerall answers ensue in the chapter following.

Certaine reasons alleaged for the proouing of a passage by the Northeast, before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lords of the Counsell, by Master *Anthony Jenkinson*, with my seuerall answers then vsed to the same.

Cap. 8.

BEcause you may vnderstand as well those things alleaged against me, as what doth serue for my purpose, I haue here added the reasons of Master Anthony Jenkinson a worthy gentleman, and a great traoueller, who conceived a better hope of the passage to Cataia from vs, to be by the Northeast, then by the Northwest.

He first said that he thought not to the contrary, but that there was a passage by the Northwest, according to mine opinion: but assured he was, that there might be found a nauigable passage by the Northeast from England, to goe to all the East parts of the world, which he endeououred to prooue three wayes.

The first was that he heard a Fisherman of Tartaria say in hunting the Morce, that he sayled very farre to wards the Southeast, finding no end of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow passage to be that way.

Whereunto I answered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and utterly ignorant in the Arte of Nauigation, not knowing the vse of the Sea Card, Compasse or Starre, which he confessed to be true: and therefore they could not (said I) certainly know the Southeast from the Northeast, in a wide sea, and a place vnknown from the sight of the land.

Or if he sailed any thing neere the Shore, yet he (being ignorant) might be deceiued by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongst the shore.

And further, it might be that the poore Fisherman through simplicitie thought that there was nothing that way but sea, because he saw no land: which prooue (vnder correction) giueth small assurance of a nauigable sea by the Northeast, to goe round about the world, For that he iudged by the eye onely, seeing we in this our cleare aire doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

His second reason is, that there was an Unicorne's horne found vpon the coast of Tartaria, which could not come (said he) thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through some fret in the Northeast of Mare Glaciale, there being no Unicorne in any part of Asia, sauing in India and Cataia: which reason (in my simple iudgement) forceth as little.

First, it is doubtfull whether those barbarous Tartarians do know an Unicorne's horne, yea, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could haue driuen it so farre, being of such nature that it will not swimme.

Also

The North-
west passage
assented vnto.

The first rea-
son.

The answer of
resolution.

Vltus nonnun-
quam fallitur in
suo obiecto.

The second
reason of alle-
gation.

The answer of
resolution.

Also the tides running too and fro, would haue driuen it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the flood.

There is also a beast called *Afinus Indicus* (whose horne most like it was) which hath but one horne like an *Unicozne* in his forehead, whereof there is great plenty in all the North parts thereof vnto adioynning, as in Lappia, Noruegia, Finmarke, &c. as *Iacobus Zieglerus* writeth in his historie of *Scondia*.

And as *Albertus* saith, there is a fish which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an *Unicozne*, and therefore it seemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an *Unicoznes* horne, yea, or no.

His third and last reason was, that there came a continuall streame or current through *Mare Glaciale*, of such swiftnesse (as a *Colmax* told him) that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be carried out of sight towards the West. The third and last reason of assertion.

Whereunto I answered, that there doth the like from *Mæotis Palus*, by *Pontus Euxinus*, *Sinus Bosphorus*, and along the coast of *Græcia*, &c. As it is affirmed by *Contarenius*, and diuers others that haue had experience of the same: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that way, but is maintained by freshets as by *Tanais*, *Danubius*, &c. The answer of resolution.

In like manner is this current in *Mare Glaciale* increased and maintained by the *Dwina*, the riuer *Ob*, &c.

Now as I haue here briefly recited the reasons alleaged, to prooue a passage to *Caraia* by the Northeast, with my seuerall answers thereunto: so will I leaue it to your iudgement, to hope or despair of either at your pleasure.

How that the passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffique, then the other by the East, if there were any such.

Cap. 9.

First, by the Northeast (if your windes doe not giue you a maruelous speedie & luckie passage) you are in danger (being so neere the Pole) to be benighted almost the one halfe of the yeere, and what danger that were, to liue so long comfortlesse, void of light, (if the cold killed you not) each man of reason or vnderstanding may iudge.

2 Also *Mangia*, *Quinzai*, and the *Moluccæ* are neerer vnto vs by the Northwest, then by the Northeast, more then two fūe parts, which is almost by the halfe. Some doubt of this.

3 Also we may haue by the West a yerely returne, it being at all times nauigable, whereas you haue but 4. moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeast: the passage being at such eleuation as it is formerly exprested, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4 Furthermore, it cannot be finished without diuers winterings by the way, hauing no hauens in any temperate climate to harbour in there: for it is as much as we can well saile from hence to *S. Nicholas*, in the trade of *Moscovia*, and returne in the nauigable season of the yeere, & from *S. Nicholas* to *Cerimissi Tartari*, which stande at 80 degrees of the Septentrionall latitude, it is at the least 400 leagues, which amounteth scarce to the third part of the way, to the end of your voyage by the Northeast.

5 And yet after you haue doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a nauigable Sea to carie you Southeast according to your desire, yet can you not winter conveniently, vntil you come to 60 degrees, and to take vp one degree running Southeast, you must saile 24 leagues and three foure parts, which amounteth to 495 leagues.

6 Furthermore, you may by the Northwest saile thither with all Easterly windes, and returne with any Westerly windes, whereas you must haue by the Northeast sundry windes, and those proper, according to the lying of the coast and Capes, you shalbe enforced to double, which windes are not alwaies to be had, when they are looked for: wherby your iourney should be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured so neere the Pole. As we are taught by *Sir Hugh Willoughbie*, who was frozen to death farre neerer the South.

7 Moreover, it is very doubtfull, whether we should long inioy that trade by the Northeast, if there were any such passage that way, the commodities thereof once knowne to the *Dolcouire*, what priuilege soeuer hee hath granted, seeing pollicy with the masse of excessiue gaine, to the enriching (so greatly) of himselfe and all his dominions would perswade him to presume the same, hauing so great opportunitie to better the commodities of those countries by the Narue.

But by the Northwest, we may safely trade without danger or annoyance of any prince liuing, Christian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades.

8 Also the Queenes Maiesties dominions are neerer the Northwest passage then any other great princes that might passe that way, and both in their going and returne, they must of necessity succour themselves and their ships vpon some part of the same, if any tempestuous weather should happen.

Further, no princes naue of the world is able to encounter the Queenes Maiesties naue, as it is at this present: and yet it should be greatly increased by the traffike insuing vpon this discouerie, for it is the long voyages that increase and maintaine great shipping.

Now it seemeth necessarie to declare what commodities would growe thereby, if all these things were, as we haue heretofore presupposed, and thought them to be: which next adioynning are briefly declared.

What commodities would ensue, this passage once discovered.

Cap. 10.

First, it were the onely way for our princes, to possesse the wealth of all the East parts (as they terme them) of the world, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conquest of India, and other the East parts of the world, alleaged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great aduancement to our countrey, a wonderfull enriching to our prince, and an unspeakable commoditie to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2 For through the shortnesse of the voyage, we should be able to sell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portugall or Spaniard doth or may do. And further, we should share with the Portugall in the East, & the Spaniard in the West, by trading to any part of America, chozow Mar del Sur, where they can no maner of way offend vs.

3 Also we might sayle to diuers very rich countreys, both ciuill and others, out of both their iurisdictions, trades and traffikes, where there is to be found great abundance of golde, silver, precious stones, cloth of gold, silkes, all maner of spices, grocery wares, and other kinds of merchandize of an inestimable price, which both the Spaniard and Portugall, through the length of their iournies, cannot well attaine vnto.

4 Also we might inhabite some part of those countreys, and settle there such needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and through want here at home are enforced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallowses.

5 Moreover, we might from all the aforesaid places haue a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our staple some conuenient place of America, about Sierra Neuada, or some other part, wheras it shal seeme best for the shortning of the voyage.

6 Beside uttering of our countrey commodities, which the Indians, &c. much esteeme: as appeareth in Hester, where the pompe is expressed of the great king of India, Assuerus, who matched the coloured clothes, wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and silver, as part of his greatest treasure: not mentioning either beluets, silkes, cloth of gold, cloth of silver, or such like, being in those countreys most plentiful: whereby it plainly appeareth in what great estimation they would haue the clothes of this our countrey, so that there would be found a farre better vent for them by this meanes, then yet this realme euer had: and that without depending either vpon France, Spaine, Flanders, Portugall, Hamborow, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

7 Also, here we shall increase both our ships and mariners, without burthening of the state.

8 And also haue occasion to set poore mens children to learne handie craftes, and thereby to make trifles and such like, which the Indians and those people do much esteeme: by reason whereof, there should be none occasion to haue our countrey cumbered with loiterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons.

All these commodities would grow by following this our discouery, without iniury done to any Christian prince, by crossing them in any of their vsed trades, whereby they might take any iust occasion of offence.

Thus haue I briefly shewed you some part of the grounds of mine opinion, trusting that you will no longer iudge me fantastike in this matter: seeing I haue conceiued no vaine hope of this voyage, but am perswaded thereunto by the best Cosmographers of our age, the same being confirmed both by reason and certaine experiences.

Also this discouery hath bene diuers times heretofore by others both offered, attempted, and performed.

It hath bene offered by Stephan Gomes vnto Carolus the first Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord

Lord God 1527, as Alphonso Villua testifieth in the story of Carolus life: who would haue set him forth in it (as the story mentioneth) if the great want of money, by reason of his long warres had not caused him to surcease the same.

And the king of Portugall fearing least the Emperour would haue perseuered in this his enterprise, gaue him to leaue the matter vnattempted, the summe of 350000 crownes: and it is to be thought that the king of Portugall would not haue giuen to the Emperour such summes of money for egges in mooneshine.

This discouery offered.

It hath bene attempted by Sebastian Cabora in the time of king Henry the seventh, by Cornelius the Portugall, and Scolmus the Dane.

This discouery attempted.

And it hath bene performed by three brethren, the Indians aforesaid, and by Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico.

This discouery performed.

Also diuers haue offered the like vnto the French king, who hath sent two or three times to haue discovered the same: The discoverers spending and consuming their victuals in searching the gulfs and bayes betweene Florida and Terra de Labrador, where by the yce is broken to the after commers.

So that the right way may now easily be found out in short time: and that with little ieperdie and lesse expences.

For America is discovered so farre towarde the North as Cape Frio, which is at 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adioynning is known to stand but at 72 degrees. So that wee haue but 10 degrees to saile North & South, to put the world out of doubt hereof: and it is likely that the king of Spaine, and the king of Portugall would not haue sit out all this while, but that they are sure to possesse to themselves all that trade they now vse, and feare to deale in this discovery, least the Queenes Maiestie hauing so good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might ensue to the common wealch, would cut them off, and enioy the whole traffique to her selfe, and thereby the Spaniards and Portugals, with their great charges, should beate the bush, and other men catch the birds: which thing they foreseeing, haue commanded that no pilot of theirs vpon paine of death, should seeke to discover to the Northwest, or plat out in any Sea card any thozow passage that way by the Northwest.

The labour of this discouery shortned by other mens trauell.

Why the kings of Spaine and Portugal would not perseuer in this discouery.

Now, and if you will indifferently compare the hope that remaineth, to animate me to this enterprise, with those likelihoods which Columbus alleaged befoze Ferdinando the king of Castilia, to proue that there were such Islands in the West Ocean, as were after by him and others discovered to the great commodity of Spaine and all the world: you will thinke then this Northwest passage to be most worthy trauell therein.

For Columbus had none of the West Islands set forth vnto him, either in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer (Plato excepted, and the commentaries vpon the same) from 942 yeeres befoze Christ, vntill that day.

Moreouer, Columbus himselfe had neither seene America nor any other of the Islands about it, neither vnderstood he of them by the report of any other that had seene them, but only comforted himselfe with this hope, that the land had a beginning where the Sea had an ending: for as touching that which the Spaniards doe write of a Biscaine, which should haue taught him the way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to depprue Columbus of his honour, being none of their countrey man, but a stranger boyne.

And if it were true of the Biscaine, yet did he but roue at the matter, or (at the least) gathered the knowledge of it, by coniectures onely.

And albeit my selfe haue not seene this passage or any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience (as Columbus was befoze his attempt made) yet haue I both the report, relation, and authoritie of diuers most credible men, which haue both seene and passed through some and euery part of this discovery, besides sundry reasons for my assurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

These things considered, & indifferently weighed together, with the wonderfull commodities which this discovery may bring, especially to this realme of England: I must needs conclude with learned Baptista Ramusius, and diuers other learned men, who said, that this discovery hath bene referred for some noble prince or woorthie man, thereby to make himselfe rich, and the world happier: desiring you to accept in good part this brieft and simple discourse, written in haste, which if I may perceiue that it shall not sufficiently satisfie you in this behalfe, I will then impart vnto you a large discourse, which I haue written onely of this discovery.

And further, because it sufficeth not only to know that such a thing there is, without abilitie to performe the same, I wil at leasure make you partaker of another simple discourse of navigation, wherein

wherein I haue not a litle trauelled, to make my selfe as sufficient to bying these things to effect, as I haue bene readie to offer my selfe therein.

And therein I haue deuised to amend the erroz of vsuall sea cards, whose common fault is, to make the degrees of longitude in euery latitude of one like bignesse.

And haue also deuised therein a Spherical instrument, with a compasse of variation for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a precise order to picke the sea card, together with certaine infallible rules for the shortning of any discovery, to know at the first entring of any fret, whether it lie open to the Ocean more wayes then one, how farre soeuer the sea stretcheth it selfe into the land.

Desiring you hereafter neuer to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterpryse: for if through pleasure or idlenesse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanissheth, but the shame remaineth for euer.

Pereas qui vmbra
bras times.

And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countreys seruice, and his owne honour: seeing death is ineuitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, *Mutare vel timere sperno.*

Certaine other reasons, or arguments to prooue a passage by the Northwest, learnedly written by M. Richard Willes Gentleman.

Foure famous wayes there be spoken of to those fruitfull and wealthie Islands, which wee doe vsuallly call Moluccaes, continually haunted for gaine, and dayly trauelled for riches therein growing. These Islands, although they stand East from the Meridian, distant almost halfe the length of the worlde, in extreame heate, vnder the Equinoctiall line, possessed of Infidels and Barbarians: yet by our neighbours great abundance of wealth there is painefully sought in respect of the voyage deerebought, and from thence dangerously brought home vnto vs. Our neighbours I call the Portugals in comparison of the Moluccians for neerenesse vnto vs, for like situation Westward as we haue, for their vsuall trade with vs, for that the farre Southeasterlings doe knowe this part of Europe by no other name then Portugall, not greatly acquainted as yet with the other Nations thereof. Their voyage is very well understood of all men, and the Southeasterne way round about Afrike by the Cape of Good hope more spoken of, better knowne and trauelled, then that it may seeme needfull to discourse thereof any further.

1 By the
Southeast.

2 By the
Southwest.

This is an
error.

3 By the
Northeast.

Ortel. tab.
Asia, 3.

4 By the
Northeast.

Ob. 1.

The second way lyeth Southwest, betweene the West India or South America, and the South continent, through that narrow straight where Magellan first of all men that euer we doe read of, passed these latter peeres, leauing thereunto therefore his name. This way no doubt the Spaniards would commodiously take, for that it lyeth neere vnto their dominions there, could the Easterne currente and lettant windes as easily suffer them to returne, as speedily therewith they may be carried thither: for the which difficultie, or rather impossibility of striuing against the force both of winde and streame, this passage is litle or nothing vled, although it be very well knowne.

The third way by the Northeast, beyond all Europe and Asia, that worthy and renowned knight sir Hugh Willoughbie sought to his perill, enforced there to ende his life for colde, congealed and frozen to death. And truly this way consisteth rather in the imagination of Geographers, then allowable either in reason, or approued by experience, as well it may appeare by the dangerous trending of the Scythish Cape set by Ortelius vnder the 80 degree North, by the unlikely sailing in that Northerne sea alwayes clad with yce and snow, or at the least continually pestered therewith, if happily it be at any time dissolved: besides bayes and shelves, the water waring more shallow toward the East, that we say nothing of the foule mists and darke fogs in the cold climate, of the litle power of the Sunne to cleare the aire, of the uncomfortable nights, so neere the Pole, five moneths long.

A fourth way to go vnto these aforesaid happy Islands Moluccae sir Humfrey Gilbert a learned and valiant knight discourseth of at large in his new passage to Cathayo. The enterpryse of it selfe being vertuous, the fact must doubtlesse deserue high praise, and whensoever it shall be finished, the fruits thereof cannot be smal: where vertue is guide, there is fame a follower, & fortune a companion. But the way is dangerous, the passage doubtfull, the voyage not thoroughly knowne, and therefore gaine said by many, after this manner.

First, who can assure vs of any passage rather by the Northwest then by the Northeast: doe not

not both wayes lye in equall distance from the North Pole: Stand not the North Capes of eyther continent vnder like eleuation: Is not the Ocean sea beyond America farther distant from our Peridian by 30, or 40, degrees West, then the extreme popntes of Cathayo Eastward, if Orrelius generall Carde of the world be true: In the North-east that noble Knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie perished for colde: and can you then promise a passenger any better happye by the North-west: Who hath gone for triall sake at anytime this way out of Europe to Cathayo?

If you seeke the aduise herein of such as make profession in Cosinographie, Ptolome the father of Geographie, and his eldest childe, will answere by their mappes with a negative, concluding most of the Sea within the land, and making an ende of the world Northward, neere the 63, degree. The same opinion, when learning chiefly flourishd, was receined in the Romanes time, as by their Poets writings it may appeare: tibi seruiat vltima Thyle, said Virgil, being of opinion, that Island was the extreme part of the world habitable to ward the North. Ioseph Moletius an Italian, and Mercator a Germane, for knowledge men able to be compared with the best Geographers of our time, the one in his halfe Spheres of the whole world, the other in some of his great globes, haue continued the West Indies land, euen to the North Pole, and consequently, cut off all passage by sea that way.

The same doctozs, Mercator in other of his globes and mappes, Moletius in his sea Carde, neuertheless doubting of so great continuance of the former continent, haue opened a gulf betweene the West Indies and the extreme Northerne land: but such a one, that either is not to be traueled for the causes in the first objection alledged, or cleane shutt by from vs in Europe by Groenland: the South ende whereof Moletius maketh firme land with America, the North part continent with Lappeland and Norway.

Thirdly, the greatest fauourers of this voyage can not denie, but that if any such passage be, it lieth subiect vnto yce and snow for the most part of the yee, whereas it standeth in the edge of the frostie zone. Before the Sunne hath warmed the ayre, and dissolued the yce, eche one well knoweth that there can be no sailing: the yce once broken through the continuall abode the sunne maketh a certaine season in those parts, how shall it be possible for so weake a vessel as a shippe is, to holde out amid whole Islands, as it were of yce continually beating on eche side, and at the mouth of that gulf, issuing downe furiously from the north, and safely to passe, when whole mountaines of yce and snow shall be tumbled downe vpon her?

Well, graunt the West Indies not to continue continent vnto the Pole, grant there be a passage betweene these two lands, let the gulf lie neerer vs then commonly in cardes we finde it set, namely, betweene the 61. and 64. degrees north, as Gemma Frisius in his mappes and globes imagineth it, and so left by our countryman Sebastian Cabot in his table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheinies: Let the way be voyde of all difficulties, yet doeth it not follow that wee haue free passage to Cathayo. For examples sake: You may trend all Norway, Finmarke, and Lappeland, and then bowe Southward to Saint Nicholas in Moscouia: you may likewise in the Mediterranean Sea fetch Constantinople, and the mouth of Tanais: yet is there no passage by Sea through Moscouia into Pont Euxine, now called Mare Maggiore. Again, in the aforesaid Mediterranean sea, we saile to Alexandria in Egypt, the Barbarians bring their pearle and spices from the Moluccas by the Red Sea or Arabian gulph to Sues, scarcely thre dayes iourney from the aforesaid haven: yet haue wee no way by sea from Alexandria to the Moluccas, for that Istmos or litle straight of land betweene the two seas. In like maner although the Northerne passage be free at 61 degrees of latitude, and the West Ocean beyond America, usually called Mar del Zur, knowen to be open at 40. degrees eleuation from the Island Iapan, yea thre hundred leagues Northwardly about Iapan: yet may there be land to hinder the thorow passage that way by Sea, as in the examples aforesaid it falleth out, Asia and America there being ioyned together in one continent. Ne can this opinion seeme altogether friuolous vnto any one that diligently peruseth our Cosinographers doings. Iosephus Moletius is of that minde, not onely in his plaine Hemispheres of the world, but also in his Sea card. The French Geographers in like maner be of the same opinion, as by their Mappe cut out in forme of a Hart you may perceiue: as though the West Indies were part of Asia. Which sentence well agreeth with that old conclusion in the Schooles: Quicquid præter Africam & Europam est, Asia est. What soeuer land doeth neither apperteyne vnto Africke nor to Europe, is part of Asia.

Furthermore it were to small purpose to make so long, so painefull, so doubtfull a voyage by such a new found way, if in Cathayo you should neither bee suffered to land for silkes and siluer, nor able to fetch the Molucca spices and pearle for piracie in those Seas. Of a law denying all Aliens to enter into China, and forbidding all the inhabitants vnder a great penaltie to let in any

stranger into those countreyes, shall you reade in the report of Galeotto Pereira there imprisoned with other Portugals: as also in the Japonish letters, how for that cause the worthy traveller Xauierus bargained with a Barbarian Merchant for a great summe of pepper to be brought into Canton, a port in China. The great and dangerous piracie vsed in those Seas no man can be ignorant of, that lieth to reade the Japonish and East Indian historie.

Ab. 6.

If finally, all this great labour would be lost, all these charges spent in vaine, if in the ende our travellers might not be able to returne againe, and bring safely home into their owne native countrey that wealth & riches, which they in forreign regions with aduventure of goods, & danger of their liues haue sought for. By the Northeast there is no way, the Southeast passage the Portugals doe hold as the Lords of those Seas. At South west Magellans experience hath partly taught vs, and partly we are perswaded by reason, how the Easterne current striketh so furiously on that straight, and falleth with such force into that narrow gulph, that hardly any ship can returne that way into our West Ocean out of Mar del Zur. The which if it be true, as truly it is, then wee may say that the aforesayd Easterne current or leuant course of waters continually following after the heauenly motions, loseth not altogether his force; but is doubled rather by an other current from out the Northeast, in the passage betwene America and the North land, whither it is of necessity caried: hauing none other way to maintaine it selfe in circular motion, & consequently the force and fury thereof to be no lesse in the straight of Anian, where it striketh South into Mar del Zur, beyond America (if any such straight of Sea there be) then in Magellans fret, both straights being of like breadth: as in Belogrine Zalerius table of new France, and in Don Diego Hermano de Toledo his Card for nauigation in that region we doe finde precisely set downe.

Neuerthelesse to approue that there lyeth a way to Cathayo at the Northwest front out of Europe, we haue experience, namely of thre brethren that went that iourney, as Gemma Frisius receiveth, and left a name vnto that straight, whereby now it is called Fretum trium fratrum. We doe reade againe of a Portugall that passed this straight, of whom Master Frobisher speaketh, that was imprisoned therefore many yeeres in Lisbon, to verifie the olde Spanish pouerbe, A suffer for doing well. Likewise Andrew Vrdaneta a Fryer of Mexico came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie: his Card (for he was a great Discoverer) made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, hath bene seene by Gentlemen of good credite.

Cic. 1. de orat.
Arist. pri.
Metaph.

Now if the obseruation and remembrance of things breedeth experience, and of experience proceedeth arte, and the certaine knowledge we haue in all faculties, as the best Philosophers that euer were doe affirme: truly the voyage of these aforesayd travellers that haue gone out of Europe into Mar del Zur, and returned thence at the Northwest, do most evidently conclude that way to be nauigable, and that passage free. So much the more we are so to thinke, for that the first principle and chiefe ground in all Geographie, as Ptolome saith, is the history of trauell, that is, reports made by travellers skilful in Geometrie and Astronomie, of all such things in their iourney as to Geographie doe belong. It onely then remaineth, that we now answer to those arguments that seemed to make against this former conclusion.

Lib. 1. Geog.
Cap. 2.

Sol. 1.

The first objection is of no force, that generall table of the world set forth by Ortelius or Mercator, for it greatly skilleth not, being unskilfully drawn for that point: as manifestly it may appeare vnto any one that conferreth the same with Gemma Frisius his vniuersall Mappe, with his round quartered carde, with his globe, with Sebastian Cabora his table, and Ortelius his generall mappe alone, worthily preferred in this case before all Mercator & Ortelius other doings: for that Cabora was not onely a skilful Sea man, but a long traveller, and such a one as entered personally that straight, sent by king Henry the seventh to make this aforesayd Discoverie, as in his owne discourse of nauigation you may reade in his carde drawn with his owne hand, that the mouth of the Northwesterne straight lyeth neere the 318. Meridian, betwene 61. and 64. degrees in the eleuation, continuing the same breadth about 10. degrees West, where it openeth Southerly more and more, vntill it come vnder the tropicke of Cancer, and so runneth into Mar del Zur, at the least 18. degrees more in breadth there, then it was where it first began: otherwise I could as well imagine this passage to be more unlikely then the voyage to Moscouia, and more impossible then it for the same situation and continuance thereof in the frostie clime: as now I can affirme it to be very possible and most likely in comparison thereof, for that it neither coasteth so farre North as the Moscouian passage doeth, neither is this straight so long as that, before it bow downe Southerly towardes the Sunne againe.

Sol. 2.

The second argument concludeth nothing. Ptolome knew not what was about sixteene degrees South beyond the Equinoctiall line, he was ignorant of all passages Northward from the eleuation of 63. degrees: he knewe no Ocean sea beyond Asia, yet haue the Portugals crended the

the cape of Good hope at the South point of Afrike, and travelled to Iapan an Island in the East Ocean, betweene Asia & America: our merchants in the time of king Edward the first discouered the Moscouian passage farther North then Thyle, & shewed Groenland not to be continent with Lappeland & Norway: the like our Northwesterne traueellers haue done, declaring by their navigation that way, the ignorance of all Cosmographers that either doe ioyne Groenland with America, or continue the West Indies with that frosty region vnder the north pole. As for Virgil he sang according to the knowledge of men in his time, as an other Poet did of the hot Zone.

Quam quæ media est, non est habitabilis æstu. Imagining, as most men then did, Zonam torridam, the hot Zone to be altogether dishabited for heat, though presently wee know many famous and woorthy kingdomes and cities in that part of the earth, and the Island of S. Thomas neere Æthiopia, & the wealthy Islands for the which chiefly all these voyages are taken in hand, to be inhabited euen vnder the equinoctiall line.

To answer the third obiection, besides Cabota and all other traueellers navigations, the onely credit of M. Frobisher may suffice, who lately through all these Islands of ice, and mountaines of snow, passed that way, euen beyond the gulfes that tumbleth downe from the North, and in some places though he vze one inch thicke ice, as he returning in August did, yet came he home safely againe.

The fourth argument is altogether friuolous & vaine, for neither is there any isthmus or strait of land betweene America and Asia, ne can these two landes ioyntly be one continent. The first part of my answer is manifestly allowed of by Homer, whom that excellent Geographer Strabo followeth, yeelding him in this facultie the price. The authour of that booke likewise Alerander, attributed vnto Aristotle, is of the same opinion that Homer and Strabo be of, in two or three places. Dionysius in hath this verse So doth the Ocean Sea runne round about the worlde: speaking onely of Europe, Afrike and Asia, as then Asia was travelled and known. With these Doctours may you ioyne Pomponius Mela, cap. 2. lib. 1. Plinius lib. 2. cap. 67. and Pius 2. cap. 2. in his description of Asia. All the which wryters doe no lesse confirme the whole Easterne side of Asia to be compassed about with the sea, then Plato doeth affirme in Timæo, vnder the name Atlantis, the West Indies to be an Island, as in a special discourse thereof R. Eden writeth, agreeable vnto the sentence of Proclus, Marfilius Ficinus, and others. Out of Plato it is gathered that America is an Island. Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Dionysius, Mela, Plinie, Pius 2. affirme the continent of Asia, Afrike, & Europe, to be enuironed with the Ocean. I may therfore boldly say (though later intelligences therof had we none at all) that Asia & the West Indies be not tied together by any Isthmos or straight of land, contrary to the opinion of some new Cosmographers, by whom doubtfully this matter hath bin brought in controuersie. And thus much for the first part of my answer vnto the fourth obiection.

The second part, namely that America and Asia cannot be one continent, may thus be proued, where the earth is most hollow and deepe, writeth Aristotle: and the Sea (sayth he in the same place) as it goeth further, so is it found deeper. Into what gulfes doe the Moscouian riuers Onega, Duina, Ob, powze out their streames Northward out of Moscouia into the sea: Which way doeth that sea strike? The South is maine land, the Easterne coast wareth more and more shallow: from the North, either naturally, because that part of the earth is higher Aristotle, 2. Met. cap. 1. or of necessity, for that the forcible influence of some Northerne starres causeth the earth there to shake off the Sea, as some Philosophers doe thinke: or finally for the great store of waters engendred in that frostie and colde climate, that the bankes are not able to holde them. Alber. in 2. Meteor. cap. 6. From the North, I say, continually falleth downe great abundance of water. So that this Northeasterne currant must at the length abruptly bow toward vs South on the West side of Finmarke and Norway: or else strike downe Southwest about Groneland, or betwixt Groneland and Island, into the Northwest straight we speake of, as of congruence it doeth, if you marke the situation of that Region, and by the report of M. Frobisher experience teacheth vs. And M. Frobisher the further he traualled in the former passage, as he tolde me, the deeper alwayes he found the Sea. Lay you now the summe hereof together. The riuers runne where the channels are most hollow, the sea in taking his course wareth deeper, the Sea waters fall continually from the North Southward, the Northeasterne current striketh downe into the straight we speake of, and is there augmented with whole mountaines of yce and snowe falling downe furiously out from the land vnder the North pole. Where store of water is, there is it a thing impossible to want Sea, where Sea not onely doeth not want, but wareth deeper, there can be discouered no land, if finally, whence I pray you came the contrary ride, that M. Frobisher

mette withall after that he had sailed no small way in that passage, if there bee any Isthmos or straight of land betwixt the aforesayd Northwestern gulfe, and Mar del Zur, to ioyne Asia and America together: That conclusion frequented in scholes Quicquid preter, &c. was meant of the partes of the world then knowen, and so is it of right to be vnderstood.

Sol. 5.

The first obiection requireth for answere wisdom and policie in the trauailer, to winne the Barbarians fauour by some good meanes: and so to arme and strengthen himselfe, that when he shal haue the repulse in one coast, he may safely trauaile to an other, commodiously taking his conuenient times, and discretely making choise of them with whom hee will througely deale. To force a violent entry, would for vs Englishmen be very hard, considering the strength and valour of so great a Nation, farre distant from vs, and the attempt thereof might be most perillous vnto the doers, vnlesse their part were very good.

Touching their lawes against strangers, you shall reade neuertheless in the same relations of Galeotto Perera, that the Cathaian king is wont to graunt free accesse vnto all forreiners that trade into his Countrey for Marchandise, and a place of libertie for them to remaine in: as the Moores had, vntill such time as they had brought the Loutea or Lieutenant of that coast to bee a circumcised Saracene: wherefore some of them were put to the sword, the rest were scattered abroad: at Fuquien a great citie in China, certaine of them are yet this day to be seene. As for the Iapans they be most desirous to be acquainted with strangers. The Portingals though they were strictly handled there at the first, yet in the ende they found great fauour at the Prince his hands, insomuch that the Loutea or president that misused them was therefore put to death. The rude Indian Canoa halleth those seas, the Portingals, the Saracenes, and Moores trauaile continually by and downe that reach from Iapan to China, from China to Malacca, from Malacca to the Moluccas: and shall an Englishman, better appointed then any of them all (that I say no more of our Nauie) feare to saile in that Ocean: What seas at all doe want piracie: what Nauigation is there voyde of perill:

Sol. 6.

To the last argument. Our trauailers neede not to seeke their returne by the Northeast, neither shall they be constrained, except they list, either to attempt Magellans straight at the South-west, or to be in danger of the Portingals for the Southeast: they may returne by the Northwest, that same way they doe goe forth, as experience hath shewed.

The reason alleadged for prooofe of the contrary may be disproued after this maner. And first it may be called in controuersie, whether any current continually be forced by the motion of Primum mobile, round about the world, or no: For learned men doe diuersly handle that question. The naturall course of all waters is downeward, wherefore of congruence they fall that way where they finde the earth most lowe and deepe: in respect whereof, it was erst sayd, the seas doe strike from the Northen landes Southerly. Violently the seas are tossed and troubled diuers wayes with the windes, encreased and diminished by the course of the Moone, hoisted by & downe through the sundry operations of the Sunne and the starres: finally, some be of opinion, that the seas be caried in part violently about the world, after the dayly motion of the highest moueable heauen, in like maner as the elements of ayre and fire, with the rest of the heauenly spheres, are from the East vnto the West. And this they doe call their Easterne current, or leuant streame. Some such current may not be denied to be of great force in the hot Zone, for the neerenesse thereof vnto the centre of the Sunne, and blustering Easterne windes violently driuing the seas Westward: howbeit, in the temperate climes, the Sunne being further off, & the windes more diuers, blowing as much from the North, the West and South, as from the East, this rule doeth not effectually withhold vs from trauailing Eastward, neither be we kept euer backe by the aforesaid Leuant windes and streame. But in Magellans streight wee are violently driuen backe Westward: Ergo, though the Northwestern straight or Anian frette shall we not be able to returne Eastward: It followeth not. The first, for that the northwestern straight hath more sea roome at the least by one hundred English myles, then Magellans frette hath, the onely want whereof causeth all narrow passages generally to be most violent. So would I say in the Anian gulfe, if it were so narrow as Don Diego and Zalerius haue painted it out, any returne that way to bee full of difficulties, in respect of such streightnesse thereof, not for the neerenesse of the Sunne, or Easterne windes, violently forcing that way any leuant streame: But in that place there is more sea roome by many degrees, if the Cardes of Cabora, and Gemma Frisius, and that which Tramezine imprinted, be true.

Luc. lib. 1.
Pharal.What the
Easterne cur-
rent is.Lib. 1. Geog.
Cap. 2.

And hitherto reason see I none at all, but that I may as well giue credite vnto their doings, as to any of the rest. It must be Peregrinationis historia, that is, true reportes of skillfull trauailers, as Ptolome writeth, that in such controuersies of Geographie must put vs out of doubt.

Ortelius

Ortelius in his vniuersall tables, in his particular Mappes of the West Indies, of all Asia, of the Northren kingdomes, of the East Indies, Mercator in some of his globes, and generall Mappes of the world, Moletius in his vniuersall table of the Globe diuided, in his sea Tarde, and particular tables of the East Indies, Zalterius, and Don Diego, with Ferdinando Bertely, and others, doe so much differ from Gemma Frisius and Cabora, among themselves, and in diuers places from themselves, concerning the diuers situation and sundry limits of America, that one may not so rashly, as truely surmise, these men either to be ignorant in those paines touching the aforesaid region, or that the Mappes they haue giuen out vnto the world, were collected onely by them, and neuer of their owne drawing.

The first Voyage of M. Martine Frobisher, to the Northwest,
for the search of the straight or passage to China, written by Christopher Hall,
Master in the *Gabriel*, and made in the yeere of our Lord 1576.



The 7. of June being Thursday, the two Barks, viz. the *Gabriel*, and the *Michael* & our Pinnesse set saile at Ratcliffe, and bare down to Derford, and there we ancred: the cause was, that our Pinnesse burst her boultspit, and for mast aboard of a ship that rode at Derford, else wee meant to haue past that day by the Court the next at Greenwich.

June.

¶ M. Matthew
Kinderline
was Captaine
of the *Michael*

The 8. day being Friday, about 12 of the clocke we wayed at Derford, and set saile all three of vs, and bare downe by the Court, where we shotte off our ordinance and made the best shew we could: Her Maiestie beholding the same, commended it, and bade vs fare well, with shaking her hand at vs out of the window. Afterward shee sent a Gentleman aboord of vs, who declared that her Maiestie had good liking of our doings, and thanked vs for it, and also willed our Captaine to come the next day to the Court to take his leaue of her.

The same day towards night M. Secretarie Woolly came aboord of vs, and declared to the company, that her Maiestie had appointed him to giue them charge to be obedient, and diligent to their Captaine, and gouernours in all things, and wished vs happy successe.

The 12. day being ouer against Grauesend, by the castle or blockehouse, we obserued the latitude, which was 51. degrees 33. min. And in that place the variation of the Compasse is 11. degrees and a halfe.

The 24. day at 2. of the clocke after noone, I had sight of Faire yle, being from vs 6. leagues North and by East, and when I brought it North west and by North, it did rise at the Southermost ende with a litle hominocke, and swampe in the middes.

Faire Island.

The 25. day from 4. to 8. a clocke in the forenoone, the winde at North west and by North a fresh gale, I cast about to the Westward, the Southermost head of Shorland called Swinborne head North west from me, and the land of Faire yle, West South west from me. I sailed directly to the North head of that said land, sounding as I ranne in, hauing 60. 50. and 40. fathoms, and gray redde shels: and within halfe a mile of that Island, there are 36. fathoms, for I sailed to that Island to see whether there were any roadsteede for a North west winde, and I found by my sounding hard rockes, and foule ground, and deepe water, within two cables length of the shoare, 28. fathome, and so did not ancre but plied to and fro with my foresaile, and mizen till it was a high water vnder the Island. The tide setteth there North west and Southeast: the flood setteth Southeast, and the ebbe North west.

Shorland.

The 26. day hauing the winde at South a faire gale, sayling from Faire yle to Swinborne head, I did obserue the latitude, the Island of Fowlay being West North west from me 6. leagues, and Swinborne head East Southeast from me, I found my elevation to be 37. degr. and my declination 22. degr. 46. min. So that my latitude was 59. degr. 46. min. At that present being nere to Swinborne head, hauing a leake which did trouble vs, as also to take in fresh water, I plyed roome with a sound, which is called S. Tronions, and there did ancre in seuen fathoms water, and faire sande. You haue comming in the sounds mouth in the entring 17. 15. 12. 10. 9. 8. and 7. fathoms, and the sound lyeth in North north west, and there we roade to a West sunne, & stopped our leake, and hauing refreshed our selues with water, at a North north west sunne, I set saile from S. Tronions the winde at South Southeast, and turned out till wee were cleare of the sound, and so sailed West to go cleare of the Island of Fowlay. And running off toward Fowlay, I sounded, hauing fiftie fathome, and streamie ground, and also I sounded Fowlay being North from mee one league off that Islande, hauing fiftie fathome at the South head, and streamie ground, like

* By elevation
he meaneth the
distance of the
sunne from the
zenith.
S. Tronions.

Fowlay Island

Latitude 59.
deg. 59. min.
Here they be-
gan to saile
West and by
North.

broken otwell, and one shell being redde and white like mackerell.

The 27. day at a South sunne I did obserue the latitude, the Island of Fowlay being from me two leagues East North-east: I found my selfe to be in latitude 59. degrees, 59. min. truly ob-
serued, the winde at South South-west: I sailed West and by North.

From 12. to foure a clocke afternoone, the wind at South, a faire gale the shippe sailed West and by North 6. leagues, and at the ende of this watch, I sounded hauing 60. fathome, with little stones and shels, the Island from vs 8. leagues East.

July the first.

The first of July, from 4. to 8. a clocke, wee sailed West 4. glasses 4. leagues, and at that pre-
sent we had so much winde that we spooned afoze the sea South-west 2. leagues.

3.

The 3. day we found our Compasse to bee varied one point to the Westwards: this day from 4. to 8. a clocke we sailed West and by North 6. leagues.

The Compasse
varping West-
wards one
point.

From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone West and by North 4. leagues. At that present I found our
Compasse to be varied 11. deg. and one 4. part to the Westwards, which is one point.

11.
The Island of
Friseland.

The 11 day at a Southeast sunne we had sight of the land of Friseland bearing from vs West
north-west 16. leagues, and rising like pinacles of steeples, and all couered with snowe. I found
my selfe in 61. deg. of latitude. We sailed to the shoare and could finde no ground at 150. fa-
thoms, we hoised out our boate, and the Captaine with 4. men rowed to the shoare to get on land,
but the land lying full of yce, they could not get on land, and so they came aboord againe: We had
much adoe to get cleare of the yce by reason of the fogge. Yet from Thursday 8. a clocke in the
morning to Friday at noone we sailed South-west 20. leagues.

18.

The variation
of the needle,
two points
and a halfe to
the West.
A great dyist
of yce.
The latitude
of 62. degrees
2. min.
Sight of land
supposed to
haue bene La-
brador.

The 18. day at a Southeast sunne I found the sunne to be eleuated 33. deg. And at a South-
southeast sunne 40. deg. So I obserued it till I found it at the highest, and then it was eleuated
52. deg. I iudged the variation of the Compasse to be 2. points and a halfe to the Westward.

The 21. day we had sight of a great dyist of yce, seeming a firme lande, and we saild Westward
to be cleare of it.

The 26. we had sight of a land of yce: the latitude was 62. degrees, and two minutes.

The 28. day in the morning was very foggie: but at the clearing by of the fogge, wee had
sight of lande, which I supposed to be Labrador, with great store of yce about the land: I ranne
in towards it, and sounded, but could get no ground at 100. fathom, and the yce being so thicke,
I could not get to the shoare, and so lay off, and came cleare of the yce. Upon Sunday we came
within a mile of the shoare, and sought a harborowe: all the sound was full of yce, and our
boate rowing a shoare, could get no ground at a 100. fathom, within a Cables length of the
shoare: then we sailed East-north-east along the shoare, for so the lande lyeth, and the current is
there great, setting North-east, and South-west: and if we could haue gotten anker ground, wee
would haue seene with what force it had runne, but I iudge a ship may dyue a league and a halfe,
in one houre, with that tide.

31.

This day at 4. of the cloke in the morning, being faire and cleere, we had sight of a head land,
as we iudged, bearing from vs north, and by East, and we sailed North-east, and by North to that
land, and when we came thither, wee could not get to the lande for yce: for the yce stretched along
the coast, so that we could not come to the land, by five leagues.

August.

1.

2.

Wednesday the first of August it calmed, and in the after noone I caused my boate to be hoy-
sed out, being hard by a great Island of yce, and I and foure men rowed to that yce, and sound-
ded within two Cables length of it, and had sixteene fathome, and little stones, and after that
soundded againe within a Pinion shot, and had ground at an hundred fathome, and faire sand:
we soundded the next day a quarter of a myle from it, and had firtie fathome rough ground, and at
that present being aboord, that great Island of yce fell one part from another, making a noyse
as if a great cliffe had fallen into the Sea. And at foure of the clocke I soundded againe, and
had 90. fathome, and small blacke stones, and little white stones, like pearles. The tide here did
set to the shoare.

10.

The tenth I tooke foure men, and my selfe, and rowed to shoare to an Island one league from
the maine, and there the flood setteth South-west alongest the shoare, and it floweth as neere as I
could iudge so too, I could not carry to prooue it, because the ship was a great way from me, and
I feared a fogge: but when I came a shoare, it was a low water. I went to the top of the Island,
and before I came backe, it was hied a foote water, and so without carrying I came aboord.

11.

They enter the
Strait in the
latitude of 63.
deg. and 8. min.

The 11. we found our latitude to be 63. deg. and eight minutes, and this day we entred the
stright.

12.

The 12. wee set saile towards an Island, called the Gabriels Island, which was 10. leagues
then from vs.

We

We espied a sound, and bare with it, and came to a sandie Baye, where we came to an anker, the land bearing East southeast off vs, and there we rode al night in 8. fathome water. It floweth there at a Southeast Poone. We called it Priors sowne, being from the Gabriels Island, tennie leagues.

13

The 14. we waied, and ranne into another sowne, where wee ankered in 8. fathome water, faire sand, and blacke oaze, and there calked our ship, being weake from the wales upward, and tooke in fresh water.

14

The 15. day we waied, and sailed to Priors Bay, being a mile from thence.

15

The 16. day was calme, and we rode still, without yce, but presently within two houres it was frozen round about the ship, a quarter of an ynch thicke, and that day very faire, and calme.

16

The 17. day we waied, and came to Thomas Williams Island.

17

The 18. day we sailed North north west, and ankered againe in 23. fathome, and tough oaze, vnder Burchers Island, which is from the former Island, ten leagues.

18

The 19. day in the morning, being calme, and no winde, the Captaine and I tooke our boate, with eight men in her, to rowe vs a shoare, to see if there were there any people, or no, and going to the toppe of the Island, we had sight of seuen boates, which came rowing from the East side, toward that Island: whereupon we returned aboord againe: at length we sent our boate with five men in her, to see whither they rowed, and so with a white cloth brought one of their boates with their men along the shoare, rowing after our boate, till such time as they sawe our ship, and then they rowed a shoare: then I went on shoare my selfe, and gaue euery of them a threadden point, and brought one of them aboord of me, where hee did eate and drinke, and then carried him on shoare againe. Whereupon all the rest came aboord with their boates, being nineteene persons, and they spake, but we vnderstoode them not. They bee like to Tartars, with long blacke haire, broad faces, and flatte noses, and tawnie in colour, wearing Seale skinner, and so doe the women, not differing in the fashon, but the women are marked in the face with blew streekes downe the cheekes, and round about the eyes. Their boates are made all of Seales skinner, with a keele of wood within the skin: the proportion of them is like a Spanish Gallie, saue only they be flat in the bottome, and sharpe at both ends.

Sight of the Countrey people.

The description of the people.

19

The twentieth day wee waied, and went to the East side of this Island, and I and the Captaine, with foure men more went on shoare, and there we sawe their houses, and the people espying vs, came rowing towards our boate: whereupon we plied toward our boate: and wee being in our boate and they ashore, they called to vs, and we rowed to them, and one of their company came into our boate, and we carried him a boord, and gaue him a Bell, and a knife: so the Captaine and I willed five of our men to set him a shoare at a rocke, and not among the company, which they came from, but their wilfulnesse was such, that they would goe to them, and so were taken themselves, and our boate lost.

20

5. of our men taken by the people.

The next day in the morning, we stood in neere the shoare, and shotte off a fauconet, and sounded our trumpet, but we could heare nothing of our men: this sound wee called the five mens sound, and plyed out of it, but ankered againe in thirtie fathome, and oaze: and riding there all night, in the morning, the snow lay a foote thicke vpon our hatches.

21

The 22. day in the morning we waied, and went againe to the place where we lost our men, and our boate. We had sight of foureteene boates, and some came neere to vs, but wee could learne nothing of our men: among the rest, we intised one boate to our ships side, with a Bell, and in giuing him the Bell, we tooke him, and his boate, and so kept him, and so rowed downe to Thomas Williams Island, and there ankered all night.

22

The 26. day we waied, to come homeward, and by 12. of the clocke at noone, we were thwart of Trummers Island.

23

They returns.

The next day we came thwart of Gabriels Island, and at 8. of the clocke at night we had the Cape Labrador as we supposed West from vs, ten leagues.

24

The 28. day we went our course Southeast.

25

We sailed Southeast, and by East, 22. leagues.

26

The first day of September in the morning we had sight of the land of Friseland, being eight leagues from vs, but wee could not come neerer it, for the monstrous yce that lay about it. From this day, till the sixth of this Moneth, we ranne along Island, and had the South part of it at eight of the clocke, East from vs ten leagues.

27

September.

The seuenth day of this moneth we had a very terrible storme, by force whereof, one of our men was blown into the sea out of our waste, but he caught hold of the foresaile sheate, and there held till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ship.

28

The

The Sheld.

The 25. day of this moneth we had sight of the Island of Orkney, which was then East from vs. The first day of October we had sight of the Sheld, and so sailed about the coast, and ankered at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

The language of the people of *Meta incognita.*

Argoteyt, a hand.

Cangnawe, a nose.

Arered, an eye.

Keiotot, a tooth.

Murchater, the head.

Chewat, an eare.

Comagaye, a legge.

Atoniagay, a foote.

Callagay, a paire of breeches.

Attegay, a coate.

Polleueragay, a knife.

Accaskay, a shippe.

Coblone, a thumbe.

Teckkere, the foremost finger.

Ketteckle, the middle finger.

Mekellacane, the fourth finger.

Yacketrone, the litle finger.

The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, made to the West and Northwest Regions, in the yeere 1577. with a description of the Countrey, and people: Written by Master *Dionise Settle.*



On Whitsunday, being the five and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1577. Captaine Frobisher departed from Blacke Wall, with one of the Queenes Maiesties ships, called The Aide, of nine scope tunnes, or therabouts: and two other litle Barkes likewise, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Master Fenton, a Gentleman of my Lord of Warwikes, was Captaine: and the other, The Michael, whereof Master Yorke, a Gentleman of my Lord Admirals was Captaine, accompanied with seuen score Gentlemen, souldiers, and sailers, well furnished with victuals, and other provision necessarie for one halfe yeere, on this his second voyage, for the further discovering of the passage to Cathay, and other Countreys therunto adiacent, by West and Northwest navigations: which passage or way, is supposed to bee on the North and Northwest parts of America: and the said America to be an Island inuironed with the sea, where through our Merchants may haue course and recourse with their merchandize, from these our Northernmost parts of Europe, to those Orientall coasts of Asia, in much shorter time, and with greater benefite then any others, to their no litle commoditie and profite that do or shall frequent the same. Our said Captaine and General of this present voyage and company hauing the yeere before, with two litle pinnelles, to his great danger, and no small commendations, given a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is also prest, when occasion shall be ministred (to the benefite of his Prince, and native Countrey) to aduenture himselfe further therein. As for this second voyage, it seemeth sufficient, that he hath better explored and searched the commodities of those people and Countreys, which in his first voyage the yeere before he had found out.

Upon which considerations, the day and yeere before expessed, we departed from Blacke Wall to Harwich, where making an accomplishment of things necessary, the last of May we hoised vp sailes, and with a merrie wind the 7. of June we arriued at the Islands called Orcades, or vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30, subiect and adiacent to Scotland, where we made provision of fresh water: in the doing whereof our Generall licensed the Gentlemen and souldiers for their recreation, to goe on shoze. At our landing, the people fled from their poore cottages, with shrieks and alarms, to warne their neighbours of enemies, but by gentle perswasions we reclaimed them to their houses. It seemeth they are often frighted with Pirats, or some other enemies, that moue them to such sudden feare. Their houses are very simply builded with pibble stone, without any chimneis, the fire being made in the middell thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their family eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and the cattell on the other, very beastly and rudely, in respect of ciuilitie. They are destitute of wood, their fire is turfes, and Cowshards. They haue corne, bigge, and oates, with which they pay their Kings rent, to the maintenance of his house. They take great quantitie of fish, which they dry in the wind and Sunne. They dresse their meat very filchily, and eate it without salt. Their apparell is after the rudest sort of Scotland. Their money is all base. Their Church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fisher men of England can better declare the dispositions of those people then I: wherefore I remitt other their vlags to their reports, as peerelely repairers thither, in their course to and from Island for fish.

The Islands Orcades, or Orkney.

The Orcades and upon final occasion flee their home.

No wood in Orkney.

Fisher men of England haue daily traffike to Orkney.

We departed hence the 8. of June, and followed our course betwene West and North-west, vntill the 4. of July: all which time we had no night, but that easily, and without any impediment we had when we were so disposed, the fruition of our bookes, and other pleasures to passe away the time: a thing of no small moment, to such as wander in vnknown seas, and long navigations, especially, when both the winds and raging surges do passe their common and wonted course. This benefite endureth in those parts not 6. weekes, while the sunne is neere the Tropike of Cancer: but where the pole is raised to 70. or 80. degrees, it continueth much longer.

In June and July no night in those West and North-west regions.

All along these seas, after we were sixe dayes sailing from Orkney, we met floating in the sea, great Firre trees, which as we iudged, were with the furie of great floods rooted vp, and so driuen into the sea. Island hath almost no other wood nor fuell, but such as they take vp vpon their coastes. It seemeth, that these trees are driuen from some part of the New found land, with the current that setteth from the West to the East.

Great abundance of Firre trees floating in the sea. Inquire further of this current.

The 4. of July we came within the making of Frisland. From this shoare 10. or 12. leagues, we met great Islands of yce, of halfe a mile, some more, some lesse in compasse, she wing aboue the sea, 30. or 40. fathoms, and as we supposed fast on ground, where with our lead we could scarce sound the bottome for depth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant sinels of sweete gums, & pleasant notes of muscall birdes, which other Countreys in more temperate Zones do yeeld, wee tasted the most boisterous Boreal blasts mixt with snow and haile, in the moneths of June and July, nothing inferior to our vntemperate winter: a sudden alteration, and especially in a place of Parallele, where the Pole is not eleuate aboue 61. degrees: at which height other Countreys more to the North, yea vnto 70. degrees, shew themselves more temperate then this doth.

Ice, snow, and haile in June and July.

All along this coast ycelieth, as a continuall bulwarke, & so defendeth the Countrey, that those that would land there, incur great danger. Our Generall 3. dayes together attempted with the ship boate to haue gone on shoare, which for that without great danger he could not accomplish, he deferred it vntill a more convenient time. All along the coast lie very high mountaines covered with snow, except in such places, where through the steepenes of the mountaines of force it must needs fall. Foure dayes coasting along this land, we found no signe of habitation. Little birds, which we iudged to haue lost the shore, by reason of thicke fogges which that Countrey is much

Frisland subject to fogge.

subject vnto, came flying into our ships, which causeth vs to suppose, that the Countrey is both more tollerable, and also habitable within, then the outward shore maketh shew of signification. From hence we departed the eight of July: and the 16. of the same, we came with the making of land, which land our Generall the yere before had named The Queenes foreland, being an Island as we iudge, lying neere the supposed continent with America: and on the other side, opposite to the same, one other Island called Halles Ile, after the name of the Master of the ship, neere adiacent to the firme land, supposed continent with Asia. Betwene the which two Islands there is a large entrance of freight, called Frobishers freight, after the name of our Generall, the first finder thereof. This said freight is supposed to haue passage into the sea of Sur, which I leave vnknown as yet.

Frobishers freight.

It seemeth that either here, or not farre hence, the sea should haue more large entrance, then in other parts within the frozen or vntemperate Zone: and that some contrary tide, either from the East or West, with maine force casteth out that great quantity of yce, which cometh floating from this coast, euen vnto Frisland, causing that Countrey to seeme more vntemperate then others, much more Northerly then the same.

I cannot iudge that any temperature vnder the Pole, the time of the Sunnes Northerne declination being halfe a yere together, and one whole day, (considering that the Sunnes eleuation surmounteth not 23. degrees and 30. minuts) can haue power to dissolue such monstrous and huge yce, comparable to great mountaines, except by some other force, as by swift currents and tides, with the helpe of the said day of halfe appeere.

Islands of yce comparable to mountaines.

Before we came within the making of these lands we tasted cold stormes, in so much that it seemed we had changed summer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remooued vs from that opinion.

At our first coming, the freights seemed to be shut vp with a long mure of yce, which gaue no litle cause of discomfort vnto vs all: but our Generall, (to whose diligence imminent dangers, and difficult attempts seemed nothing, in respect of his willing mind, for the commoditie of his Prince and Countrey,) with two litle Pinnesles prepared of purpose, passed twise thorow them to the East shore, and the Islands therunto adiacent: and the ship, with the two Barks lay off and on something further into the sea, from the danger of the yce.

Captaine Frobisher his speciall care and diligence for the benefite of his Prince and Countrey.

Whilist

The order of
the people ap-
pearing on
the shoare.

Fierce and
bold people.
One taken.

Richard Cox,
Master gun-
ner.
Master lack-
man.
Andrew Dier.

Lackmans found.

Possession ta-
ken.

Pee needfull
to be regarded
of seafaring
men.

Whilest he was searching the Countrey neere the shoare, some of the people of the Countrey thewep themselves leaping and dauncing, with strange shrikes and cries, which gaue no little admiration to our men. Our Generall desirous to allure them vnto him by faire meanes, caused kniues, and other things to be profered vnto them, which they would not take at our hands: but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and tooke vp, leauing some thing of theirs to counteruaile the same. At the length two of them leauing their weapons, came downe to our Generall and Master, who did the like to them, commanding the company to stay, and went vnto them: who after certaine dumbe signes, and mute congratulations, began to lay handes vpon them, but they deliuerly escaped, and ranne to their bowes and arrowes, and came fiercely vpon them, (not respecting the rest of our companie which were ready for their defence) but with their arrowes hurt diuers of them: we tooke the one, and the other escaped.

Whilest our Generall was buied in searching the Countrey, and those Islands adiacent on the East shoare, the ship and barkes hauing great care, not to put farre into the sea from him, for that he had small store of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruell tempest, chancing in the night, amongst and in the thickest of the pee, which was so monstrous, that euen the least of a thousand had bene of force sufficient, to haue shiuered our ship and barks into small portions, if God (who in all necessities, hath care vpon the infirmities of man) had not prouided for this our extremitie a sufficient remedie through the light of the night, whereby we might well discerne to flee from such imminent dangers, which we auoyded with 14. Bourdes in one watch the space of 4. houres. If we had not incurred this danger amongst these monstrous Islands of pee, we should haue lost our Generall and Master, and the most of our best sailers, which were on the shoare destitute of victuals: but by the valure of our Master Sumner, Master Lackman, and Andrew Dier, the Masters Hates, men expert both in nauigation, and other good qualities, wee were all content to incur the dangers afore rehearsed, before we would with our owne safetie, runne into the sea, to the destruction of our sayd Generall, and his company.

The day following, being the 19. of Iulie, our Captaine returned to the ship, with report of supposed riches, which shewed it selfe in the bowels of those barren mountaines, wherewith wee were all satisfied.

Within foure daies after we had bene at the entrance of the streights, the Northwest and West winds disperled the pee into the sea, & made vs a large entrance into the streights, so that without any impediment, on the 19. of Iulie we entred them, and the 20. thereof, our Generall and Master with great diligence, sought out and sounded the West shoare, and found out a faire Harbough for the ship and barkes to ride in, and named it after our Masters mate, Lackmans found, and brought the ship, barkes, and all their company to safe anker, except one man, which died by Gods visitation.

At our first arriuall, after the ship rode at anker, our generall, with such company as could well be spared from the ships, in marching order entred the lande, hauing speciall care by exhortations, that at our entrance thereinto, wee should all with one voyce, kneeling vpon our knees, chiefly thanke God for our safe arriuall: secondly beseech him, that it would please his diuine Matetie, long to continue our Queene, for whom he, and all the rest of our company in this order tooke possession of the Countrey: and thirdly, that by our Christian studie and endeour, those barbarous, people trained vp in Paganism, and infidelitie, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of saluation in Christ our Redeemer. With other words very apt to signifie his willing mind, and affection toward his Prince and Countrey: whereby all suspicion of an vndutifull subject, may credibly be iudged to be vnterly exempted from his mind. All the rest of the Gentlemen and other deserue worthisly herein, their due praise and commendation.

These things in this order accomplished, our Generall commanded all the company to be obedient in things needfull for our owne safegard, to Master Fenton, Master Yorke, and Master Beak his Lieutenant, while he was occupied in other necessarie affaires, concerning our coming thither.

After this order we marched through the Countrey, with Ensigne displayed, so farre as was thought needfull, and now and then heaped by stones on high mountaines, and other places in token of possession, as likewise to signifie vnto such as hereafter may chance to arriue there, that possession is taken in the behalfe of some other Prince, by those who first found out the Countrey.

Who so maketh nauigations to those Countreys, hath not onely extreme winds, and furious seas to encounter withall, but also many monstrous and great Islands of pee: a thing both rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded.

We were forced sundry times, while the ship did ride here at anker, to haue continuall watch, with

with boats & men ready with halbers to knit fast unto such pee, as with the ebbe & flood were tossed to and fro in the harborough, & with force of oares to hale them away, for endangering the ship.

Our Generall certaine dayes searched this supposed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to answere his expectation, after he had made triall thereof he departed thence with two litle barks, and men sufficient to the East Shore being the supposed continent of Asia, and left the ship with most of the Gentlemen, souldiers, and sailors, untill such tyme as he either thought good to send or come for them.

The stones of this supposed continent with America be alsogeth sparkled, and glitter in the Sunne like gold: so likewise doth the sand in the bright water, yet they verifie the old proverbe: All is not gold that glistereth.

On this West Shore we found a dead fish floating, which had in his nose a horne straight and torquet, of length two yards lacking two ynches, being broken in the top, where we might perceive it hollow, into the which some of our sailors putting spiders they presently died. I saw not the triall hercof, but it was reported unto me of a trueth: by the vertue whereof we supposed it to be the sea Unicorne.

After our Generall had found out good harborough for the ship and barks to anker in, and also such store of supposed gold ore as he thought himselfe satisfied withall, he returned to the Michael, whereof Master Yorke afore said was Captaine, accompanied with our master and his Mate, who coasting along the West Shore not farre from whence the ship rode, they perceived a faire harborough, and willing to sound the same, at the entrance thereof they espied two tents of Seale skins, unto which the Captaine, our said Master, and other company resorted. At the sight of our men the people fled into the mountaines: nevertheless they went to their tents, where leaving certaine trifles of ours, as glasses, bells, knives, and such like things they departed, not taking any thing of theirs except one dogge. They did in like manner leave behind them a letter, pen, yncke, and paper, whereby our men whom the Captaine lost the yere before, and in that peoples custody might (if any of them were alive) be advertised of our presence and being there.

On the same day after consultation had, all the Gentlemen, and others likewise that could be spared from the ship, under the conduct and leading of Master Philpot, (unto whom in our Generall his absence, and his Lieutenant Master Beest, al the rest were obedient) went a Shore, determining to see, if by faire means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwise take some of them, and so attaine to some knowledge of those men whom our Generall lost the yere before.

At our coming backe againe to the place where their tents were before, they had remooved their tents further into the said Bay or Sound, where they might if they were driven from the land, flee with their boates into the sea. We parting our selves into two companies, and compassing a mountaine came suddenly upon them by land, who espying us, without any tarrying fled to their boates, leaving the most part of their oares behind them for halfe, and rowed to the bay, where our two Himmies met them and drove them to Shore: but if they had had all their oares, so swift are they in rowing, it had bene lost time to have chased them.

When they were landed they fiercely assaulted our men with their bowes and arrowes, who wounded three of them with our arrowes: and perceiuing themselves thus hurt, they desperately leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themselves: which if they had not done, but had submitted themselves, or if by any meanes we could have taken them alive (being their enemies as they judged) we would both have saved them, & also have sought remedy to cure their wounds received at our hands. But they altogether voyd of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities looke for no other then death: and perceiuing they should fall into our hands, thus miserably by drowning rather desired death then otherwise to be saved by us: the rest perceiuing their fellows in this distresse, fled into the high mountaines. Two women not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incombred with a yong child, we tooke. The old wretch, whom divers of our Saylers supposed to be eyther a deuill, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were clouen footed, and for her ugly hew and deformity we let her goe: the yong woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were slaine, Bloodie point: and the Bay or Harborough, Yorks sound, after the name of one of the Captaines of the two Barks.

Having this knowledge both of their fiercenesse and crueltie, and perceiuing that faire meanes as yet is not able to allure them to familiarity, we disposed our selves, contrary to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tents and made a spyle of the same: where we found an old shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shooes of our men, whom we lost the yere before: on nothing else unto them belonging could we set our eyes.

Their

Stones glitter
with sparkles
like gold.
A common
proverbe.

The sea Unicorne.

The people
fled at the sight
of our men.

Master Phil-
pot.
Master Beest.

A fierce assault
of a few.

Faire meanes
not able to al-
lure them to
familiarity.

Boates of
skinner.

Their riches are not gold, silver or precious Drapery, but their said tents and boates, made of the skins of red Deere and Seale skins: also dogges like unto woolues, but for the most part black, with other cristles, moze to be wondered at for their strangenesse, then for any other commodity needefull for our vse.

Our departure
from the West
shore.

Thus returning to our ship the 3. of August, we departed from the West shore supposed firme with America, after we had ankered there 13. dayes: and so the 4. thereof we came to our Generall on the East shore, and ankered in a faire Harbrough named Anne Warwicksound, vnto which is annexed an Isle both named after the Countesse of Warwicke, Anne Warwicksound and Isle.

The countrey
people shew
themselves
vnto vs.

In this Isle our Generall thought good for this voyage, to freight both the ship and barkes, with such stone or supposed gold minerall, as he iudged to counteruaile the charges of his first, and this his second nauigation to these Countreys.

In the meane time of our abode here some of the countrey people came to shew themselves vnto vs, sundry times on the maine shore, neere adiacent to the said Isle. Our Generall desirous to haue some newes of his men, whom he lost the yeere before, with some company with him repaired with the ship boat to common, or signe with them for familiaritie, wherunto he is perswaded to bring them. They at the first shew made tokens, that three of his true men were alue, and desired penne, yuck, and paper, and that within three or foure dayes they would returne, and (as we iudged) bring those of our men which were liuing, with them.

Their usage in
traffique or
change.

They also made signes or tokens of their King, whom they called Cacough, & how he was carried on mens shoulders, and a man farre surmounting any of our company, in bignesse and stature.

With these tokens and signes of writing, penne, yucke, and paper was deliuered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid vpon the shore, and the partie gone away, they tooke by: which likewise they do when they desire any thing for change of theirs, laying for that which is left so much as they thinke will counteruaile the same, and not comming neere together. It seemeth they haue bene bled to this trade or traffique, with some other people adioyning, or not farre distant from their Countrey.

The people
shew them-
selves the
third time.

After 4. dayes some of them shewed themselves vpon the firme land, but not where they were before. Our General very glad thereof, supposing to heare of our men, went from the Isle, with the boat, and sufficient company with him. They seemed very glad, and allured him about a certaine point of the land: behind which they might perceiue a company of the crafty villaines to lye lurking, whom our Generall would not deale withall, for that he knew not what company they were, and so with few signes dismissed them and returned to his company.

The people
shew them-
selves againe
on firme land.

An other time as our said Generall was coasting the Countrey with two little Pinnelles, whereby at our returne he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villaines, with a white skin allured vs to them. Once againe our generall, for that he hoped to heare of his men, went towards them: at our comming neere the shore whereon they were, we might perceiue a number of them lie hidden behind great stones, & those 3. in sight labouring by al meanes possible that some would come on land: and perceiuing we made no halt by words nor friendly signes, which they bled by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but 3. in sight, they sought further means to prouoke vs thereto. One alone laid flesh on the shore, which we tooke by with the Boat hooke, as necessary victuals for the relieuing of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken: for that as yet they could not digest our meat: whereby they perceiued themselves deceived of their expectation, for all their crafty allurements. Yet once againe to make (as it were) a full shew of their craftie natures, and subtile sleights, to the intent thereby to haue intrapped and taken some of our men, one of them counterfeited himselfe impotent and lame of his legs, who seemed to descend to the water side, with great difficulty: and to couer his craft the moze, one of his fellowes came downe with him, and in such places where he seemed unable to passe, he tooke him on his shoulders, set him by the water side, and departed from him, leaving him (as it should seeme) all alone, who playing his counterfait pageant very well, thought thereby to prouoke some of vs to come on shore, not fearing, but that one of vs might make our party good with a lame man.

Compassion
to cure a crafty
lame man.

Our Generall hauing compassion of his impotency, thought good (if it were possible) to cure him thereof: wherefore he caused a souldier to shooe at him with his Calceuer, which grased before his face. The counterfeit villaine deliuerly fled without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrowes, and the rest from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrows, slings, and darts. Our Generall caused some calceuers to be shot off at them, whereby some being hurt, they might hereafter stand in moze feare of vs.

This

This was all the answer for this time we could haue of our men, or of our Generals letter. Their crafty dealing at these three severall times being thus manifest unto vs, may plainly shew their disposition in other things to be correspondent. We iudged that they vied these stratagemes, thereby to haue caught some of vs, for the deliuering of the man woman and child whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much unlike the Sunne burnt Countrey man, who laboureth daily in the Sunne for his liuing.

They weare their haire something long, and cut before either with stone or knife, very disorderly. Their women weare their haire long, and knit by with two loupes, shewing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest folded upon a knot. Also some of their women race their faces proportionally, as chinne, cheekes, and forehead, and the wrists of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour which continueth darke azurine.

They eate their meat all raw, both flesh, fish, and foule, or something per boyled with blood and a little water which they drinke. For lacke of water they will eate yce, that is hard frozen, as pleasantly as we will do Sugar Candie, or other Sugar.

If they for necessities sake stand in need of the premises, such grasse as the Countrey yeeldeth they plucke by and eate, not deinitely, or salletwise to allure their stomacks to appetite: but for necessities sake without either salt, oyles, or washing, like brute beasts deuouring the same. They neither vse table, stoole, or table cloth for comelines: but when they are imbued with blood knuckle deepe, and their knives in like sort, they vse their tongues as apt instruments to lick them cleane: in doing whereof they are assured to loose none of their victuals.

They frack or keepe certaine dogs not much unlike Molues, which they yoke together, as we do oxen & horses, to a sled or traile: and so carry their necessities ouer the yce and snow from place to place: as the captiue, whom we haue, made perfect signes. And when those dogs are not apt for the same vse: or when with hunger they are constrained for lacke of other victuals, they eat them: so that they are as needfull for them in respect of their bignesse, as our oxen are for vs.

Dogges like
unto wolues.

They eate
dogs flesh.

They apparell themselves in the skins of such beasts as they kill, sewed together with the sinewes of them. All the foule which they kill, they skin, and make thereof one kind of garment or other, to defend them from the cold.

They make their apparel with hoods and taites, which taites they giue when they thinke to gratifie any friendship shewed vnto them: a great signe of friendship with them. The men haue them not so lide as the women.

Hoods and
taites is their
apparell.

The men and women weare their hose close to their legges, from the waist to the knee without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Upon their legges they weare hose of leather, with the furre side inward two or three paire on at once, and especially the women. In those hose they put their knives, needles, and other things needfull to beare about. They put a bone within their hose, which reacheth from the foote to the knee, whereupon they draw their said hose, and so in place of garters they are holden from falling downe about their feete.

They dresse their skinnies very soft and souple with the haire on. In cold weather or Winter they weare the furre side inward: and in Summer outward. Other apparell they haue none but the said skinnies.

Those beasts, fishes, and foules which they kill, are their meat, drinke, apparell, houses, bedding, hose, shoes, thread, and taites for their boates, with many other necessities whereof they stand in need, and almost all their riches.

Their houses are tents made of Seale skins, pitched by with 4. Firre quarters foure square meeting at the top, and the skins sewed together with sinewes, and laid thereupon: they are so pitched by, that the entrance into them is alwayes South or against the Sunne.

Their houses
of Seale skins
and furre.

They haue other sorts of houses which we found not to be inhabited, which are raised with stones and Whale bones, and a skinnelapd over them, to withstand the raine or other weather: the entrance of them being not much unlike an Duens mouth, whereto I thinke they resort for a time to fish, hunt, and foule, and so leaue them untill the next time they come thither againe.

Their weapons are bowes, arrowes, darts, and slings. Their bowes are of wood of a yard long, line wed at the back with strong sinewes, not glued too, but fast girded and tyed on. Their bow strings are like wise sinewes. Their arrowes are three pieces nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with those two ends, and the wood in the midst, they passe not in length halfe a yard or little more. They are feathered with two feathers the penne end being cut away, and the feathers layd vpon the arrow with the broad side to the wood: in so much that they seeme when they

Their weapons
of defence.

Three sorts of
heads to their
arrowes.

are tyed on, to haue foure fethers. They haue also three sorts of heads to those arrowes: one sort of stone or yron, proportioned like to a heart: the second sort of bone, much like vnto a stoep head, with a hooke on the same: the third sort of bone like wise made sharpe at both sides, and sharpe pointed. They are not made very fast but lightly tyed to, or else set in a nocke, that vpon small occasion the arrowes leaue these heads behind them: and they are of small force, except they be very neere when they shoote.

Two sorts of
darts.

Their Darts are made of two sorts: the one with many forkes of bones in the foze end, and like wise in the midst: their proportions are not much vnlike our toasting yrons but longer: these they cast out of an instrument of wood, very readily. The other sort is greater then the first aforesayd, with a long bone made sharpe on both sides not much vnlke a Rapier, which I take to bee their most hurtfull weapon.

Two sorts of
boates made
of leather.

They haue two sorts of boates made of leather, set out on the inner side with quarters of wood, artificially tyed together with thongs of the same: the greater sort are not much vnlike our wherries, wherein sixteene or twenty men may sit: they haue for a sayle ozell the guts of such beasts as they kill very fine and thinne, which they sew together: the other boate is but for one man to sit and row in with one oare.

They vse to
foule, fish, and
hunt.
It is to be
supposed that
their inhabi-
tants is elles
where.

Their order of fishing, hunting, and fouling are with these said weapons: but in what sort, or how they vse them we haue no perfect knowledge as yet.

I can suppose their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houses or apparell, are of such force to withstand the extremity of cold, that the Countrey seemeth to be infected with all: neither do I see any signe likely to perforce me the same.

Those houses or rather denues which stand there, haue no signe of footway, or any thing else troden, which is one of the chiefest tokens of habitation. And those tents which they bring with them, when they haue sufficiently hunted and fished, they remoue to other places: and when they haue sufficiently stored them of such victuals, as the Countrey yeeldeth or bringeth forth, they returne to their winter stations or habitations. This coniecture do I make, for the infertility which I coniecture to be in that Countrey.

Their vse of
yron.

They haue some yron whereof they make arrow heads, kniues, and other little instruments, to worke their boates, bowes, arrowes, and darts withall, which are very vnapt to doe any thing withall but with great labour.

It seemeth that they haue conuersation with some other people, of whom for exchange they should receiue the same. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giveth a sound.

Anthropophagi.

What knowledge they haue of God, or what Idoll they adore, we haue no perfect intelligence. I thinke them rather Anthropophagi, or deuourers of mans flesh then other wise: for that there is no flesh or fish which they find dead (smell is neuer so filthy) but they will eate it, as they finde it without any other dressing. A loathsome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.

Signes of
gold eare.

There is no manner of creeping beast hurtfull, except some Spiders (which as many affirme, are signes of great store of gold) and also certaine stinging Gnattes, which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite shortly after swelleth and it cheth very soze.

Signes of
gold from
other people.
Description of
the Countreys.

They make signes of certaine people that weare bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

The Countreys on both sides the streights lye very high with rough stony mountaines, and great quantitie of snow thereon. There is very little plaine ground and no grasse, except a little which is much like vnto mosse that groweth on soft ground, such as we get Turkes in. There is no wood at all. To be brieue there is nothing fit or profitable for the vse of man, which that Countrey with roote yeeldeth or bringeth forth: Howbeit there is great quantitie of Deere, whose skins are like vnto Asses, there be also or hoznes doe farre exceede, as well in length as also in breadth, any in these our parts or Countreys: their feete likewise are as great as our orengs, which we measure to be seuen or eight ynches in breadth. There are also hares, wolues, fishing beares, and sea foule of sundry sorts.

As the Countrey is barren and infertile, so are they rude and of no capacitie to culture the same to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fouling, with raw flesh and warme blood to satisfie their greedy panches, which is their only glory.

A signe of
Earthquakes
or thunder.

There is great likelihood of Earthquakes or thunder: for that there are huge and monstrous mountaines, whose greatest substance are stones, and those stones so shaken with some extraordinary meanes that one is separated from another, which is discordant from all other Quarries.

There

There are no riuers, or running springs, but such as through the heate of the Sunne, with such water as descendeth from the mountaines and hilles, whereon great quantities of snow do lie, are ingendred.

No riuers, but such as the Sunne doth cause to come of snow. A probability that there should be neither spring of riuers in the ground.

It argueth also that there should be none: for that the earth, which with the extremitie of the Winter is so frozen within, that that water which should haue recourse within the same to maintaine springs, hath not his motion, whereof great waters haue their originall, as by experience is seene other where. Such valleis as are capable to receiue the water, that in the Summer time by the operation of the Sunne descendeth from great abundance of snowe, which continually lyeth on the mountaines and hath no passage, sinketh into the earth and so vanissheth away, without any runnell aboue the earth, by which occasion or continuall standing of the said water, the earth is opened, and the great frost yeeldeth to the force thereof, which in other places foure or five fathoms within the ground for lacke of the said moisture, the earth (euen in the very Summer time) is frozen, and so combineth the stones together, that scarcely instruments with great force can vnknit them.

Also where the water in those valleis can haue no such passage away, by the continuance of time in such order as is before rehearsed, the yeerely descent from the mountaines filleth them full, that at the lowest banke of the same, they fall into the valley, and so continue as fishing Ponds or Stagnes in Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard frozen: as by skarres that remaine thereof in Summer may easily be perceiued: so that the heat of Summer is nothing comparable or of force to dissolue the extremitie of cold that cometh in Winter.

Neuerthelesse I am assured that below the force of the frost within the earth, the waters haue recourse, and empye themselves out of sight into the sea, which through the extremitie of the frost are constrained to doe the same: by which occasion the earth within is kept the warmer, and springs haue their recourse, which is the onely nutriment of golde and Mineralls within the same.

Springs nourish gold.

There is much to be sayd of the commodities of these Countreys, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let passe till moze perfect triall be made thereof.

The 24. of August, after we had satisfied our minds with freight sufficient for our vessels, though not our couetous desires with such knowledge of the Countrey, people, and other commodities as are before rehearsed, we departed thence. The 17. of September we fell with the land end of England, and so sailed to Milford Hauen, from whence our Generall rode to the Court for order, to what Port or Hauen to conduct the ship.

Our departure from those Countreys.

We lost our two Barkes in the way homeward, the one the 29. of August, the other the 31. of the same moneth, by occasion of great tempest and fogge. Howbeit God restored the one to Bristowe, and the other made his course by Scotland to Yermouth. In this voyage we lost two men, one in the way by Gods visitation, and the other homeward cast ouer boarde with a surge of the sea.

How & when we lost our 2. Barkes, which God neuertheless restored.

I could declare vnto the Readers, the latitude and longitude of such places and regions as we haue bene at, but not altogether so perfectly as our masters and others, with many circumstances of tempests and other accidents incident to Sea faring men, which seeme not altogether strange, but I let them passe to their reports as men most apt to set forth and declare the same. I haue also left the names of the Countreys on both the shores vntouched, for lacke of vnderstanding the peoples language: as also for sundry respects, not needfull as yet to be declared.

The conclusion.

Countreys new discovered where commoditie is to be looked for, doe better accord with a new name giuen by the discoverers, then an vncertaine name by a doubtfull Authour.

Our general named sundry Islands, Mountaines, Capes, and Harbours after the names of diuers Noble men and other gentlemen his friends, as wel on the one shore as also on the other.

The third and last voyage vnto Meta Incognita, made by M. Martin Frobisher, in the yeere 1578. Written by Thomas Ellis.



These are to let you know, that vpon the 25. of May, the Thomas Allen being Viceadmirall, whose Captaine was M. Yorke, M. Gibbes Master, Christopher Hall Pilot, accompanied with the Reareadmirall named the Hopewell, whose Captaine was M. Henric Carewe, the M. Andrewe Dier, and certaine other ships came to Grauesend, where wee ankred and abode the comming of certaine of our flecte which were not yet come.

Master Yorke, Christopher Hall, The Hopewell, Captaine Carew, Andrew Diet,

Harwich,

Durlies,
Ireland.

Plymouth.

Bristol.

Frizeland.

The curtelle
of our Generall.Haster Kin-
derslie,
Barcholomew
Bull.The Michael.
The Iudith.
M. Fenton.
Charles Jack-
man.The Countesse
of Warwicks
found.

The 27. of the same moneth our Fleete being nowe come together, and all things prest in a readinesse, the wind fauouring, and tide seruing, we being of sailes in number eight, waied anchors and hoisted our sailes toward Harwich to meete with our Admirall, and the residue which then and there abode our arriual: where we safely arriued the 28. thereof, finding there our Admirall, whom we with the discharge of certaine pieces saluted, according to order and duety, and were welcommed with the like courtesie: which being finished we landed: where our Generall continued mustering his souldiers and Miners, and setting things in order appertaining to the voyage untill the last of the said moneth of May, which day we hoisted our sailes, and committing our selues to the conuocing of Almighty God, we set forward toward the west Countrey in such luckie wise and good successe, that by the fift of June we passed the Durlies, being the vnmest part of Ireland to the Westward.

And here it were not much amisse nor farre from our purpose, if I should a little discourse and speake of our aduentures and chances by the way, as our landing at Plymouth, as also the meeting certaine poore men, which were robbed and spoiled of all that they had by Pirates and Rovers: amongst whom was a man of Bristol, on whom our Generall vied his liberality, and sent him away with letters into England.

But because such things are impertinent to the matter, I will returne (without any more mentioning of the same) to that from the which I haue digressed and swarued, I meane our ships now sailing on the surging seas, sometime passing at pleasure with a wished Easterne wind, sometime hindered of our course againe by the Westerne blasts, vntill the 20. day of the foresayd moneth of June, on which day in the morning we fell with Frizeland, which is a very hie and cragged land and was almost cleane couered with snow, so that we might see nought but cragge rockes and the tops of high and huge hilles, sometimes (and for the most part) all couered with foggie mists. There might we also perceiue the great Isles of yce lying on the seas, like mountaines, some small, some big, of sundry kinds of shapes, and such a number of them, that wee could not come nere the shore for them.

Thus sailing alongst the coast, at the last we saw a place somewhat boyd of yce, where our Generall (accompanied with certaine other) went a shore, where they sawe certaine tents made of beards skines, and boates much like vnto theirs of Meta Incognita. The tents were furnished with flesh, fish, skins, and other trifles: amongst the which was found a bore of nailes: whereby we did coniecture, that they had either Artificers amongst them, or els a traffike with some other nation. The men ran away, so that wee could haue no conference or communication with them. Our Generall (because hee would haue them no more to flee, but rather encouraged to stay through his courteous dealing) gaue commaundement that his men should take nothing away with them, sauing onely a couple of white dogs, for the which he left pinnes, poynts, knives, and other trifling things, and departed without taking or hurting any thing, and so came aboard, and hoisted sailes, and passed forward.

But being scarce out of the sight thereof, there fell such a fogge and hidious mist that we could not see one another: wherupon we strooke our drums, and sounded our trumpets, to the ende we might keepe together: and so continued all that day and night till the next day that the mist brake by: so that we might easily perceiue all the ships thus sailing together all that day, vntill the next day, being the 22. of the same: on which day wee sawe an infinite number of yce, from the which we cast about to shun the danger thereof.

But one of our small Barkes named the Michael, whose Captaine was Haster Kinderslie, the Haster Barcholomew Bull, lost our company, insomuch that we could not obtaine the sight of her many dayes after, of whom I meane to speake further anon when occasion shall be ministred, and opportunitie serue. Thus we continued in our course vntill the second of July, on which day we fell with the Quernes forzeland, where we saw so much yce, that we thought it vnpossible to get into the Straights: yet at the last we gaue the aduenture and entered the yce.

Being amongst it wee sawe the Michael, of whom I spake before, accompanied with the Iudith, whose Captaine was Haster Fenton, the Haster Charles Jackman, bearing into the foresayd yce, farre distant from vs, who in a storme that fell that present night, (whereof I will at large God willing, discourse hereafter) were seuered from vs, and being in, wandzed by and downe the Straights amongst the yce many dayes in great perill, till at the last, (by the prouidence of God) they came safely to harbor in their wished Port, in the Countesse of Warwicks found, the 20. of July aforesayd, tenne dayes before any of the other shippes: who going on shore found where the people of the Countrey had bene, and had hid their provision in great heapes of stones being both of flesh and fish, which they had killed: whereof wee also found great store in other

other places after our arrival. They found also diuers engins, as bowes, slings, and darts. They found likewise certaine pieces of the Pinnesse which our Generall left there the yee before, which Pinnesse he had sunke, minding to haue it againe the next yee.

Now seeing I haue entreated so much of the Iudith and the Michael: I will returne to the rest of the other ships, and will speake a litle of the storme which fell, with the mishaps that we had, the night that we put into the yce: whereof I made mention before.

At the first entring into the yce in the mouth of the Straights, our passage was very narrow, and difficult but being once gotten in, we had a faire open place without any yce for the most part, being a league in compasse, the yce being round about vs and inclosing vs, as it were, within the pales of a parke. In which place, (because it was almost night) we minded to take in our sailes, and lie a hull all that night. But the storme so increased, and the waues began to mount aloft, which brought the yce so neere vs, and comming on so fast vpon vs, that we were faine to beare in and out, where we might espie an open place. Thus the yce comming on vs so fast, we were in great danger, looking euery houre for death. And thus passed we on in that great danger, seeing both our selues and the rest of our ships so troubled and tossed amongst the yce, that it would make the strongest heart to relent.

At the last the Barke Dionysc being but a weake ship, and bruised afore amongst the yce, being so leake that no longer she could tarry about the water, ranke without sauing any of the goods which were within her: which sight so abashed the whole flete, that we thought verily we should haue tasted of the same sauce. But neuerthelesse we seeing them in such danger, manned our boates and saued all the men in such wise, that not one perished: God be thanked.

The storme still increased and the yce inclosed vs, so that we were faine to take downe top and top mastes: for the yce had so inuironed vs, that we could see neither land nor sea, as farre as we could keene: so that we were faine to cut our cables to hang ouer boord for fenders, somewhat to eale the ships sides from the great and drye strokes of the yce: some with Capitan barres, some sending off with oares, some with planks of two ynches thicke, which were broken immediately with the force of the yce, some going out vpon the yce to beare it off with their shoulders from the ships. But the rigoroulnes of the tempest was such, and the force of the yce so great, that that not onely they burst and spoyled the foresaid provision, but likewise so rased the sides of the ships, that it was pitifull to behold, and caused the heares of many to faint.

Thus we continued all that dismall and lamentable night plunged in this perplexity, looking for instant death: but our God (who neuer leaueh them destitute which faithfully call vpon him, although he often punisheth for amendements sake) in the morning caused the winds to cease, and the fogge which all that night lay on the face of the water to cleare: so that we might perceiue about a mile from vs, a certaine place cleare from any yce, to the which with an easie breath of wind which our God sent vs, we bent our selues. And furthermore, hee provided better for vs then we deserued or hoped for: for when we were in the foresaid cleare place, he sent vs a fresh gale at West or at West South west, which let vs cleare without all the yce. And further he added more: for he sent vs so pleasant a day as the like we had not of a long time before, as after punishment consolation.

Thus we ioyfull wights being at libertie, tooke in all our sailes and lay a hull, praying God for our deliuerance, and stayed to gather together our flete: which once being done, we seeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, sauing onely they of whom I spake before and the ship which was lost, then at the last wee hoised our sailes, and laybulting off and on, till such time as it would please God to take away the yce that wee might get into the Straights.

And as we thus lay off and on we came by a marueilous huge mountaine of yce, which surpassed all the rest that euer we saw: for we iudged it to be neere fourescore fathomes about water, and we thought it to be a ground for any thing that we could perceiue, being there nine score fathoms deepe, and of compasse about halfe a mile.

Also the sixt of July there fell a bidious fogge and mist, that continued till the nineteenth of the same: so that one shippe could not see another. Therefore we were faine to beare a small stayle and to obserue the tyme: but there ran such a current of a tide, that it let vs to the North west of the Queenes foeland the backside of all the Straights: where (through the contagious fogge having no sight either of Sunne or Starre) we scarce knew where we were. In this fogge the tenth of July we lost the company of the Viceadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy.

The 16. day one of our small Barkes named the Gabriel was sent by our Generall to beare in

Our entrance
& passage, &c.

Barke Dionysc.

Barke shifts
for safety.

Gods providence.

A mountaine
of yce appear-
ing in sundry
figures.

A fog of long
continuance.

A current to
the North
west.

The Gabriel.

The people offered to traffike with vs.

with the land to discerie it, where being on land, they met with the people of the Countrey, which seemed very humane and ciuill, and offered to traffike with our men, profering them foules and skins for knives, and other trifles: whose courtesie caused vs to thinke, that they had small conuersation with other of the Straights.

Then we bare backe againe to goe with the Queenes foze land: and the eighteenth day wee came by two Islands whereon we went on shore, and found where the people had bene: but we saw none of them. This day wee were againe in the yce, and like to be in as great perill as we were at the first. For through the darknesse and obscuritie of the foggie mist, we were almost run on rocks and Islands before we saw them: But God (euen miraculously) provided for vs, opening the foggies that we might see clearly, both where and in what danger we presently were, and also the way to escape: or els without faile we had ruinously runne vpon the rocks.

When we knew perfectly our instant case, wee cast about to get againe on Sea-bord, which (God be thanked) by night we obtained and praised God. The cleare continued scarce an houre, but the foggie fell againe as thicke as euer it was.

Warning pieces of safe passage discharged.

Then the Rearadmirall and the Beare got themselves cleare without danger of yce and rocks, strooke their sailes and lay a hull, staying to haue the rest of the Fleete come forth: which as yet had not found the right way to cleare themselves from the danger of rocks and yce, vntill the next morning, at what time the Rearadmirall discharged certaine warning pieces to giue notice that she had escaped, and that the rest (by following of her) might set themselves free, which they did that day.

A faire sound betweene the Queenes foze land and Jackmans sound.

Then hauing gathered our selues together we proceeded on our purposed voyage, bearing off, and keeping our selues distant from the coast till the 19. day of Iuly: at which time the foggies brake vp and disperfed, so that we might plainly and clearly behold the pleasant ayre, which so long had bene taken from vs, by the obscuritie of the foggie mists: and after that time we were not much encombyed therewith vntill we had left the confines of the Countrey.

Then we espying a fayre sound, supposed it to goe into the Straights betweene the Queenes foze land and Jackmans sound, which proued as we imagined. For our Generall sent forth againe the Gabriel to discouer it, who passed through with much difficultie: for there ran such an extreme current of a tide, with such a horrible gulfe, that with a fresh gale of wind they were scarce able to stemme it: yet at the length with great trauaile they passed it, and came to the Straights, where they met with the Thomas Allen, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Busse of Bridgewater: who altogether aduentured to beare into the yce againe, to see if they could obtaine their wished Port. But they were so incombied that with much difficultie they were able to get out againe, yet at the last they escaping, the Thomas Allen, and the Gabriel bare in with the Westerne shore, where they found harbour, and there moored their ships vntill the fourth of August, at which time they came to vs in the Countesse of Warwicks sound. The Thomas of Ipswich caught a great leake which caused her to cast againe to Seabord and so was mended.

An horrible snowe fell in Iuly.

We sailed along still by the coast vntill we came to the Queenes foze land, at the point where of we met with part of the gulfe aforesayd, which place or gulfe (as some of our Masters doe credibly report) doeth flow nine houres, and ebs but thre. At that point wee discovered certaine lands Southward, which neither time nor opportunitie would serue to search. Then being come to the mouth of the Straights we met with the Anne Francis, who had laine bulking vp and downe euer since her departure alone, neuer finding any of her company. We met then also the Francis of Foy, with whom againe we intended to venture and get in: but the yce was yet so thicke, that we were compelled againe to retyre and get vs on Sea-bord.

There fell also the same day being the 26. of Iuly, such an horrible snow, that it lay a foot thicke vpon the hatches which froze as it fell.

We had also at other times diuers cruell stormes both of snow and haile, which manifestly declared the disemperature of the Countrey: yet for all that wee were so many times repulsed and put backe from our purpose, knowing that lingering delay was not profitable for vs, but hurtfull to our voyage, we mutually consented to our valiant Generall once againe, to giue the onset.

The time of our setting forthward, &c.

The 28. day therefore of the same Iuly we assayed, and with little trouble (God be prayfed) we passed the dangers by day light. Then night falling on the face of the earth, wee hulled in the cleare, till the chearefull light of the day had chased away the nopsome darkenesse of the night: at which time we set forthward to wards our wished Port: by the 30. day wee obtained our expected desire, where we found the Iudith, and the Michael: which brought no small ioy vnto the General, and great consolation to the heauie hearts of those wearied wighes.

The

The 30. day of July we brought our ships into the Countesse of Maricks sound, and moored them, namely these ships, The Admirall, the Rearadmirall, the Francis of Foy, the Beare, Armenel, the Salomon, and the Buss of Bridge water: which being done, our Generall commaunded vs all to come a shoꝛe vpon the Countesses Island, where he set his Piners to worke vpon the Mine, giuing charge with expedition to dispatch with their lading.

Our Generall himselfe, accompanied with his Gentlemen, diuers times made rodes into sundry partes of the Countrey, as well to finde new Mines, as also to finde out and see the people of the Countrey. He found out one Mine vpon an Island by Beares sound, and named it the Countesse of Suffex Island. One other was found in Winters Foznace, with diuers others, to which the ships were sent sunderly to be laden. In the same rodes he mette with diuers of the people of the Countrey at sundry times, as once at a place called Dauids sound: who shot at our men, and very desperately gaue them the onset, being not aboue thre or foure in number, there being of our Countrey men aboue a dosen: but seeing themselves not able to preuaile, they tooke themselves to flight: whom our men pursued, but being not vled to such craggie clifles, they soone lost the sight of them, and so in vaine returned.

The Countesse
of Suffex Island.
Winters Foz-
nace.

Dauids sound,

We also saw of them at Beares sound, both by Sea and land in great companies: but they would at all times keepe the water betweene them and vs. And if any of our ships chanced to be in the sound (as they came diuers times, because the Harboꝛ was not very good) the ship laded, and departed againe: then so long as any ships were in sight, the people would not be seene. But when as they perceiued the ships to be gone, they would not only shew themselves standing vpon high clifles, and call vs to come ouer vnto them: but also would come in their Botes very neere to vs, as it were to brag at vs: whereof our Generall hauing aduertisement, sent for the Capitaines and Gentlemen of the Ships, to accompany and attend vpon him, with the Capitaine also of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come vnto vs. For they, and the Fleebote hauing lost vs the 26. day in the great snowe, put into an harbour in the Queenes foze land, where they found good Dare, where with they laded themselves, and came to seeke the Generall: so that now we had all our Shippes, sauing one Barke, which was lost, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who (compelled by what furie I knowe not) forooke our company, and returned home without lading.

The policie of
the people for
safetie of them-
selves.

Our Generall accompanied with his Gentlemen, (of whom I spake) came all together to the Countesse of Suffex Island, neere to Beares sound: where he manned our certaine Pinettes, and went ouer to the people: who perceiuing his arriual, fledde away with all speede, and in haste left certaine darters and other engines behinde them, which we found: but the people we could not finde.

Their speech
sight at our
Generals ar-
riual.

The next morning our Generall perceiuing certaine of them in botes vpon the Sea, gaue chase to them in a Pinnette vnder saile, with a fresh gale of winde, but could by no meanes come neere vnto them: for the longer he sailed, the further off he was from them: which well shewed their cunning and actiuitie. Thus time wearing away, and the day of our departure appoaching, our Generall commaunded vs to lade with all expedition, that we might be againe on Seaboꝛd with our ships: for whilst we were in the Countrey, we were in continual danger of freezing in: for often snow and haile often falling, the water was so much frosen and congealed in the night, that in the morning we could scarce row our botes or Pinettes, especially in Diers sound, which is a calme and still water: which caused our Generall to make the more haste, so that by the 30. day of August we were all laden, and made all things ready to depart.

But before I proceede any further herein, to shew what fortune befell at our departure, I will turne my penne a litle to M. Capitaine Fenton, and those Gentlemen which should haue inhabited all the yeere in those Countreies, whose valliant mindes were much to be commended: For doubtlesse they had done as they intended, if lucke had not withstoode their willingnesse.

Gentlemen
should haue
inhabited the
Countrey.

For the Barke Dionysie which was lost, had in her much of their house which was prepared and should haue bene builded for them, with many other implements. Also the Thomas of Ipswich which had most of their prouision in her, came not into the Streights at all: neither did we see her since the day we were separated in the great snow, of which I spake before. For these causes, hauing not their house, nor yet prouision, they were disappointed of their pretence to tarie, and therefore laded their ships, and so came away with vs.

But before we tooke shipping, we builded a litle house in the Countesse of Warwicks Island, and garnished it with many kinds of trifles, as Pinnes, Points, Laces, Glasses, Kombes, Baxes on horsebacke and on foote, with innumerable other such fanlies and toys: thereby to allure and entice the people to some familiaritie against other yeeres.

An house tri-
cked and garni-
shed with di-
uers trinkets.

Thus

An outragi-
ous tempest.

Thus having finished all things we departed the Countrey, as I sayd before: but because the Busse had not lading enough in her, she put into Beares sound to take in a little more. In the meane while the Admirall, and the rest without at Sea stayed for her. And that night fell such an outrageous tempest, beating on our ships with such vehement rigor, that anchor and cable a-uailed nought: for we were broken on rockes and Islands of yce, insomuch that (had not the great goodnesse of God bene miraculously shewed to vs) we had bene cast away euery man. This danger was more doubtfull and terrible, then any that preceded or went before: for there was not any one shippe (I thinke) that escaped without damage. Some lost anchor and also cables, some botes, some Pinusses: some anchor, cables, boates and Pinusses.

Our entering
the coastes
dangerous.

This boystrous storme so seuered vs one from another, that one shippe knewe not what was become of another. The Admirall knewe not where to finde the Viceadmirall or Rearadmirall, or any other ship of our company. Our Generall being on land in Beares sound could not come to his shippe, but was compelled to goe aboard the Gabriel where he continued all the way homeward: for the boystrous blasts continued so extremely and so long a time, that they sent vs homeward (which was Gods fauour towarde vs) will we, nill we, in such haste, as not any one of vs were able to keepe in company with other, but were separated. And if by chance any one shippe did ouertake other, by swiftnesse of sayle, or mette, as they often did: yet was the rigor of the wind so hidious, that they could not continue company together the space of one whole night.

Thus our iourney outward was not so pleasant, but our comming thither, entering the coastes and countrey, by narrow Streights, perillous yce, and swift rides, our times of aboade there in snowe and stormes, and our departure from thence the 31. of August with dangerous blustering windes and tempests, which that night arose, was as uncomfortable: separating vs so as wee sayled, that not any of vs mette together, untill the 28. of September, which day we fell on the English coastes, betweene Sylley and the landes ende, and passed the channell, untill our arrival in the riuer of Thames.

The report of *Thomas Viars* passenger in the *Emanuel*, otherwise called the *Busse of Bridgewater*, wherein *James Leech* was Master, one of the ships in the last Voyage of Master *Martin Frobisher* 1578. concerning the the discouerie of a great Island in their way homeward the 12. of September.



The Island in
length 25.
leagues.
This Island is
in the latitude
of 57. degrees
and 1. second
part.
Two harbo-
roughs in this
Island.

The Busse of Bridgewater was left in Beares sound at Meta incognita, the second day of September behinde the flecte in some distresse; through much winde, ryding neere the Lee shoare, and forced there to ride it out upon the hazard of her cables and anchors, which were all aground but two. The third of September being fayre weather, and the winde North north west she set sayle, and departed thence, and fell with Frisland on the 8. day of September at five of the clocke at night, and then they set off from the Southwest point of Frisland, the wind being at East, and East Southeast, but that night the winde beared Southerly, and shifted oftentimes that night: but on the tenth day in the morning, the wind at West north west faire weather, they steered Southeast, and by South, and continued that course untill the 12. day of September, when about 11. a clocke before noone, they descryed a lande, which was from them about five leagues, and the Southermost part of it was Southeast by East from them, and the Northmost next, North North east, or North east. The Master accounted that the Southeast poynt of Frisland was from him at that instant when hee first descryed this new Islande, North west by North, 50. leagues. They account this Island to be 25. leagues long, and the longest way of it Southeast, and North west. The Southerne part of it is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1. second part, or there about. They continued in sight of it, from the 12. day at a 11. of the clocke, till the 13. day three of the clocke in the after noone, when they left it: and the last part they saw of it, bare from them North west by North. There appeared two Harbours upon that coast: the greatest of them seven leagues to the Northwards of the Southermost poynt, the other but foure leagues. There was very much yce neere the same land, and also twentie or thirty leagues from it, for they were not cleare of yce, till the 15. day of September after noone. They piped their Voyage homewards, and fell with the West part of Ireland about Galway, and had first sight of it on the 25. day of September.

Notes

Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple Esquire, giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with *M. Frobisher in his* North west discouerie, for their directions: And not vnfit to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre vp considerations of these and of such other things, not vnmeet in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.



That the first Seate be chosen on the seashoe, so as (if it may be) you may haue your owne Hauie within Bay, riuer or lake, within your Seate safe from the enemye: and so as the enemye shalbe forced to lie in open rode abroad with- out, to be dispersed with all windes and tempests that shall arise. Thus seated you shall be least subject to annoy of the enemye, so may you by your Hauie within passe out to all parts of the world, and so may the Shippes of England haue access to you to supply all wants, so may your commodities be caried away also. This seat is to be chosen in a temperate Climat, in sweete ayre, where you may possesse alwayes sweete water, wood, seacoales or turfe, with fish, flesh, graine, fruites, herbes and rootes, or so many of those as may suffice very necesserie for the life of such as shall plant there. And for the possessing of mines of golde, of siluer, copper, quicksiluer, or of any such precious thing, the wants of those needfull things may be supplied from some other place by sea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of,

Slate stone to tyle withall, or such clay as maketh tyle,

Stone to wall withall, if Byrke may not bee made,

Timber for buylding easely to be conuei- ed to the place,

Reede to couer houses or such like, if tyle or slate be not.

are to be looked for as things without which no Citie may be made nor people in ciuil sort be kept together,

The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to liue without traffique, or by traffique and by trade of marchandise. If they shall liue without sea traffique, at the first they become naked by want of linnen and woollen, and very miserable by infinite wants that will otherwise ensue, and so will they be forced of themselves to depart, or else easely they will be consumed by the Spanyards, by the Frenchmen, or by the naturall inhabitants of the countrey, and so the enter- prize becomes reprochfull to our Nation, and a let to many other good purposes that may be ta- ken in hand.

And by trade of marchandise they can not liue, except the Sea or the Land there may yeelde commoditie. And therefore you ought to haue most speciall regard of that poynt, and so to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and seate may draw to you access of Nauigation for the same, or that by your owne Nauigation you may cary the same out, and fetch home the supply of the wants of the seate.

Such Nauigation so to be employed shall, besides the supply of wants, be able to encounter with forreine force.

And for that in the ample vent of such things as are brought to you out of England by Sea, standeth a matter of great consequence, it behoueth that all humanitie and curtesie and much for- bearing of reuenge to the Inland people be vsed: so shall you haue firme amitie with your neigh- bours, so shall you haue their inland commodities to mainteine traffique, and so shall you waie rich and strong in force. Diuers and seuerall commodities of the inland are not in great plenty to be brought to your hands, without the ayde of some portable or Nauigable riuer, or ample lake, and therefore to haue the helpe of such a one is most requisite: And so is it of effect for the disperling of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlands.

Nothing is more to be indeyoured with the Inland people then familiarity. For so may you best discouer all the natural commodities of their countrey, & also all their wants, al their strengths, all their weaknesse, and with whom they are in warre, and with whom confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knowen you may worke many great effects of greatest consequence.

And in your planting the consideration of the climate and of the soyle be matters that are to be respected. For if it be so that you may let in the salt sea water, not mixed with the fresh into flats, where the sunne is of the heate that it is at Rochel, in the Bay of Portugal, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of skill, and so you haue wonne one noble commoditie for the fishing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the soyle and clymate be such as may peelo you the Grape as good as that at Burdeaux, as that in Portugal, or as that about Siuil in Spaine, or that in the Islands of the Canaries, then there resteth but a workeman to put in execution to make Wines, and to dresse Reliquins of the sunne and other, &c.

Or if ye finde a soyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie in the which you finde the Olive tree to growe: Then you may be assured of a noble marchandize for this Realme, considering that our great trade of clothing doeth require oyle, and weying how deere of late it is become by the vent they haue of that commoditie in the West Indies, and if you finde the wilde Olive there it may be grafted.

Or if you can find the berrie of Cochenile with which we colour Stammeltes, or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitte for our state of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the West Indies on that firme.

Or if you haue Hides of beasts fitte for sole Leather, &c. It will be a marchandize right good, and the Sauages there yet can not tanne Leather after our kinde, yet excellently after their owne manner.

Or if the soyle shall yeeld Figges, Almonds, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Oranges, Lemonds, Potatos, &c. there may arise some trade and traffique by Figs, Almonds, Sugar, Parmelade, Sucket, &c.

Or if great woods be found, if they be of Cypres, chests may be made, if they be of some kinde of trees, Pitch and Tarre may be made, if they be of some other, then they may yeeld Rosin, Turpentine, &c. and all for trade and traffique, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made, likewise ships and houses, &c.

And because traffique is a thing so materiall, I wish that great obseruation be taken what euery soyle yeeldeth naturall, in what commoditie soeuer, and what it may be made to yeelde by indouour, and to send vs notice home, that thereupon we may deuise what meanes may be thought of to raise trades.

Now admit that we might not be suffered by the Sauages to enioy any whole country or any more then the scope of a citie, yet if we might enioy traffique, and be assured of the same, we might be much enriched, our Maie might be increased, and a place of safetie might there be found, if change of religion or ciuill warres should happen in this realme, which are things of great benefit. But if we may enioy any large territorie of apt soyle, we might so vse the matter, as we should not depend vpon Spaine for oyles, sacks, reliques, oranges, lemons, spanish skins, &c. Nor vpon France for wood, bay salt, and Gascoyne wines, nor on Eastland for flaxe, pitch, tarre, mastes, &c. So we should not so exhaust our treasure, and so exceedingly enrich our doubtfull friends, as we doe, but should purchase the commodities that we want for halfe the treasure that now wee doe: and should by our owne industries and the benefites of the soyle there cheaply purchase oyles, wines, salt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, mastes, boozes, fish, golde, silver, copper, tallow, hides and many commodities: besides if there be no flats to make salt on, if you haue plentie of wood you may make it in sufficient quantitie for common vses at home there.

If you can keepe a safe Hauen, although you haue not the friendship of the neere neighbours, yet you may haue traffique by sea vpon one shoze or other, vpon that firme in time to come, if not present.

If you find great plentie of tymber on the shoze side or vpon any portable riuier, you were best to cut downe of the same the first winter, to be seasoned for ships, barks, boates and houses.

And if neere such wood there be any riuier or brooke vpon the which a sawing mill may be placed, it would doe great seruice, and therefore consideration would be had of such places.

And if such port & chosen place of setting were in possession and after fortified by arte, although by the land side our Englishmen were kept in, and might not enioy any traffique with the next neighbours, nor any victuals: yet might they victuall themselves of fish to serue very necessitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, and so haue vent of their marchandize of England & also haue victual, or by meanes hereupon to be bled, to force the next neighbours to amitie. And keeping a nauy at the setting place, they should find out along the tract of the land to haue traffique, and at diuers Islands also. And so this first seat might in time become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in time this place might become of all the prouinces round about the only gouernour. And if the place first chosen should not so well please our people, as some other more lately found out: There might be an easie remoue, and that might be raised, or rather kept for others of our nation to auoyd an ill neighbour.

If the soyles adioyning to such conuenient Hauen and setting places be found marishie and boggie,

boggie, then men skillful in drayning are to be carped thither. For arte may worke wonderful effects therein, and make the soyle rich for many uses.

To plant vpon an Island in the mouth of some notable riuer, or vpon the point of the land entering into the riuer, if no such Island be, were to great end. For if such riuer were nauigable or portable farre into the land, then would arise great hope of planting in fertile soyles, and traffike on the one or on the other side of the riuer, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other petty king contending there for dominion.

Such riuers found, both Barges and Boates may be made for the safe passage of such as shall pierce the same. These are to be couered with doubles of course linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the sauage from the tower.

Since euery soile of the world by arte may be made to yeeld things to feede and to clothe man, bying in your returne a perfect note of the soile without and within, and we shall deuise if neede requite to amend the same, and to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not frutes in your planting place to your liking, we shall in due orders furnish you with such kindes of plants to be carped thither the winter after your planting, as shall the very next summer following yeeld you some fruite, and the yeere next following, as much as shall suffice a towne as bigge as Calice, and that shortly after shall be able to yeeld you great store of strong durable good sider to drinke, and these trees shall be able to encrease you within lesse then seven yeres as many trees presently to beare, as may suffice the people of diuers parishes, which at the first settling may stand you in great stead, if the soile haue not the commoditie of frutes of goodnesse already. And because you oughe greedily to hunt after things that yeeld present reliefe, without trouble of carriage thither, therefore I make mention of these thus specially, to the end you may haue it specially in minde.

A true Discourse of the three Voyages of discouerie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northwest, vnder the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall: Before which, as a necessary Preface is prefixed a two-folde discourse, containing certaine reasons to proue all partes of the World habitable. Penned by Master George Best, a Gentleman employed in the same voyages.

What commodities and instructions may be reaped by diligent reading this Discourse.

- 1 **F**irst, by example may be gathered, how a Discoverer of new Countreies is to proceede in his first attempt of any Discouerie.
- 2 Item, how he should be provided of shipping, victuals, munition, and choice of men.
- 3 How to proceede and deale with strange people, be they neuer so barbarous, cruell and fierce, either by lenitie or other wise.
- 4 How trade of Merchandize may be made without money.
- 5 How a Pilot may deale, being inuironed with mountaines of yce in the frozen Sea.
- 6 How length of dayes, change of seasons, Summers and Winters doe differ in sundry regions.
- 7 How dangerous it is to attempt new Discoueries, either for the length of the voyage, or the ignorance of the language, the want of Interpreters, new and vnaccustomed Elements and ayres, strange and vnfauoury meates, danger of theues and robbers, fiercenesse of wilde beastes and fishes, hugenesse of woods, dangerousnesse of Seas, dread of tempestes, feare of hidden rockes, steepnesse of mountaines, darkenesse of sudden falling fogges, continuall paines taking without any rest, and infinite others.
- 8 How pleasant and profitable it is to attempt new Discoueries, either for the sundry sights and shapes of strange beastes and fishes, the wonderfull workes of nature, the different maners and fashions of diuers nations, the sundry sortes of government, the sight of strange trees, fruite, foules, and beastes, the infinite treasure of Pearle, Golde and Silver, the netues of newe found landes, the sundry positions of the Sphere, and many others.
- 9 How valiant Captaines vse to deale vpon extremitie, and otherwise.
- 10 How trustie souldiers dutifully vse to serue.
- 11 Also here may bee seene a good example to be obserued of any priuate person, in taking notes, and making obseruations of all such things as are requisite for a Discoverer of newe Countreies.
- 12 Lastly,

12 Lastly, the Reader here may see a good paterne of a well governed service, sundry instructions of matters of Cosmographie, Geographie, and Navigation, as in reading more at large may be seene.

Experiences and reasons of the Sphere, to prooue all partes of the worlde habitable, and thereby to confute the position of the five Zones.

Experience to
proue that Tor-
rida Zona is ha-
bitable.



First, it may be gathered by experience of our Englishmen in Anno 1553. For Captaine Windam made a Voyage with Merchandise to Guinea, and entred so farre within the Torrida Zona, that he was within three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, and his company abiding there certaine Moneths, returned with gaine.

Marochus more
hote then a-
bout the Equi-
noctiall.

Also the Englishmen made another Voyage very prosperous and gainefull, An. 1554. to the coasts of Guinea, within 3. degrees of the Equinoctiall. And yet it is reported of a truerh, that all the tract from Cape de las Palmas trending by C. de tres puntas alongst by Benin, vnto the Ile of S. Thomas (which is perpendicular vnder the Equinoctiall) all that whole Bay is more subiect to many blooming and smothering heates, with infectious and contagious ayres, then any other place in all Torrida Zona: and the cause thereof is some accidents in the land. For it is most certaine, that mountains, Seas, woods and lakes &c. may cause through their sundry kinde of situation, sundry strange and extraordinary effects, which the reason of the clyme other wise would not giue. I mention these Voyages of our Englishmen, not so much to prooue that Torrida Zona may bee, and is inhabited, as to shew their readinesse in attempting long and dangerous Navigations. Wee also among vs in England haue blacke Moores, Ethiopians, out of all partes of Torrida Zona, which after a small continuance, can well endure the colde of our Countrey, and why should not we as well abide the heate of their Countrey? But what should I name any more experiences, seeing that all the coastes of Guinea and Benin are inhabited of Portugals, Spanyardes, French, and some Englishmen, who there haue built Castles and Townes. Onely this I will say to the Merchants of London, that trade peerele to Marochus, it is very certaine, that the greatest part of the burning Zone is farre more temperate and coole in Iune, then the Countrey of Marochus, as shall appeare by these reasons and experiences following. For let vs first consider the breadth and bignesse of this burning Zone (which as euery man knoweth, is 47. degrees) each Tropicke, which are the bounders thereof, being 23. degrees and a halfe distant from the Equinoctiall. Imagine againe two other Parallels, on each side the Equinoctiall one, eyther of them distant from the Equinoctiall about 20. degrees, which Parallels may be described either of them twice a peere by the Sunne, being in the first degrees of Gemini the 11. of May, and in Leo the 13. of Iuly, hauing North latitude. And againe, the Sunne being in the first degrees of Sagittarius, the 12. of Nouember, and in Aquarius the 9. of Ianuary, hauing South latitude, I am to prooue by experience and reason, that all that distance included betwene these two Parallels last named (conteyning 40. degrees in latitude, going round about the earth, according to longitude) is not onely habitable, but the same most fruitfull and delectable, and that if any extremitie of heate bee, the same not to be within the space of twenty degrees of the Equinoctiall on either side, but onely vnder and about the two Tropickes, and so proportionally the neerer you doe approach to eyther Tropicke, the more you are subiect to extremitie of heate (if any such be) and so Marochus being situate but five or seuen degrees from the Tropicke of Cancer, shall be more subiect to heate, then any place vnder or neere the Equinoctiall line.

Marvellous
fruitfull soile
vnder the E-
quinoctiall.

And first by the experience of sundry men, yea thousands, Trauailers and Merchants, to the East and West Indies in many places both directly vnder, and hard by the Equinoctiall, they with one consent affirme, that it aboundeth in the middest of Torrida Zona with all manner of Graine, Pearbes, grasse, fruite, woods and cattell, that we haue heere, and thousandes other sortes, farre more wholesome, delectable and pretious, then any wee haue in these Northerne climates, as very well shall appeare to him that will reade the Histories and Navigations of such as haue traueiled Arabia, India intra & extra Gangem, the Islands Molucca, America, &c. which all lye about the middle of the burning Zone, where it is truly reported, that the great hearbes, as are Radish, Lettuce, Colewortes, Bozage, and such like, doe more ripe, greater, more sauourie and delectable in taste then ours, within fiftene dayes after the seede is sown. Theate being sowed the first of Februarie, was found ripe the first of May, and generally, where it is

it is lesse fruitfull, the wheate will be ripe the fourth moneth after the seed is sowne, and in some places will bring forth an eare as bigge as the wrist of a mans arme containing 1000. graines; Beanes, pease, &c. are there ripe twice a yeere. Also grasse being cut downe, will grow vp in fixe dayes aboute one foote high. If our cattell be transported thither, within a small time they yong-ones become of bigger stature, and more fat then euer they would haue bene in these countreys. There are found in euery wood in great numbers, such timber trees as twelue men holding handes together are not able to fatchome. And to be short, all they that haue bene there with one consent affirme, that there are the goodliest greene medowes and plaines, the fairest mountaines covered with all sorts of trees and fruites, the fairest valleys, the goodliest pleasant fresh rivers, stozed with infinite kinde of fishes, the thickest woods, greene and bearing fruite all the whole yeere, that are in all the world. And as for gold, siluer, and all other kinde of Metals, all kinde of spices and delectable fruites, both for delicacie and health, are there in such abundance, as hitherto they haue bene thought to haue bene byed no where else but there. And in conclusion, it is now thought that no where else but vnder the Equinoctiall, or not farre from thence, is the earthly Paradise, and the onely place of perfection in this worlde. And that these things may seeme the lesse strange, because it hath bene accompted of the olde Philosophers, that there coulde nothing prosper for the extreme heat of the Sunne continually going ouer their heades in the Zodiacke, I thought good here to alleadge such naturall causes as to me seeme very substantiall and sure reasons.

Great trees.

Commodities and pleasures vnder the Equinoctiall.

First you are to vnderstand that the Sunne doeth worke his more or lesse heat in these lower parts by two meanes, the one is by the kinde of Angle that the Sunne beames doe make with the earth, as in all Torrida Zona it maketh perpendicularly right Angles in some place or other at noone, and towards the two Poles very oblique and vniuen Angles. And the other meane is the longer or shorter continuance of the Sunne aboute the Horizon. So that where soeuer these two causes do most concurre, there is most excelle of heat: and when the one is wanting, the rigor of the heat is lesse. For though the Sunne beames do beat perpendicularly vpon any region subiect vnto it, if it hath no continuance or abode aboute the Horizon, to worke his operation in, there can no hote effect proceed. For nothing can be done in a moment. And this second cause mora Solis supra Horizontem, the time of the sunnes abiding aboute the Horizon, the olde Philosophers neuer remembred, but regarded onely the maner of Angles that the Sunne beames made with the Horizon, which if they were equall and right, the heat was the greater, as in Torrida Zona: if they were vnequall and oblique, the heat was the lesse, as towards both Poles, which reason is very good and substantiall: for the perpendicular beames reflect and reuerberate in themselves, so that the heat is doubled, euery beame striking twice, & by uniting are multiplid, and continue strong in forme of a Columne. But in our Latitude of 50. and 60. degrees, the Sunne beames descend oblique and slanting wise, and so strike but once and depart, and therefore our heat is the lesse for any effect that the Angle of the Sunne beames make. Yet because wee haue a longer continuance of the Sunnes presence aboute our Horizon then they haue vnder the Equinoctiall; by this continuance the heat is increased, for it shineth to vs 16. or 18. houres sometime, when it continueth with them but twelue houres alwayes.

Great is called by two meanes that is by his maner of Angle and by his continuance.

Note this reason.

And againe, our night is very short wherein cold vapours vse to abound, being but fixe or eithe houres long, whereas theirs is alwayes twelue houres long, by which two aduantages of long dayes and short nights, though we want the equalitie of Angle, it commeth to passe that in Sommer our heat here is as great as theirs is there, as hath bene proued by experience, and is nothing dissonant from good reason. Therefore whosoever will rightly way the force of colde and heat in any region, must not onely consider the Angle that the Sunne beames make, but also the continuance of the same aboute the Horizon. As first to them vnder the Equinoctiall the Sunne is twice a yeere at noone in their Zenith perpendicular ouer their heades, and therefore during the two houres of those two dayes the heat is very vgent, and so perhaps it will be in foure or five dayes more an houre euery day, vntill the Sunne in his proper motion haue crossed the Equinoctiall; so that this extreme heat caused by the perpendicular Angle of the Sunne beames, endureth but two houres of two dayes in a yeere. But if any man say the Sunne may scalde a good while before and after it come to the Meridian, so farre forth as reason leaueh, I am content to allow it, and therefore I will measure and proportion the Sunnes heat, by comparing the Angles there, with the Angles made here in England, because this temperature is best known vnto vs. As for example, the 11. day of March, when vnder the Equinoctiall it is halfe houre past eight of the clocke in the morning, the Sunne will be in the East about 38. degrees aboute the Horizon, because there it riseth alwayes at fixe of the clocke, and mooueth euery houre 15. degrees,

E

and

and so high very neere will it be with vs at London the said eleuenth day of March at noone. And therefore looke what force the Sunne hath with vs at noone, the eleuenth of March, the same force it seemeth to haue vnder the Equinoctiall at half an houre past eight in the morning, or rather lesse force vnder the Equinoctiall. For with vs the Sunne had bene already sixe houres aboue the Horizon, and so had purified and clenfed all the vapours, and thereby his force encreased at noone; but vnder the Equinoctiall, the Sunne hauing bene by but two houres and an halfe, had sufficient to doe, to purge and consume the cold and moyst vapours of the long night past, and as yet had wrought no effect of heate. And therefore I may boldly pronounce, that there is much lesse heate at halfe an houre past eight vnder the Equinoctiall, then is with vs at noone; a fortiori. But in March we are not onely contented to haue the Sunne shining, but we greatly desire the same. Likewise the 11 of June, the Sunne in our Meridian is 62 degrees high at London: and vnder the Equinoctiall it is so high after 10 of the clocke, and seeing then it is beneficiall with vs; a fortiori it is beneficiall to them after 10 of the clocke.

And thus haue wee measured the force of the Sunnes greatest heate, the hottest dayes in the peere, vnder the Equinoctiall, that is in March and September, from sixe till after tenne of the clocke in the morning, and from two vntill Sunne set. And this is concluded, by respecting onely the first cause of heate, which is the consideration of the Angle of the Sunne beames, by a certaine similitude, that where as the Sunne shineth neuer aboue twelue houres, more then eight of them would bee coole and pleasant euen to vs, much more to them that are acquainted alwayes with such warme places. So there remaineth lesse then foure houres of any excessive heate, and that onely in the two Sommer dayes of the peere, that is the eleuenth day of March, and the foureteenth of September: for vnder the Equinoctiall they haue two Sommers, the one in March, and the other in September, which are our Spring and Autumne: and likewise two Winters, in June and December, which are our Sommer and Winter, as may well appeare to him that hath onely tasted the principles of the Sphere. But if the Sunne bee in either Tropicke, or approaching neere thereunto, then may wee more easily measure the force of his Meridian altitude, that it striketh vpon the Equinoctiall. As for example, the twelfth of June the Sunne will be in the first degree of Cancer. Then looke what force the heate of the Sunne hath vnder the Equinoctiall, the same force and greater it hath in all that Parallel, where the Pole is eleuated betweene fourtie and seuen, and fourtie and eight degrees. And therefore Paris in France the twelfth day of June sustaineth more heate of the Sunne, then Saint Thomas Iland lying neere the same Meridian doeth likewise at noone, or the Ilands Taprobana, Molucca, or the firme lande of Peru in America, which all lye vnderneath the Equinoctiall. For vpon the twelfth day of June aforesaide, the Sunne beames at noone doe make an Isosceles Triangle, whose Vertex is the Center of the Sunne, the Basis a line extended from Saint Thomas Iland vnder the Equinoctiall, vnto Paris in France neere the same Meridian: therefore the two Angles of the Base must needs be equal per 5. primi, Ergo the force of the heat equal, if there were no other cause then the reason of the Angle, as the olde Philosophers haue appointed. But because at Paris the Sunne riseth two houres before it riseth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, and setteth likewise two houres after them, by meanes of the obliquitie of the Horizon, in which time of the Sunnes presence foure houres in one place more then the other, it worketh some effect more in one place then in the other, and being of equall height at noone, it must then needs follow to be more hote in the Parallel of Paris, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall.

Paris in France
is as hote as
vnder the E-
quinoctiall in
June.

In June is
greater heat
at Paris then
vnder the E-
quinoctiall.

The twilights
are shorter, and
the nights
darker vnder
the Equinoctiall
then at
Paris.

Also this is an other reason, that when the Sunne setteth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, it goeth very deepe and lowe vnder their Horizon, almost euen to their Antipodes, whereby their twilights are very short, and their nights are made very extreme darke and long, and so the moisture and colnesse of the long nights wonderfully encreaseth, so that at length the Sunne rising can hardly in many houres consume and drie away the colde humours and moyst vapours of the night past, which is cleane contrary in the Parallel of Paris: for the Sunne goeth vnder their Horizon but very little, after a sloping sort, whereby their nights are not very darke, but lightsome, as looking into the North in a cleare night without cloudes it doeth manifestly appeare, their twilights are long: for the Parallel of Cancer cutteth not the Horizon of Paris at right Angles, but at Angles very vneuen, and unlike as it doeth the Horizon of the Equinoctiall. Also the Sommer day at Paris is sixteene houres long, and the night but eight: where contrarywise vnder the Equinoctiall the day is but twelue houres long, and so long is also the night, in whatsoever Parallel the Sunne be: and therefore looke what oddes and difference of proportion there is betweene the Sunnes abode aboue the Horizon in Paris, and the abode it hath vnder the Equinoctiall, (it being in Cancer) the same proportion would seeme to be betweene the heate of the one place,

place and heate of the other: for other things (as the Angle of the whole arke of the Sunnes progresse that day in both places) are equall.

But vnder the Equinoctiall the presence and abode of the Sunne aboute the Horizon is equall to his absence, and abode vnder the Horizon, eche being twelue houres. And at Paris the continuance and abode of the Sunne is aboute the Horizon sixteene houres long, and but eight houres absence, which proportion is double, from which if the proportion of the equalitie be subtracted to finde the difference, there will remaine still a double proportion, whereby it seemeth to follow, that in Iune the heate at Paris were double to the heate vnder the Equinoctiall. For (as I haue said) the Angles of the Sunne beames are in all points equall, and the cause of difference is, *Mora Solis supra Horizontem*, the stay of the Sunne in the one Horizon more then in the other. Therefore, whoeuer could finde out in what proportion the Angle of the Sunne beames heateth, and what encrease the Sunnes continuance doeth adde thereunto, it might expressely be set downe, what force of heat and cold is in all regions.

In what proportion the Angle of the Sun beames heateth.

Thus you partly see by comparing a Climate to vs well knowen, and familiarly acquainted by like height of the Sunne in both places, that vnder the Equinoctiall in Iune is no excessive heat, but a temperate aire rather tending to cold. For as they haue there for the most part a continuall moderate heat, so yet sometime they are a little pinched with colde, and vse the benefite of fire as well as we, especially in the euening when they goe to bed, for as they lye in hanging beds tied fast in the vpper part of the house, so will they haue fires made on both sides their bed, of which two fires, the one they deuise superstitiously to driue away spirits, and the other to keepe away from them the coldnesse of the nights.

They vse and haue neede of fire vnder the Equinoctiall.

Also in many places of *Torrida Zona*, especially in the higher landes somewhat mountainous, the people a litle shyncke at the cold, and are often forced to prouide themselves clothing, so that the Spaniards haue found in the West Indies many people clothed, especially in Winter, whereby appeareth, that with their heat there is colde intermingled, else would they neuer prouide this remedy of clothing, which to them is rather a grieve and trouble then otherwise. For when they goe to warres, they will put off all their apparell, thinking it to be combersome, and will alwayes goe naked, that they thereby might be more nimble in their fight.

Cold intermingled with heat vnder the Equinoctiall.

Some there be that thinke the middle Zone extreme hot, because the people of the countrey can, and doe liue without clothing, wherein they childishly are deceiued: for our Climate rather tendeth to extremitie of colde, because wee cannot liue without clothing: for this our double lining, furring, and wearing so many clothes, is a remedy against extremitie, and argueth not the goodnesse of the habitation, but inconuenience and iniury of colde: and that is rather the moderate, temperate, and delectable habitation, where none of these troublesome things are required, but that we may liue naked and bare, as nature bringeth vs forth.

Others againe imagine the middle Zone to be extreme hot, because the people of Africa, especially the Ethiopians, are so cole blacke, and their haire like wooll curled short, which blacknesse and curled haire they suppose to come onely by the parching heat of the Sunne, which how it should be possible I cannot see: for euen vnder the Equinoctiall in America, and in the East Indies, and in the Islands Moluccæ the people are not blacke, but tawney and white, with long haire vncurled as wee haue, so that if the Ethiopians blacknesse came by the heat of the Sunne, why should not those Americans and Indians also be as blacke as they, seeing the Sunne is equally distant from them both, they abiding in one Parallel: for the concave and conuexe Superficies of the Dybe of the Sunne is concentricke, and equidistant to the earth; except any man should imagine somewhat of *Aux Solis*, and *Oppositum*, which indifferently may be applied aswel to the one place as to the other. But the Sunne is thought to giue no otherwise heat, but by way of Angle in reflection, and not by his neerenesse to the earth: for throughout all Africa, yea in the midst of the middle Zone, and in all other places vpon the tops of mountaines there lyeth continuall snow, which is neerer to the Dybe of the Sunne, then the people are in the valley, by so much as the height of these mountaines amount vnto, and yet the Sunne notwithstanding his neerenesse, can not melt the snow for want of conuenient place of reflections. Also the middle region of the aire where all the haile, frost, and snow is engendred, is neerer vnto the Sunne then the earth is, and yet there continueth perpetuall cold, because there is nothing that the Sunne beames may reflect against, whereby appeareth that the neerenesse of the body of the Sunne worketh nothing.

Ethiopians blacke, with curled haire.

The Sunne heateth not by his neerenesse, but onely by reflection.

Therefore to retorne againe to the blacke Moores, I my selfe haue seene an Ethiopian as blacke as a cole brought into England, who taking a faire English woman to wife, begat a sonne in all respects as blacke as the father was, although England were his native countrey, and an English woman his mother: whereby it seemeth this blacknesse proceedeth rather of some natural

A black Moores sonne begotten in England.

The colour
of the people
in Meta Incog-
nita.
The complexi-
on of the peo-
ple of Meta in-
cognita.

infection of that man, which was so strong, that neither the nature of the Climate, neither the good complexion of the mother concurring, coulde any thing alter, and therefore wee cannot impute it to the nature of the Climate. And for a more fresh example, our people of Meta Incognita (of whom and for whom this discourse is taken in hande) that were brought this last yeere into England, were all generally of the same colour that many nations be, lying in the midst of the middle Zone. And this their colour was not onely in the face which was subject to Sunne and aire, but also in their bodies, which were still couered with garments as ours are, yea the very sucking childe of twelue moneths age had his skinne of the very same colour that most haue vnder the Equinoctiall, which thing cannot proceed by reason of the Climate, for that they are at least ten degrees more towards the North then wee in England are, No, the Sunne neuer cometh neere their Zenith by fourtie degrees: for in effect, they are within thre or foure degrees of that which they call the frozen Zone, and as I saide, fourtie degrees from the burning Zone, where- by it followeth, that there is some other cause then the Climate or the Sonnes perpendicular reflexion, that should cause the Ethiopians great blacknesse. And the most probable cause to my iudgement is, that this blacknesse proceedeth of some naturall infection of the first inhabitants of that Countrey, and so all the whole progenie of them descended, are still polluted with the same blot of infection. Therefore it shall not bee farre from our purpose, to examine the first originall of these blacke men, and howe by a lineall discent they haue hitherto continued thus blacke.

The cause of
the Ethiopians
blacknesse.

The Arke of
Noe.

Thus the sonne
of Cham accu-
sed.

Africa was cal-
led Chamefis.

It manifestly and plainly appeareth by holy Scripture, that after the generall inundation and ouerflowing of the earth, there remained no moe men aliue, but Noe and his thre sonnes, Sem, Cham, and Iaphet, who onely were left to possesse and inhabite the whole face of the earth: therefore all the sundry discents that vntill this present day haue inhabited the whole earth, must needes come of the off-spring either of Sem, Cham, or Iaphet, as the onely sonnes of Noe, who all thre being white, and their wiues also, by course of nature should haue begotten and brought forth white children. But the enuie of our great and continuall enemy the wicked Spirite is such, that as hee coulde not suffer our olde father Adam to liue in the felicitie and Angeliike state wherein hee was first created, but tempting him, sought and procured his ruine and fall: so againe, finding at this flood none but a father and thre sonnes liuing, hee so caused one of them to transgresse and disobey his fathers commaundement, that after him all his posteritie should bee accursed. The fact of disobedience was this: When Noe at the commaundement of God had made the Arke and entred therein, and the flood-gates of heauen were opened, so that the whole face of the earth, euery tree and mountaine was couered with abundance of water, hee straitely commaunded his sonnes and their wiues, that they should with reuerence and feare beholde the iustice and mighty power of God, and that during the time of the flood while they remained in the Arke, they should vse continencie, and abstaine from carnall copulation with their wiues: and many other precepts hee gaue vnto them, and admonitions touch- ing the iustice of God, in reuenging sinne, and his mercie in deliuering them, who nothing de- serued it. Which good instructions and exhortations notwithstanding his wicked sonne Cham disobeyed, and being perswaded that the first childe borne after the flood (by right and Lawe of nature) should inherite and possesse all the dominions of the earth, hee contrary to his fathers commaundement while they were yet in the Arke, vsed company with his wife, and craftily went about thereby to dis-inherite the off-spring of his other two brethren: for the which wicked and detestable fact, as an example for contempt of Almighty God, and disobedience of parents, God would a sonne should bee borne whose name was Chus, who not onely it selfe, but all his po- steritie after him should bee so blacke and lothsome, that it might remaine a spectacle of disobe- dience to all the worlde. And of this blacke and cursed Chus came all these blacke Moores which are in Africa, for after the water was vanishes from off the face of the earth, and that the lande was dry, Sem chose that part of the land to inhabite in, which now is called Asia, and Iaphet had that which now is called Europa, wherein wee dwell, and Africa remained for Cham and his blacke sonne Chus, and was called Chamefis after the fathers name, being perhaps a cur- sed, dry, sandy, and vnfruitfull ground, fit for such a generation to inhabite in.

Thus you see, that the cause of the Ethiopians blacknesse is the curse and naturall infection of blood, and not the distemperature of the Climate; Which also may bee proued by this ex- ample, that these blacke men are found in all parts of Africa, as well without the Tropickes, as within, euen vnto Capo de buona Speranza Southward, where, by reason of the Sphere, should be the same temperature that is in Sicilia, Morea and Candie, where al be of very good com- plexions. Therefore I conclude, that the blacknesse proceedeth not of the hotenesse of the Climate, but

but as I saide, of the infection of blood, and therefore this their argument gathered of the Africans blacknesse is not able to destroy the temperature of the middle Zone. Wee may therefore very well bee ascertained, that vnder the Equinoctiall is the most pleasant and desirable place of the worlde to dwell in; where although the Sunne for two houres in a yeere be direct ouer their heades, and therefore the heate at that time somewhat of force, yet because it commeth so seldome, and continueth so small a time, when it commeth, it is not to bee wayed, but rather the moderate heate of other times in all the yeere to be remembred. And if the heate at any time should in the short day ware somewhat vrgent, the coldnesse of the long night there would easily refresh it, according as Honterus saith, speaking of the temperature vnder the Equinoctiall,

Greatest temperature vnder the Equinoctiall.

Quódque die solis violento incanduit aestu,
Humida nox reficit, paribulque refrigerat horis.

If the heate of the Sunne in the day time doe burne or parch any thing, the moysture of the night doeth coole and refresh the same againe, the Sunne being as long absent in the night, as it was present in the day.

Also our Authour of the Sphere, Iohannes de Sacro Bosco, in the Chapter of the Zodiacke, deriueth the Etymologie of Zodiacus, of the Greeke word Zoe, which in Latine signifieth Vira, life; for out of Aristotle hee alleadgeth, that Secundum accessum & recessum solis in Zodiaco, sunt generationes & corruptiones in rebus inferioribus: according to the Sunnes going to and fro in the Zodiacke, the inferior bodies take their causes of generation and corruption. Then it followeth, that where there is most going too and fro, there is most generation and corruption: which must needs be betweene the two Tropicks; for there the Sunne goeth too and fro most, and no where else but there. Therefore betweene the two Tropicks, that is, in the middle Zone, is greatest increase, multiplication, generation, and corruption of things, which also wee finde by experience; for there is Sommer twice in the yeere, and twice Winter, so that they haue two Haruests in the yeere, and continuall Spring. Seeing then the middle Zone falleth out so temperate, it resteth to declare where the hottest part of the worlde should bee, for we finde some places more hote then others.

Under the Equinoctiall is greatest generation.

To answer this doubt, reason perswadeth, the hottest place in the worlde to bee vnder and about the two Tropicks; for there more then in any other place doe both the causes of heate concur, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames, at right angles, and a greater continuance of the Sunne about the Horizon, the Pole there being eleuated three or foure and twentie degrees. And as before I concluded, that though the Sunne were perpendicular to them vnder the Equinoctiall, yet because the same continued but a small time, (their dayes being short, and their nights long) and the speedie departure of the Sunne from their Zenith, because of the suddaine crossing of the Zodiacke with the Equinoctiall, and that by such continuall course and recourse of hote and colde, the temperature grew moderate, and very well able to bee endured: so now to them vnder the two Tropicks, the Sunne hauing once by his proper motion declined twentie degrees from the Equinoctiall, beginneth to draw neere their Zenith, which may bee (as before) about the eleuenth day of May, and then beginneth to sende his beames almost at right Angles, about which time the Sunne entereth into the first degree of Gemini, and with this almost right Angle the Sunne beames will continue vntill it bee past Cancer, that is, the space of two moneths every day at noone, almost perpendicular ouer their heades, being then the time of Solstitium Aestiuale: which so long continuance of the Sunne about their Zenith may cause an extreme heate (if any be in the worlde) but of necessitie farre more heate then can bee vnder the Equinoctiall, where the Sunne hath no such long abode in the Zenith, but passeth away there-hence very quickly. Also vnder the Tropicks, the day is longer by an houre and a halfe, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall; wherefore the heate of the Sunne hauing a longer time of operation, must needs be increased, especially seeing the night wherein colde and moysture doe abound vnder the Tropicks, is lesse then it is vnder the Equinoctiall. Therefore I gather, that vnder the Tropicks is the hottest place, not onely of Torrida Zona, but of any other part of the worlde, especially because there both causes of heate doe concur, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames two monethes together, and the longer abode of the Sunnes presence about the Horizon. And by this meanes more at large is proued, that Marochus in Sommer is farre more hote, then at any time vnder the Equinoctiall, because it is situate so neere the Tropick of Cancer, and also for the length of their dayes. Neither yet do I thinke, that the Regions situate vnder the Tropicks are not habitable, for they are found to be very fruitful also; although Marochus and some other parts of Africke neere the Tropick for the drynesse of the

Greatest heate vnder the Tropicks.

Marochus is the hottest place vnder the Tropicks.

Cuba.
Hispaniola.

native sandie soile, and some accidents may seeme to some to be intemperate for ouer much heat. For Ferdinandus Ouiedus speaking of Cuba and Hispaniola, Islands of America, lying hard vnder, or by the Tropike of Cancer, saith, that these Islands haue as good pasture for cattell, as any other countrey in the world.

Under the
Tropikes is
moderate tem-
perature.

Also, they haue most wholesome and cleare water, and temperate aire, by reason whereof the herds of beastes are much bigger, fatter, and of better taste, then any in Spaine, because of the ranke pasture, whose moisture is better digested in the hearbe or grasse, by continuall and temperate heate of the Sunne, whereby being made moze fat and vncious, it is of better and moze stedfast nourishment: For continuall and temperate heate doeth not onely drawe much moisture out of the earth to the nourishment of such things as growe, and are engendred in that Climate, but doeth also by moderation preserve the same from putrifying, digesting also, and condensing or thickning the said moist nourishment into a gumme and vncious substance, whereby appeareth also, that vnder the Tropikes is both wholesome, fruitfull, and pleasant habitation, whereby lastly it followeth, that all the middle Zone, which vntill of late dayes hath bene comp- ted and called the burning, broyling, and parched Zone, is now found to be the most delicate, tem- perate, commodious, pleasant, and delectable part of the world, and especially vnder the Equi- noctiall.

Having now sufficiently at large declared the temperature of the middle Zone, it remaineth to speake somewhat also of the moderate and continuall heate in colde Regions, as well in the night as in the day all the Sommer long, and also how these Regions are habitable to the inhabi- tants of the same, contrary to the opinion of the olde writers.

Of the temperature of colde Regions all the Sommer long, and also how in Winter the same is habitable, especially to the inhabi- tants thereof.

aine Clis-
mates.



he colde Regions of the world are those, which tending toward the Poles Arc- tike, and Antarktike, are without the circuite or boundes of the seven Cli- mates: which assertion agreeable to the opinion of the olde Writers, is found and set out in our authour of the Sphere, Iohannes de Sacrobosco, where hee plainly saith, that without the seventh Climate, which is bounded by a Paral- lel passing at fiftie degrees in Latitude, all the habitation beyonde is discom- modious and intollerable. But Gemma Frisus a late writer finding England and Scotland to be without the compasse of those Climates, wherein hee knewe to be very temperate and good habitation, added thereunto two other Climates, the vntermost Parallel whereof passeth by 56. degrees in Latitude, and therein comprehendeth ouer and aboue the first computation, England, Scotland, Denmarke, Moscouia, &c. which all are rich and mightie kingdomes.

A comparison
betweene Ma-
rochus and
England.

The olde writers perswaded by bare coniecture, went about to determine of those places, by comparing them to their owne complexions, because they felt them to be hardly tollerable to themselves, and so took thereby an argument of the whole habitable earth; as if a man borne in Marochus, or some other part of Barbarie, should at the latter end of Sommer vpon the suddaine, either naked, or with his thinne vesture, be brought into England, hee would iudge this Re- gion presently not to be habitable, because hee being brought by in so warme a Countrey, is not able here to liue, for so suddaine an alteration of the colde aire: but if the same man had come at the beginning of Sommer, and so afterward by little and little by certaine degrees, had felt and acquainted himselfe with the frost of Autumne, it would haue seemed by degrees to har- den him, and so to make it farre moze tollerable, and by vse after one yeere or two, the aire would seeme to him moze temperate. It was computed a great matter in the olde time, that there was a brasle pot broken in sunder with frosen water in Pontus, which after was brought and shewed in Delphis, in token of a miraculous colde region and winter, and therefore consecra- ted to the Temple of Apollo.

This effect being wrought in the Parallel of fouretie three degrees in Latitude, it was pre- sently counted a place very hardly and vneasily to be inhabited for the great colde. And how then can such men define vpon other Regions very farre without that Parallel, whether they were inhabited or not, seeing that in so neere a place they so grossely mistooke the matter, and others their followers being contented with the inuentions of the olde Authours, haue persisted willing- ly in the same opinion, with moze confidence their consideration of the cause: so lightly was that opi- nion receiued, as touching the uninhabitable Climate neere and vnder the Poles.

Therefore

Therefore I am at this present to proue, that all the land lying betwene the last climat euen vnto the point directly vnder either poles, is or may be inhabited; especially of such creatures as are ingendred and bred therein. For indeed it is to be confessed, that some particular living creature cannot liue in euery particular place or region, especially with the same toy and felicitie, as it did where it was first bred, for the certaine agreement of nature that is betwene the place and the thing bred in that place; as appeareth by the Elephant, which being translated and brought out of the second or third climat, though they may liue, yet will they neuer ingender or bring forth yong. Also we see the like in many kinds of plants and herbes; for example, the Orange trees, although in Naples they bring forth fruit abundantly, in Rome and Florence they will beare onely faire Greene leaues, but not any fruit: and translated into England; they will hardly beare either flowers, fruit, or leaues, but are the next Winter pinched and withered with colde: yet it followeth not for this, that England, Rome, and Florence should not be habitable.

All the North regions are habitable.

Orange trees.

Orange trees.

Two causes of heat.

In the prouing of these colde regions habitable, I shal be very short, because the same reasons serue for this purpose, which were alleged before in the prouing the middle Zone to be temperate, especially seeing all heat and colde proceed from the Sunne, by the meanes either of the Angle which his beames do make with the Horizon, or els by the long or short continuance of the Sunnes presence aboue ground: so that if the Sunnes beames do beat perpendicularly at right Angles, then there is one cause of heat, and if the Sunne do also long continue aboue the Horizon, then the heat thereby is much increased by access of this other cause, & so groweth to a kinde of extremity. And these two causes, as I sayd before, do most concurre vnder the two Tropicks, and therefore there is the greatest heat of the world. And likewise, where both these causes are most absent, there is greatest want of heat, and increase of colde (seeing that colde is nothing but the priuation and absence of heat) and if one cause be wanting, and the other present, the effect will grow indifferent. Therefore this is to be understood, that the nearer any region is to the Equinoctiall, the higher the Sunne doth rise ouer their heads at noone, and so maketh either right or neere right Angles, but the Sunne tarieth with them so much the shorter time, and causeth shorter dayes, with longer and colder nights, to restore the damage of the day past, by reason of the moisture consumed by vapour. But in such regions, ouer the which the Sunne riseth lower (as in regions extended towards either pole) it maketh there vnequall Angles, but the Sunne continueth longer, and maketh longer dayes, and causeth so much shorter and warmer nights, as retaining warme vapours of the day past. For there are found by experience Summer nights in Scotland and Gothland very hot, when vnder the Equinoctiall they are found very cold. This benefit of the Sunnes long continuance & increase of the day, both augment so much the more in colde regions as they are neerer the poles, and ceaseth not increasing untill it come directly vnder the point of the pole Arcticke, where the Sunne continueth aboue ground the space of six moneths or halfe a yere together, and so the day is halfe a yere long, that is the time of the Sunnes being in the North signes, from the first degree of Aries untill the last of Virgo, that is all the time from our 10 day of March untill the 14 of September. The Sunne therefore during the time of these six moneths without any offence or hindrance of the night, giueth his influence vpon those lands with heat that neuer ceaseth during that time, which maketh to the great increase of Summer, by reason of the Sunnes continuance. Therefore it followeth, that though the Sunne be not there very high ouer their heads, to cause right angle beames, and to giue great heat, yet the Sun being there sometime almost 24 degrees high doth cast a convenient and meane heat, which there continueth without hindrance of the night the space of six moneths (as is before sayd) during which time there followeth to be a convenient, moderate and temperate heat: or els rather it is to be suspected the heat there to be very great, both for continuance, and also, Quia virtus vnica crescit, the vertue and strength of heat vnited in one increaseth. If then there be such a moderate heat vnder the poles, and the same to continue so long time; what should moue the olde writers to say there cannot be place for habitation. And that the certainty of this temperate heat vnder both the poles might more manifestly appeare, let vs consider the position & quality of the sphere, the length of the day, and so gather the height of the Sunne at all times, and by consequent the quantity of his angle, and so lastly the strength of his heat.

Note nights here the pole. Colde nights vnder the Equinoctiall.

One day of six moneths.

Moderate heat vnder the poles.

Those lands and regions lying vnder the pole, and hauing the pole for their Zenith, must needs haue the Equinoctiall circle for their Horizon: therefore the Sunne rising into the North signes, and describing euery 24 houres a parallel to the Equinoctiall by the diurnall motion of Primus mobile, the same parallels must needs be wholly aboue the Horizon and so looke how many degrees there are from the first of Aries to the last of Virgo, so many whole reuolutions there are aboue their Horizon that dwell vnder the pole, which amount to 182; and so many of our dayes the

The Sunne neuer setteth in 182 dayes.

the Sunne continueth with them. During which time they haue there continuall day and light, without any hindrance of moist nights. Yet it is to be noted, that the Sunne being in the first degree of Aries, and last degree of Virgo, maketh his reuolution in the very horizon, so that in these 24 houres halfe the body of the Sunne is aboue the horizon, and the other halfe is vnder his only center, describing both the horizon and the equinoctiall circle.

Horizon and
Equinoctiall
all one vnder
the pole.

London.

London.

Commodious
dwelling vnder
the poles.

The nights
vnder the pole.

The nights
vnder the pole.

And therefore seeing the greatest declination of the Sunne is almost 24 degrees, it followeth, his greatest height in those countreys to be almost 24 degrees. And so high is the Sun at noone to vs in London about the 29 of October, being in the 15 degree of Scorpio, and likewise the 21 of January being in the 15 of Aquarius. Therefore looke what force the Sun at noone hath in London the 29 of October, the same force of heat it hath, to them that dwell vnder the pole, the space almost of two moneths, during the time of the Summer solticium, and that without intermingling of any colde night; so that if the heat of the Sunne at noone could be well measured in London (which is very hard to do, because of the long nights which ingender great moisture and cold) then would manifestly appeare by expresse numbers the manner of the heat vnder the poles, which certainly must needs be to the inhabitants very commodious and profitable, if it incline not to ouermuch heat, and if moisture do not want.

For as in October in England we finde temperate aire, and haue in our gardens hearths and floures notwithstanding our cold nights, how much more should they haue the same good aire, being continuall without night. This heat of ours continueth but one houre, while the Sun is in that meridian, but theirs continueth a long time in one height. This our heat is weake, and by the coolenesse of the night vanisheth, that heat is strong, and by continuall accesse is still increased and strengthened. And thus by a similitude of the equall height of the Sun in both places appeareth the commodious and moderate heat of the regions vnder the poles.

And surely I cannot thinke that the diuine prouidence hath made any thing vncommunicable, but to haue giuen such order to all things, that one way or other the same should be imployed, and that every thing and place should be tollerable to the next: but especially all things in this lower world be giuen to man to haue dominion and vse thereof. Therefore we need no longer to doubt of the temperate and commodious habitation vnder the poles during the time of Summer.

But all the controuersie consisteth in the Winter, for then the Sunne leaueth those regions, and is no more seene for the space of other six moneths, in the which time all the Sunnes course is vnder their horizon for the space of halfe a pere, and then those regions (say some) must needs be deformed with horrible darknesse, and continuall night, which may be the cause that beaasts can not seeke their food, and that also the colde should then be intollerable. By which double euils all liuing creatures should be constrained to die, and were not able to indure the extremity and iniury of Winter, and famine ensuing thereof, but that all things should perish before the Summer following, when they should bring forth their brood and young, and that for these causes the sayd Climate about the pole should be desolate and not habitable. To all which obiections may be answered in this manner: First, that though the Sunne be absent from them those six moneths, yet it followeth not that there should be such extreme darknesse; for as the Sunne is departed vnder their horizon, so is it not farre from them: and not so soone as the Sunne falleth so suddenly cometh the darke night; but the euening doth substitute and prolong the day a good while after by twilight. After which time the residue of the night receiueth light of the Moone and Starres, vntill the breake of the day, which giueth also a certaine light before the Sunnes rising; so that by these meanes the nights are seldome darke; which is verified in all parts of the world, but least in the middle Zone vnder the Equinoctiall, where the twilights are short, and the nights darker then in any other place, because the Sunne goeth vnder their horizon so deepe, euen to their antipodes. We see in England in the Summer nights, when the Sunne goeth not farre vnder the horizon, that by the light of the Moone & Starres we may trauell all night, and if occasion were, do some other labour also. And there is no man that doubteth whether our cattell can see to feed in the nights, seeing we are so well certified thereof by our experience: and by reason of the sphere our nights should be darker then any time vnder the poles.

The Astronomers consent that the Sunne descending from our vpper hemisphere at the 18 parallel vnder the horizon maketh an end of twilight, so that at length the darke night insueth, and that afterward in the morning the Sun appoaching againe within as many parallels, doth drive away the night by accesse of the twilight. Again, by the position of the sphere vnder the pole, the horizon, and the equinoctiall are all one. These reuolutions therefore that are parallel to the equinoctiall are also parallel to the horizon, so that the Sunne descending vnder that horizon, and there describing certaine parallels not farre distant, doth not bring darke nights to those regions

regions untill it come to the parallels distant 18 degrees from the equinoctiall, that is, about the 21 degree of Scorpio, which will be about the 4 day of our November, and after the Winter solsticium, the Sunne returning backe againe to the 9 degree of Aquarius, which will be about the 19 of January; during which time onely, that is, from the 4 day of November untill the 19 day of January, which is about six weeks space, those regions do want the commoditie of twilights: therefore, during the time of these sayd six moneths of darknesse under the poles, the night is destitute of the benefit of the Sunne and the sayd twilights onely for the space of six weeks or thereabout. And yet neither this time of six weeks is without remedy from heaven; for the Moone with her increased light hath accesse at that time, and illuminateth the moneths lacking light every one of themselves severally halfe the course of that moneth, by whose benefit it cometh to passe that the night named extreame darke possesseeth those regions no longer then one moneth, neither that continually, or all at one time, but this also divided into two sorts of shorter nights, of the which either of them indureth for the space of 15 dayes, and are illuminate of the Moone accordingly. And this reason is gathered out of the sphere, whereby we may testifie that the Summers are warme and fruitfull, and the Winters nights under the pole are tolerable to living creatures. And if it be so that the Winter and time of darknesse there be very colde, yet hath not nature left them unprouided therefore: for there the beasts are couered with haire so much the thicker in how much the vehemency of colde is greater; by reason whereof the best and richest furies are brought out of the coldest regions. Also the fowles of these colde countreys haue thicker skinnes, thicker feathers, and more stozed of downe then in other hot places. Our English men that trauell to S. Nicholas, and go a fishing to Wardhouse, enter farre within the circle Arctike, and so are in the frozen zone, and yet there, as well as in Island and all along those Northern Seas, they finde the greatest stoz of the greatest fishes that are; as Whales, &c. and also abundance of meane fishes; as Herrings, Cods, Haddocks, Brets, &c. which argueth that the sea as well as the land may be and is well frequented and inhabited in the colde countreys.

The regions under the poles want twilights but six weeks.

Winter nights under the pole tolerable to living creatures

But some perhaps will maruell there should be such temperate places in the regions about the poles, when at vnder 62 degrees in latitude our captaine Frobisher & his company were troubled with so many and so great mountaines of fleeting ice, with so great stozmes of colde, with such continuall snow on tops of mountaines, and with such barren soile, there being neither wood nor trees, but low shrubs, and such like. To all which objections may be answered thus: First, those infinite Islands of ice were ingendred and congealed in time of Winter, and now by the great heat of Summer were thawed, and then by ebs, floods, winds, and currents, were driuen to and fro, and troubled the fleet; so that this is an argument to proue the heat in Summer there to be great, that was able to thaw so monstrous mountaines of ice. As for continuall snow on tops of mountaines, it is there no other wise then is in the hottest part of the middle zone, where also lieth great snow all the Summer long upon tops of mountaines, because there is not sufficient space for the Sunnes reflection, whereby the snow should be molten. Touching the colde stormy winds and the barrenesse of the country, it is there as it is in Cornwall and Devonshire in England, which parts though we know to be fruitfull and fertile, yet on the North side thereof all alongst the coast within seven or eight miles off the sea there can neither hedge nor tree grow, although they be diligently by arte husbanded and seene unto: and the cause thereof are the Northern driving winds, which comming from the sea are so bitter and sharpe that they kill all the young & tender plants, and suffer scarce any thing to grow; and so is it in the Islands of Meta incognita, which are subject most to East & Northeastern winds, which the last yere choaked by the passage so with ice that the fleet could hardly recouer their port. Yet notwithstanding all the objections that may be, the countrey is habitable; for there are men, women, children, & sundry kind of beasts in great plenty, as beares, deere, hares, foxes and dogs: all kinde of flying fowles, as ducks, seamewes, willets, partridges, larks, crows, hawks, and such like, as in the third booke you shall vnderstand more at large. Then it appeareth that not onely the middle zone but also the zones about the poles are habitable.

Wit objection of Meta incognita.

Meta incognita inhabited.

Which thing being well considered, and familiarly knowne to our Generall captaine Frobisher, as well for that he is thorowly furnished of the knowledge of the sphere and all other skillies appertaining to the arte of navigation, as also for the confirmation he hath of the same by many yeres experience both by sea and land, and being perswaded of a new and neuer passage to Cataya then by Capo de buona Sperança, which the Portugals yere by: he began first with himselfe to deuise, and then with his friends to conferre, and layed a plaine plat vnto them that that voyage was not onely possible by the North west, but also he could proue easie to be performed. And further he determined and resolved with himselfe to go make full prooffe thereof, and to accomplish or bring

Captaine Frobishers first voyage.

bying true certificate of the truth, or els neuer to returne againe, knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet vndone, whereby a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate. But although his will were great to performe this notable voyage, whereof he had conceived in his minde a great hope by sundry sure reasons and secret intelligence, which here for sundry causes I leaue vntouched, yet he wanted altogether meanes and ability to set forward, and performe the same. Long time he conferred with his priuate friends of these secrets, and made also many offers for the performing of the same in effect vnto sundry merchants of our countrey aboute 15 yerres before he attempted the same, as by good witness shall well appeare (albeit some euill willers which challenge to themselves the fruits of other mens labours haue greatly iniured him in the reports of the same, saying that they haue bene the first authours of that action, and that they haue learned him the way, which themselves as yet haue neuer gone) but perceiuing that hardly he was hearkened vnto of the merchants, which neuer regard vertue without sure, certaine, and present gaines, he repaired to the Court (from whence, as from the fountaine of our Common wealth, all good causes haue their chiefe increase and maintenance) and there layed open to many great estates and learned men the plot and summe of his deuce. And amongst many honourable minds which fauoured his honest and commendable enterpryse, he was specially bound and beholding to the right honourable Ambrose Dudley earle of Warwicke, whose fauourable minde and good disposition hath alwayes bene ready to countenance and aduance all honest actions with the authours and executers of the same: and so by meanes of my lord his honourable countenance he receiued some comfort of his cause, and by litle and litle, with no small expence and paine brought his cause to some perfection, and had drawen together so many aduenturers and such summes of money as might well defray a reasonable charge to furnish himselfe to sea withall.

He prepared two small barks of twenty and five and twenty tunne a piece, wherein he intended to accomplish his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furnished with the foresayd two barks, and one small pinnelle of ten tun burthen, hauing therein victuals and other necessities for twelue moneths prouision, he departed vpon the sayd voyage from Blacke-wall the 15 of Iune anno Domini 1576.

One of the barks wherein he went was named *The Gabriel*, and the other *The Michael*; and sailing Northwest from England vpon the 11 of Iuly he had sight of an high and ragged land, which he iudged to be *Frisland* (whereof some authours haue made mention) but durst not approach the same by reason of the great floze of ice that lay alongst the coast, and the great mists that troubled them not a litle. Not farre from thence he lost company of his small pinnelle, which by meanes of the great floze he supposed to be swallowed by of the Sea, wherein he lost onely foure men.

Also the other barke named *The Michael* mistrusting the matter, conueyed themselves pritiuily away from him, and returned home, with great report that he was cast away.

The worthy captaine notwithstanding these discomforts, although his mast was sprung, and his toppe mast blowen ouerboord with extreame foule weather, continued his course towards the Northwest, knowing that the sea at length must needs haue an ending, & that some land should haue a beginning that way; and determined therefore at the least to bring true prooofe what land and sea the same might be so farre to the Northwestwards, beyond any man that hath heretofore discovered. And the twentieth of Iuly he had sight of an high land, which he called *Queene Elizabeths Forland*, after her Maiesties name. And sailing more Northerly alongst that coast, he descried another forland with a great gut, bay, or passage, diuiding as it were two maine lands or continents asunder. There he met with floze of exceeding great ice all this coast along, and coueting still to continue his course to the Northwards, was alwayes by contrary winde detained ouerthwart these straights, and could not get beyond. Within few dayes after he perceiued the ice to be well consumed and gone, either there ingulfed in by some swift currents or indrafts, carried more to the Southwards of the same straights, or els conueyed some other way: wherefore he determined to make prooofe of this place, to see how farre that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himselfe thowto the same into some open sea on the backe side, whereof he conceived no small hope, and so entred the same the one and twentieth of Iuly, and passed aboute fifty leagues therein, as he reported, hauing vpon either hand a great maine or continent. And that land vpon his right hand as he sailed Westward he iudged to be the continent of Asia, and there to be diuided from the firme of America, which lieth vpon the left hand ouer against the same.

This place he named after his name, *Frobishers Streights*, like as *Magellanus* at y South west end

*The Michael
Returned
Home.*

*Frobishers first
entrance with
in y Straights.*

*Frobishers
Streights.*

end of the world, hauing discovered the passage to the South sea (where America is diuided from the continent of that land, which lieth vnder the South pole) and called the same straights, Magellanes Straits.

After he had passed 60 leagues into this foresayd straight, he went ashore, and found signes where fire had bene made.

He saw mighty deere that seemed to be mankinde, which ranne at him, and hardly he escaped Deere, with his life in a narrow way, where he was faine to vse defence and policy to saue his life.

In this place he saw and perceiued sundry tokens of the peoples resorting thither. And being ashore vpon the top of a hill, he perceiued a number of small things fleeting in the sea as farre off, which he supposed to be porpoises or seales, or some kinde of strange fish; but comming neerer, he discovered them to be men in small boats made of leather. And before he could descend downe from the hill, certaine of those people had almost cut off his boat from him, hauing stolen secretly behind the rocks for that purpose, where he speedily hasted to his boat, and bent himselfe to his halberd, and narrowly escaped the danger, and saued his boat. Afterwards he had sundry conferences with them, and they came aboard his ship, and brought him salmon and raw flesh and fish, and greedily deuoured the same before our mens faces. And to shew their agility, they tried many matteries vpon the ropes of the ship after our mariners fashion, and appeared to be very strong of their armes, and nimble of their bodie. They exchanged coats of seales, and beares skinnies, and such like, with our men; and receiued belles, looking glasses, and other toys, in recompense thereof againe. After great curtesie, and many meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captaines direction, began more easily to trust them; and five of our men going ashore were by them intercepted with their boat, and were neuer since heard of to this day againe: so that the captaine being destitute of boat, barke, and all company, had scarcely sufficient number to conduct backe his barke againe. He could now neither conuey himselfe ashore to rescue his men (if he had bene able) for want of a boat; and againe the subtile traitours were so wary, as they would after that neuer come within our mens danger. The captaine notwithstanding desired us to bring him taken from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of them: and therefore to deceiue the deceiuers he wrought a pretty policy; for knowing well how they greatly delighted in our toys, and specially in belles, he rang a pretty lowbell, making signes that he would giue him the same that would come and fetch it. And because they would not come within his danger for feare, he hung one bell vnto them, which of purpose he threw short, that it might fall into the sea and be lost. And to make them more greedy of the matter he rang a louder bell, so that in the end one of them came nere the ship side to receiue the bell; which when he thought to take at the captaines hand, he was thereby taken himselfe: for the captaine being readily prouided let the bell fall, and caught the man fast, and plucked him with maine force boat and all into his barke out of the sea. Whereupon when he found himselfe in captiuitie, for very choler and disdaine he bit his tongue in twaine within his mouth: notwithstanding, he died not thereof, but liued vntill he came in England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at sea.

Now with this new pray (which was a sufficient witnesse of the captaines farre and tedious trauell towards the vnknewen parts of the world, as did well appeare by this strange insidell, whose like was neuer seene, read, nor heard of before, and whose language was neither knowne nor vnderstood of any) the sayd captaine Frobisher returned homeward, and arriued in England in Harwich the 2 of October following, and thence came to London 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cathaya.

And it is especially to be remembred that at their first arriual in those parts there lay so great store of ice all the coast along so thicke together, that hardly his boat could passe vnto the shore. At length, after diuers attempts he commanded his company, if by any possible meanes they could get ashore, to bring him whatsoever thing they could first finde, whether it were liuing or dead, Locke or stone, in token of Christian possession, which thereby he tooke in behalfe of the Queenes most excellent Maiesty, thinking that thereby he might iustify the hauing and inioying of the same things that grew in these vnknewen parts.

Some of his company brought floures, some greene grasse; and one brought a ptece of blacke stone much like to a sea cole in colour, which by the waight seemed to be some kinde of mettall or minerall. This was a thing of no account in the iudgement of the captaine at the first sight; and yet for nouelty it was kept in respect of the place from whence it came.

After his arriual in London, being demanded of sundry his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that countrey, he had nothing left to present them withall but a ptece of this blacke stone,

The first sight
of the Sauiages.

Salmon.

Five English
men intercepted
and taken.

Taking of the
first Sauiage.

Frobishers
returne.

The taking
possession of
Meta incognita.

How the ore
was found by
chance.

Many adven-
turers.

In the second
voyage com-
mission was
given onely
for the bring-
ing of ore.

stone. And it fortun'd a gentlewoman one of the adventures wives to have a piece thereof, which by chance she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a little vinegar, it glittered with a bright marquet of golde. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certaine Goldfiners in London to make assay thereof, who gaue out that it held golde, and that very richly for the quantity. Afterwards, the same Goldfiners promised great matters thereof if there were any store to be found, and offered themselves to adventure for the searching of those parts from whence the same was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter sought secretly to have a lease at her Maiesties hands of those places, whereby to enjoy the masse of so great a publike profit unto their owne private gaires.

In conclusion, the hope of more of the same golde ore to be found kindled a greater opinion in the hearts of many to aduance the voyage againe. Whereupon preparation was made for a new voyage against the yere following, and the captaine more specially directed by commission for the searching more of this golde ore then for the searching any further discovery of the passage. And being well accompanied with diuers resolute and forward gentlemen, her Maiesty then lying at the right honourable the lord of Warwicks house in Essex, he came to take his leaue, and kissing her highnesse hands, with gracious countenance & comfortable words departed toward his charge.

A true report of such things as happened in the second voyage of captaine *Frobisher*, pretended for the discovery of a new passage to *Cataya*, *China*, and the *East India*, by the Northwest. *Ann. Dom. 1577.*

Being furnished with one tall ship of her Maiesties, named *The Ayde*, of two hundred tunne, and two other small barks, the one named *The Gabriel*, the other *The Michael*, about thirty tun a piece, being fully appointed with men, munition, victuals, and all things necessary for the voyage, the sayd captaine *Frobisher*, with the rest of his company came aboard his ships riding at *Blackwall*, intending (with Gods helpe) to take the first winde and tide seruing him, the 25 day of *May*, in the yere of our Lord God 1577.

The names of such gentlemen as attempted this discovery, and the number of souldiers and mariners in ech ship, as followeth.

Aboard the *Ayd* being Admirall were the number of 100 men of all sorts, whereof 30 or 40 were Gentlemen and Souldiers, the rest sufficient and tall Sailers.

Aboard the *Gabriel* being Viceadmirall, were in all 18 persons, whereof five were Souldiers, the rest Mariners.

Aboard the *Michael* were 16 persons, whereof five were Souldiers, the rest Mariners.

Aboard the *Ayde*
was

Generall of the whole company
for her Maiesty

His Lieutenant
His Ensigne
Corporall of the shot

The rest of the gentlemen

The Master
The Mate
The Pilot
The Master gunner

Martin Frobisher.

George Best.
Richard Philpot.
Francis Forder.

Henry Carew.
Edmund Stafford.
John Lee.
M. Harue.
Mathew Kinerley.
Abraham Lins.
Robert Kinerley.
Francis Brakenbury.
William Armshow.

Christopher Hall.
Charles Iackman.
Andrew Dier.
Richard Cox.

A board

Aboord the Gabriell was	Captaine	Edward Fenton.
	One Gentleman	
Aboord the Michaele was	The Master	William Tamfield.
	Captaine	Gilbert Yorke.
	One Gentleman	
	The Master	Thomas Chamberlaine
		James Beare.

On this Sunday being the 26 of May, Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anchor at Blackwall, and fell that tyde downe to Grauesend, where we remained vntill Monday at night.

On Monday morning the 27 of May, aboard the Ayde we receiued all the Communion by the Minister of Grauesend, and prepared vs as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes: and towards night we departed to Tilbery Hope.

Tuesday the eight and twenty of May, about nine of the clocke at night, we arrived at Harwich in Essex and there stayed for the taking in of certaine victuals, vntill Friday being the thirtieth of May, during which time came letters from the Lordes of the Councell, straitly commanding our Generall, not to exceede his complement and number appointed him, which was, one hundred and twentie persons: whereupon he discharged many proper men which with vnwilling mindes departed.

We also dismissed all his condemned men, which he thought for some purposes very needefull for the voyage, and towards night vpon Friday the one and thirtieth of May we set saile, and put to the Seas againe. And sayling Northward alongst the East coasts of England and Scotland, the seventh day of June we arrived in Saint Magnus Sound in Orkney Islands, called in latine Orcades, and came to anchor on the South side of the Bay, and this place is reckoned from Blackwall where we set saile first leagues.

Here our companie going on lande, the Inhabitants of these Ilandes begonne to flee as from the enemye, whereupon the Lieutenant willed euery man to stay together, and went himselfe vnto their houses to declare what we were and the cause of our comming thither, which being vnderstood, after their poore maner they friendly entreated vs, and brought vs for our money such things as they had. And here our Goldsmiths found a Mine of siluer.

Orkney is the principall of the Isles of the Orcades, and standeth in the latitude of fiftie nine degrees and a halfe. The countrey is much subiect to colde, answerable for such a climate, and yet yeldeth some fruites, and sufficient maintenance for the people contented so poorely to liue.

There is plentie ynough of Poultrye, store of eggges, fish, and foule.

For their beead they haue Dairie Cakes, and their drinke is Swes milke, and in some partes Ale.

Their houses are but poore without and fluttish ynough within, and the people in nature thereunto agreeable.

For their fire they burne heath and turf, the Countrey in most parts being void of wood.

They haue great want of Leather, and desire our old shoes, apparell, and old ropes (before money) for their victuals, and yet are they not ignorant of the value of our coine. The chiefe towne is called Kyrway.

In this Island hath bene sometime an Abbey or a religious house called Saint Magnus, being on the West side of the Ile, whereof this sound beareth name, through which we passed. Their Gouvernour or chiefe Lord is called the Lord Robert Steward, who at our being there, as we vnderstood, was in durance at Edinburgh, by the Regents commandement of Scotland.

After we had prouided vs here of matter sufficient for our voyage the eight of June wee set sayle againe, and passing through Saint Magnus Sound hauing a merrie winde by night, came cleare and lost sight of all the land, and keeping our course West Northwest by the space of two dayes, the winde shifted vpon vs so that we lay in trauerse on the Seas, with contrary windes, making good (as neere as we could) our course to the westward, and sometime to the Northward, as the winde shifted. And hereabout we met with 3 saile of English fishermen from Iceland, bound homeward, by whom we wrote our letters vnto our friends in England. We trauersed these Seas by the space of 26 dayes without sight of any land, and met with much drift wood, & whole bodies of trees. We sawe many monstrous fishes and strange foules, which seemed to liue onely

They receiue the communion.

The number of men in this voyage.

The condemned men discharged.

The first arrival after our departing from England.

A Mine of siluer found in Orkney.

Kyrway the chiefe towne of Orkney.

S. Magnus sound wher we called.

Great bodies of trees drifting in the seas. Monstrous fish & strange foules lining the Sea.

onely by the Sea, being there so farre distant from any land. At length God fauoured vs with moze prosperous windes, and after wee had sayled foure dayes with good winde in the Poop, the fourth of July the Michaell being foremost a head shot off a peece of Ordnance, and strooke all her sayles, supposing that they descried land, which by reason of the thicke mistes they could not make perfit: howbeit, as well our account as also the great alteration of the water, which became moze blacke and smooth, did plainly declare we were not farre off the coast. Our Generall sent his Master aboard the Michaell (who had bene with him the yere before) to beare in with the place to make prooffe thereof, who descried not the land perfect, but sawe sundry huge Islands of yce, which we deemed to be not past twelue leagues from the shore, for about tenne of the clocke at night being the fourth of July, the weather being moze cleare, we made the land perfect and knew it to be Frislande. And the heighth being taken here, we found our selues to be in the latitude of 60 degrees and a halfe, and were fallen with the Southermost part of this land. Betweene Orkney and Frisland are reckoned leagues.

Water being
blacke and
smooth, signi-
fieri land to be
neere.

The first sight
of Frisland the
4. of July.

Frisland des-
cribed.

An easie kind
of fishing.

White Corall
got by sound-
ing.

Monstrous
Isles of yce,
in taste fresh,
whereby
they are sup-
posed to come.

The opinion
of the frozen
Seas is de-
stroyed by ex-
perience.

The Stirrage
of the Michaell
broken by tem-
pest.
The first en-
trance of the
straights.

This Frislande sheweth a ragged and high lande, hauing the mountaines almost coue-
red ouer with snow alongst the coast full of dyft yce, and seemeth almost inaccessible, and is
thought to be an Island in bignesse not inferiour to England, and is called of some Autho-
rs, West Frislande, I thinke because it lyeth moze West then any part of Europe. It exten-
deth in latitude to the Northward very farre as seemed to vs, and appeareth by a description
set out by two byethzen Venerians, Nicholaus and Antonius Zeni, who being driuen off from
Ireland with a violent tempest made shipwracke here, and were the first known Christians that
discovered this land about two hundred yeares sithence, and they haue in their Sea-cards set
out euery part thereof and described the condition of the inhabitants, declaring them to be as
ciuill and religious people as we. And for so much of this land as we haue sayled alongst, com-
paring their Carde with the coast, we finde it very agreeable. This coast seemeth to haue good
fishing, for we lying becalmed let fall a hooke without any bayte and presently caught a great
fish called a Hollibut, who serued the whole companie for a dayes meate, and is dangerous
meate for surfering. And sounding about fise leagues off from the shore, our leade brought vp
in the tallow a kinde of Corall almost white, and small stones as bright as Chryfall: and
it is not to be doubted but that this land may be found very rich and beneficial if it were throug-
hly discovered, although we sawe no creature there but little birdes. It is a maruellous thing
to behold of what great bignesse and depth some Islands of yce be here, some seuentie, some
eightie sadome vnder water, besides that which is aboue, seeming Islands moze then halfe a
mile in circuit. All these yce are in taste fresh, and seeme to be bredde in the sounds therea-
bouts, or in some lande neere the pole, and with the winde and tides are driuen alongst the
coastes. We found none of these Islands of yce salt in taste, whereby it appeareth that they
were not congealed of the Ocean Sea water which is alwayes salt, but of some standing or lit-
tle mouing lakes or great fresh waters neere the shore, caused eyther by melted snowe from
tops of mountaines, or by continuall accesse of fresh riuers from the land, and intermingling
with the Sea water, bearing yet the dominion (by the force of extreame frost) may cause some
part of salt water to freeze so with it, and so seeme a little brackish, but otherwise the maine
Sea freezeth not, and therefore there is no Mare Glaciale or frozen Sea, as the opinion hi-
therto hath bene. Our Generall proued landing here twice, but by the suddaine fall of mistes
(whereunto this coast is much subiect) he was like to loose sight of his ships, and being great-
ly endangered with the driuing yce alongst the coast, was forced aboard and faine to surcease
his pretence till a better opportunitie might serue: and hauing spent foure dayes and nightes
sayling alongst this land, finding the coast subiect to such bitter colde and continuall mistes, he
determined to spend no moze time therein, but to beare out his course towards the straights
called Frobishers straights after the Generals name, who being the first that euer passed beyond
58 degrees to the Northwardes, for any thing that hath bene yet known of certaintie of
New found land, otherwise called the continent or firme land of America, discovered the saide
straights this last yere 1576.

Betweene Frisland and the straights we had one great storme, wherein the Michaell was
somewhat in danger, hauing her Stirrage broken, and her toppes Mastes blown ouer boord,
& being not past 50 leagues short of the straights by our account, we strooke sayle & lay a hull, fea-
ring the continuance of of the storme, the winde being at the North-east, and hauing lost companie
of the Barkes in that flaw of winde, we happily met againe the seuenteenth day of July, hauing
the euening before seene diuers Islands of fleeting yce, which gaue an argument that we were
not farre from land. Our Generall in the morning from the maine top (the weather being rea-
sonable

sonable cleare) descried land, but to be better assured he sent the two Barks two contrarie courses, whereby they might discry either the South or North foreland, the Ayde lying off and on at Sea, with a small sayle by an Island of yce, which was the marke for vs to meete together againe. And about noone, the weather being more cleare, we made the North foreland perfit, which otherwile is called Halles Island, and also the small Island bearing the name of the sayde Hall whence the Dre was taken vp which was brought into England this last yeere 1576 the sayd Hall being present at the finding & taking vp thereof, who was then Maister in the Gabriell with Captaine Frobisher. At our arriual here all the Seas about this coast were so covered ouer with huge quantitie of great yce, that we thought these places might onely deserue the name of Mare Glaciale, and be called the Ise Sea.

Halles Island.

This North foreland is thought to be deuided from the continent of the Northerland, by a little sound called Halles sound, which maketh it an Island, and is thought little lesse then the Ile of Wight, and is the first entrance of the straights vpon the North side, and standeth in the latitude of fiftie two degrees and fiftie minutes, and is reckoned from Frisland leagues. God hauing blessed vs with so happie a land-fall, we bare into the straights which runne in next hand, and somewhat further vp to the Northwarde, and came as neere the shore as wee might for the yce, and vpon the eighteenth day of Iuly our Generall taking the Goldfiners with him, attempted to goe on shore with a small rowing Pirnesse, vpon the small Islande where the Dre was taken vp, to proue whether there were any store thereof to be found, but he could not get in all that Island a peece so bigge as a Walnut, where the first was found. But our men which sought the other Islands thereabouts found them all to haue good store of the Dre, where vpon our Generall with these good tidings returned aboord about tenne of the clocke at night, and was toypfully welcommed of the company with a volie of shot. He brought egges, foules, and a young Seale aboord, which the companie had killed ashore, and hauing found vpon those Islands ginses set to catch fowle, and sticke newe cut, with other things, he well perceived that not long before some of the countrey people had resorted thither.

The description of the straights.

No more gold Dre found in the first Island.

Eggs & foules of Meta incognita. Snares set to catch birds withall.

Hauing therefore found those tokens of the peoples access in those parts, and being in his first voyage well acquainted with their subtil and cruell disposition, hee provided well for his better safetie, and on Friday the nineteenth of Iuly in the morning early, with his best companie of Gentlemen and souldiers, to the number of fortie persons, went on shore, aswell to discover the Inland and habitation of the people, as also to finde out some fit harborowe for our shippes. And passing towardes the shore with no small difficultie by reason of the abundance of yce which lay alongst the coast so thicke together that hardly any passage through them might be discovered, we arrived at length vpon the maine of Halles greater Island, and found there also aswell as in the other small Islands good store of the Dre. And leauing his boates here with sufficient garde we passed vp into the countrey about two English miles, and recovered the topp of a high hill, on the top whereof our men made a Colunne or Crosse of stones heaped vp of a good heigh together in good sort, and solemnely sounded a Trumpet, and saide certaine prayers kneeling about the Ensigne, and honoured the place by the name of Mount Warwicke, in remembrance of the Right Honorable the Lord Ambrose Dudley Earle of Warwick, whose noble mind and good countenance in this, as in all other good actions, gaue great encouragement and good furtherance. This done, we retyred our companies not seeing any thing here worth further discouerie, the countrey seeming barren and full of ragged mountaines and in most parts covered with snow.

The building of a Colunne, called Mount Warwicke.

And thus marching towards our botes, we espied certaine of the countrey people on the top of Mount Warwicke with a flag wafting vs backe againe and making great noise, with cries like the howling of Buls seeming greatly desirous of conference with vs: whereupon the Generall being therewith better acquainted, answered them againe with the like cries, whereat and with the noise of our trumpets they seemed greatly to reioyce, skipping, laughing and dancing for ioy. And hereupon we made signes vnto them, holding vp two fingers, commanding two of our men to go a part from our companies, whereby they might do the like. So that forthwith two of our men & two of theirs met together a good space from company, neither partie hauing their weapons about the. Our men gaue them pins and points and such trifles as they had. And they like wise bestowed on our men two bow cases and such things as they had. They earnestly desired our men to goe vp into their countrey, and our men offered them like kinnesse aboord our ships, but neither part (as it seemed) admitted or trusted the others curtesie. Their maner of traffique is thus, they doe vse to lay downe of their marchandise vpon the ground, so much as they meane to part withal, and so looking that the other partie with whom they make trade should doe the like, they themselves

The first sight of the countrey people, wafting with a flagge.

The meeting a part of two Englishmen, with two of that countrey.

The order of their traffique.

doe depart, and then if they doe like of their Part they come againe, and take in exchange the others marchandise; otherwise if they like not, they take their owne and depart. The day being thus well neere spent, in haſte we retired our companies into our boates againe, minding forthwith to ſearch alongſt the coaſt for ſome harborow ſit for our ſhippes, for the preſent neceſſitie thereof was much, conſidering that all this while they lay off and on betweene the two landes, being continually ſubiect alſo to great danger of ſleeting yce, which environed them, as to the ſodaine ſlawes which the coaſt ſeemeth much ſubiect unto. But when the people perceived our departure, with great tokens of affection they earneſtly called vs backe againe, following vs almoſt to our boates: whereupon our Generall taking his Maſter with him, who was beſt acquainted with their maners, went apart unto two of them, meaning, if they could lay ſure hold vpon them, forcibly to bring them aboard, with intent to beſtow certaine toys and apparell vpon the one, and ſo to diſmiſſe him with all arguments of curteſie, and retaine the other for an Interpreter. The Generall and his Maſter being met with their two companions together, after they had exchanged certaine things the one with the other, one of the Saluages for lacke of better marchandise, cut off the tayle of his coat (which is a chiefe ornament among them) and gaue it vnto our Generall for a preſent. But he preſently vpon a watchword giuen with his Maſter ſodainely laid hold vpon the two Saluages. But the ground underfoot being ſlipperie with the ſnow on the ſide of the hill, their handſt fayled and their prey eſcaping ranne away and lightly recovered their bow and arrowes, which they had hid not farre from them behind the rockes. And being onely two Saluages in ſight, they ſo fiercely, deſperately, and with ſuch fury aſſaulted and purſued our Generall and his Maſter, being altogether vnarmed, and not miſtruſting their ſubtiltie that they chaſed them to their boates, and hurt the Generall in the buttocke with an arrow, who the rather ſpeedily fled backe, becauſe they ſuſpected a greater number behind the rockes. Our ſouldiers (which were commanded befoze to keepe their boates) perceiuing the danger, and hearing our men calling for ſhot came ſpeedily to reſcue, thinking there had bene a greater number. But when the Saluages heard the ſhot of one of our caliuers (and yet hauing firſt beſtowed their arrowes) they ranne away, our men ſpeedily following them. But a ſeruant of my Lord of Warwicke, called Nicholas Conger a good footman, and vncombed with any furniture hauing only a dagger at his backe ouertooke one of them, and being a Corniſhman and a good waſtler, ſhewed his companion ſuch a Corniſh trick, that he made his ſides ake againſt the ground for a moneth after. And ſo being ſtayed, he was taken aliue and brought away, but the other eſcaped. Thus with their ſtrange and new prey our men repaired to their boates, and paſſed from the maine to a ſmall Iſland of a mile compaſſe, where they reſolved to tarrie all night; for euen now a ſodaine ſtorme was growen ſo great at ſea, that by no meanes they could recover their ſhips. And here euery man reſreſhed himſelfe with a ſmall portion of victuals which was laide into the boates for their dinners, hauing neither eate nor drunke all the day befoze. But becauſe they knewe not how long the ſtorme might laſt, nor how farre off the ſhippes might be put to ſea, nor whether they ſhould euer recover them againe or not, they made great ſpate of their victuals, as it greatly beſeued them: For they knew full well that the beſt cheare the countrey could yeeld them, was rockes and ſtones, a hard food to liue withall, and the people moze readie to eate them then to giue them wherewithall to eate. And thus keeping verie good watch and warde, they lay there all night vpon hard cliffes of ſnow and yce both wet, cold, and comfortleſſe.

Theſe things thus hapning with the company on land, the danger of the ſhips at Sea was no leſſe perilous. For within one houre after the Generals departing in the morning by negligence of the Cooke in ouer-heating, and the workman in making the chimney, the Ayde was ſet on fire, and had bene the conſuſion of the whole if by chance a boy eſpying it, it had not bene ſpeedily with great labour and Gods helpe well extinguiſhed.

This day alſo were diuerſe ſtormes and ſlawes, and by nine of the clocke at night the ſtorme was growen ſo great, & continued ſuch vntill the morning, that it put our ſhips at ſea in no ſmall perill: for hauing mountaines of ſleeting yce on euery ſide, we went roomer for one, and looſed for another, ſome ſcraped vs, and ſome happily eſcaped vs, that the leaſt of a ſhip were as dangerous to ſtrike as any rocke, and able to haue ſplit aſunder the ſtrongeſt ſhip of the world. We had a ſcope of cleare without yce, (as God would) wherein we turned, being otherwiſe compaſſed on euery ſide about: but ſo much was the winde and ſo little was our ſea roome, that being able to beare onely our forecourſe we caſt ſo oft about, that we made foureteene hozdes in eight glaſſes running, being but foure houres: but God being our beſt Stereſman, & by the induſtry of Charles Iackman and Andrew Dyer the maſters mates, both very expert Mariners, & Richard Cox y^e maiſter Gunner,

with

Another mee-
ting of two of
our men with
two of theirs.

The Engliſh
men chaſed to
their boates.

One of that
Countreymen
taken.

The Ayde ſet
on fire.

The great dan-
ger of thoſe
rockes of yce.

with other very careful sailers, then within boze, and also by the helpe of the cleare nights which are without darkenesse, we did happily auoide those present dangers, whereat since wee haue more maruelled then in the present danger feared, for that euery man within boze, both better and worse had ynough to doe with his hands to hale ropes, and with his eyes to looke out for danger. But the next morning being the 20 of July, as God would, the storme ceased, and the Generall espying the ships with his new Captiue and whole company, came happily aboard, and reported what had passed a shoare, whereupon altogether vpon our knees we gaue God humble and hartie thanks, for that it had pleased him, from so speedy peril to send vs such speedy deliuerance, and so from this Northernne shoze we strooke ouer towards the Southerland.

Right without darknes in that countrey.

The one and twentieth of July, we discovered a bay which ranne into the land, that seemed a likely harborow for our ships, wherefore our Generall rowed thither with his boats, to make prooue thereof, and with his goldfiners to search for Ore, hauing neuer assayed any thing on the South shoze as yet, and the first small Island which we landed vpon. Here all the sands and cliffs did so glister and had so bright a marquesite, that it seemed all to be gold, but vpon tryall made, it prooued no better then black-lead, and verified the proverbe. All is not gold that glistereth.

Our first coming on the Southerland of the sayd straights.

A Mine of Blakke lead.

Upon the two and twentieth of July we bare into the sayde sound, and came to anker a reasonable bredth off the shoze, where thinking our selues in good securitie, we were greatly endangered with a peece of dytt yce, which the Ebbe brought forth of the sounds and came thwart vs ere we were aware. But the gentlemen and souldiers within boze taking great paines at this pinch at the Capstone, ouercame the most danger thereof, and yet for all that might be done, it strooke on our sterne such a blow, that we feared least it had striken away our rudder, and being forced to cut our Cable in the hawse, we were faine to set out fore saile to runne further vp within, and if our strirage had not bene stronger then in the present time we feared, we had runne the ship vpon the rockes, hauing a very narrow Channell to turne in, but as God would, all came well to passe. And this was named Iackmans sound, after the name of the Pastors mate, who had first liking vnto the place.

Iackmans sound

Upon a small Island, within this sound called Smithes Island (because he first set vp his forge there) was found a Mine of Silver, but was not wonne out of the rockes without great labour. Here our goldfiners made say of such Ore as they found vpon the Northernland, and found foure sortes thereof to holde gold in good quantitie. Upon another small Island here was also found a great dead fish, which as it should seeme, had bene embayed with yce, and was in proportion round like to a Porpoise, being about twelue foote long, and in bignesse answerable, hauing a horne of two yardes long growing out of the snoute or nostrils. This horne is wreathed and stratte, like in fashion to a Taper made of ware, and may truely be thought to be the sea Unicorne. This horne is to be seene and reserued as a Iewell by the Queenes Maiesties commandement, in her Wardrope of Robes.

Smiths Island.

The finding of an Unicorne horne.

Tuesday the thre and twentieth of July, our Generall with his best company of gentlemen, souldiers and saylers, to the number of seuenie persons in all, marched with ensigne displayde, vpon the continent of the Southerland (the supposed continent of America) where, commanding a Trumpet to sound a call for euery man to repaire to the ensigne, he declared to the whole company how much the cause imported for the seruice of her Maiestie, our countrey, our credites, and the safetie of our owne liues, and therefore required euery man to be conformable to order, and to be directed by those he should assigne. And he appointed for leaders, Captaine Fenton, Captaine Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Beste: which done, we cast our selues into a ring, and altogether vpon our knees, gaue God humble thanks for that it had pleased him of his great goodness to preferue vs from such imminent dangers, beseeching likewise the assistance of his holy spirite, so to deliuer vs in safetie into our Countrey, whereby the light and truth of these secrets being knowne, it might redound to the more honour of his holy name, and consequently to the advancement of our common wealth. And so, in as good sort as the place suffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountaines, which were no lesse painfull in climbing then dangerous in descending, by reason of their steepnesse & yce. And hauing passed about fise miles, by such untwieldie wayes, we returned vnto our ships without sight of any people, or likelihood of habitation. Here diuerse of the Gentlemen desired our Generall to suffer them to the number of twentie or thirtie persons to march by thirtie or fortie leagues in the countrey, to the end they might discover the Inland, and doe some acceptable seruice for their countrey. But he not contented with the matter he sought for, and well considering the short time he had in hand, and the greedie desire our countrey hath to a present sauiour and returne of gaine, bent his whole indouour only to find a Mine to freight his ships, and to leaue the rest (by Gods helpe) hereafter to be well accomplished.

And therefore the twentieth five of July he departed ouer to the Northland, with the two barkes, leaving the Ayde ryding in Lackmans sound, and went (after hee had found conuenient harborow, and fraight there for his ships) to discover further for the passage. The Barkes came the same night to ancker in a sound vpon the Northerland, where the tydes did runne so swift, and the place was so subject to indrafts of yce, that by reason thereof they were greatly endangered, & hauing found a very rich Wyne, as they supposed, and got almost twentie tunne of Wyne together, vpon the 28 of July the yce came driuing into the sound where the Barkes rode, in such sort, that they were therewith greatly distressed. And the Gabriell riding afterne the Michael, had her Cable gauld asunder in the hawse with a peece of driuing yce, and lost another ancker, and hauing but one cable and ancker left, for she had lost two before, and the yce still driuing vpon her, she was (by Gods helpe) well fenced from the danger of the rest, by one great Island of yce, which came a ground hard a head of her, which if it had not so chanced, I thinke surely shee had bene cast vpon the rockes with the yce. The Michael moored ancker vpon this great yce, and roade vnder the lee thereof: but about midnight, by the weight of it selfe, and the setting of the Tydes, the yce brake within halfe the Barkes length, and made vnto the companie within boord a sodaine and fearefull noyse. The next flood toward the morning we weyed ancker, and went further by the straights, and leaving our Wyne behind vs which we had digged, for haff left the place by the name of Beares sound after the Masters name of the Michael, and named the Island Lecesters Island. In one of the small Islands here we found a Tombe, wherein the bones of a dead man lay together, and our sauage Captiue being with vs, & being demanded by signes whether his countrey-men had not slaine this man and eat his flesh so from the bones, he made signes to the contrary, and that he was slaine with Wolves and wild beasts. Here also was found hid vnder stones good store of fish, and sundry other things of the inhabitants; as sleddes, brydles, kettels of fish-skimmes, knives of bone, and such other like. And our Sauage declared vnto vs the vse of all those things. And taking in his hand one of those countrey brydles, he caught one of our dogges and hampryd him handsomely therein, as we doe our horses, and with a whip in his hand, he taught the dogge to drawe in a sled as we doe horses in a coach, setting himselfe thereupon like a guide: so that we might see they vse dogges for that purpose that we do our horses. And we found since by experience, that the lesser sort of dogges they feede fatte, and keepe them as domestick cattell in their tents for their eating, and the greater sort serue for the vse of drawing their sleds.

Beares sound.
Lecesters Island.
A tombe with
a dead mans
bones in it.

Brydles,
knives, and
other instru-
ments found
hid among the
Rockes.

They vse great
doges to draw
sleds, and little
doges for their
meat.

Thirty
leagues disco-
uered within
the straights.

A good presi-
dent of a good
Captaine shew-
ed by Captaine
Frobisher.

The manner of
their houses in
this countrey.

Whales bones
used in stead of
timber.

The twentieth ninth of July, about fve leagues from Beares sound, we discovered a Bay which being fenced on ech side with small Islands lying off the maine, which brake the force of the tides, and make the place free from any indrafts of yce, did prouoe a very fit harborow for our ships, where we came to ancker vnder a small Islande, which now together with the sound is called by the name of that right Honourable and vertuous Ladie, Anne Countesse of Warwicke. And this is the furthest place that this yeere we haue entred by within the streites, and is reckoned from the Cape of the Queenes foreland, which is the entrance of the streites not about 30 leagues. Vpon this Island was found good store of the Wyne, which in the washing helde gold to our thinking plainly to be seene: whereupon it was thought best rather to load here, where there was store and indifferent good, then to seeke further for better, and spend time with leopordie. And therefore our Generall setting the Wyners to worke, and shewing first a good president of a painefull labourer and a good Captaine in himselfe, gaue good examples for others to follow him: whereupon euery man both better and worse, with their best endenours willingly layde to their helping hands. And the next day, being the thirtieth of July, the Michael was sent ouer to Lackmans sound, for the Ayde and the whole companie to come thither. Vpon the maine land ouer against the Countesses Island we discovered and behelde to our great maruell the poore caues and houses of those countrey people, which serue them (as it should seeme) for their winter dwellings, and are made two fadome vnder grounde, in compasse round, like to an Duen, being toynd fast one by another, hauing holes like to a Foxe or Conny herry, to keepe and come togither. They vnder-trenched these places with gutters so, that the water falling from the hillies aboue them, may slide away without their annoyauce: and are seated commonly in the foote of a hill, to shield them better from the cold winde, hauing their doore and entrance euer open towards the South. From the ground vponward they builde with whales bones, for lacke of timber, which bending one ouer another, are handsomely compacted in the top together, and are couered ouer with Sealeskinnes, which in stead of tiles, fence them from the raine. In which house they haue only one roome, hauing the one halfe of the floure raised with broad stones a foot higher than y other, whereon drawing Wolfe, they make their nests to sleep in. They

They defile these demes most filthily with their beastly feeding, & dwell so long in a place (as we thinke) vntill their sturtiness loching them, they are forced to seeke a sweeter ayre, and a new seate, and are (no doubt) a dispersed and wandring nation, as the Tartarians, and liue in hordes and troupes, without any certaine abode, as may appeare by sundry circumstances of our experience.

The sturtiness of these people.

Here our captiue being ashore with vs, to declare the vse of such things as we saw, staid him selfe alone behind the company, and did set by fise small stickes round in a circle one by another, with one smal bone placed iust in the midst of all: which thing when one of our men perceiued, he called vs backe to behold the matter, thinking that hee had meant some charme or witchcraft therein. But the best coniecture we could make thereof was, that hee would thereby his countreymen should vnderstand, that for our fise men which they betrayed the last yeere (whom he signified by the fise stickes) he was taken and kept prisoner, which he signified by the bone in the midst. For afterwards when we shewed him the picture of his countreiman, which the last yeere was brought into England (whose counterfeite we had drawn, with boate and other furniture, both as he was in his own, & also in English apparel) he was vpon the sudden much amazed thereat, and beholding aduisedly the same with silence a good while, as though he would streine courtseye whether should begin the speech (for he thought him no doubt a liuely creature) at length began to question with him, as with his companion, and finding him dumb and mute, seemed to suspect him, as one disbeinfull, and would with a little helpe haue growen into choller at the matter, vntill at last by feeling and handling, hee found him but a deceiuing picture. And then with great noyse and cryes, ceased not wondring, thinking that we could make men liue or die at our pleasure.

A signe set by the savage captiue, & the meaning thereof.

The savage captiue amazed at his countreimans picture.

And thereupon calling the matter to his remembrance, he gaue vs plaine to vnderstand by signes, that he had knowledge of the taking of our fise men the last yeere, and confessing the manner of each thing, numbred the fise men vpon his fise fingers, and pointed vnto a boat in our ship, which was like vnto that wherein our men were betrayed: And when we made him signes, that they were slaine and eaten, he earnestly denied, and made signes to the contrary.

The last of Iuly the Michael returned with the Aide to vs from the Southerland, and came to anker by vs in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, and reported that since we departed from Iackmans sound there happened nothing among them there greatly worth the remembrance, vntill the thirtieth of Iuly, when certaine of our company being a shoare vpon a small Island within the sayd Iackmans sound, neere the place where the Aide rode, did espie a long boat with diuers of the countrey people therein, to the number of eightene or twenty persons, whom so soone as our men perceiued, they returned speedily aboard, to giue notice thereof vnto our company. They might perceiue these people climbing by to the top of a hill, where with a flagge, they waited vnto our ship, and made great outcries and noyses, like so many Buls. Hereupon our men did presently man foorth a small skiffe, hauing not aboue fise or seuen persons therein, which rowed neere the place where those people were, to prooue if they could haue any conference with them. But after this small boate was sent a greater, being wel appointed for their rescue, if need required.

Another shew of twenty persons of that countrey in one boate.

As soone as they espied our company comming neere them, they tooke their boates and hastened away, either for feare, or else for pollicie, to draw our men from rescue further within their danger: wherefore our men construing that their comming thither was but to seeke aduantage, followed speedily after them, but they rowed so swiftly away, that our men could come nothing neere them. Howbeit they failed not of their best endeour in rowing, and hauing chased them aboue two miles into the sea, returned into their ships againe.

The morning following being the first of August, Captaine Yorke with the Michael came into Iackmans sound, and declared vnto the company there, that the last night past he came to anker in a certaine baye (which sithens was named Yorke's sound) about foure leagues distant from Iackmans sound, being put to lee ward of that place for lacke of winde, where he discovered certaine tents of the countrey people, where going with his company ashore, he entered into them, but found the people departed, as it should seeme, for feare of their comming. But amongst sundry strange things which in these tents they found, there was rawe and new killed flesh of vnknown sorts, with dead carcases and bones of dogs, and I know not what. They also beheld (to their greatest maruelle) a dublet of Canuas made after the English fashion, a shirt, a girdle, three shoes for contrary feete, and of vnequall bignesse, which they well coniectured to be the apparell of our English countreymen, which were intercepted the last yeere by these Countrey people, about foure leagues from this place, further within the Straights. Whereupon our men being in good hope

Yorke's sound.

The apparell found againe of our English men which they here before were taken captiue.

A good deuise
of Captaine
Yorke.

The Sauiages
haue boats of
sundry bignes.

The English
men pursue
those people of
that countrey.

The swift
rowing of
those people.
The bloody
point.

Yorke found.

A hot skirmish
betweene the
English and
them of that
countrey.
The desperate
nature of those
people.

The taking of
the woman &
her child.

A pery kind of
surgery which
nature tea-
cheth.

hope, that some of them might be here, and yet living: the Captaine deuising for the best left his mind behind him in writing, with pen, ynce, and paper also, whereby our poore captiue countrymen, if it might come to their hands, might know their friends minds, and of their arriual, and likewise returne their answer. And so without taking any thing away in their tents, leauing there also looking glasses, points, and other of our toys (the better to allure them by such friendly meanes) departed aboard his Barke, with intent to make haste to the Aide, to giue notice vnto the company of all such things as he had there discovered: and so meant to returne to these tents againe, hoping that he might by force or policie intrappe or intice the people to some friendly conference. Which things when he had deliuered to the whole company there, they determined forthwith to go in hand with the matter. Whereupon Captaine Yorke with the master of the Aide and his mate (who the night before had bene at the tents, and came ouer from the other side in the Michael with him) being accompanied with the Gentlemen and souldiours to the number of thirty or forty persons in two small rowing Pinnaßes made towards the place, where the night before they discovered the tents of those people, and setting Charles lackman, being the masters Mate, ashore with a conuenient number, for that he could best guide them to the place, they marched ouer land, meaning to compasse them on the one side, whilst the Captaine with his boates might entrap them on the other side. But landing at last at the place where the night before they left them, they found them with their tents remoued. For withstanding, our men which marched vp into the countrey, passing ouer two or three mountaines, by chance espied certaine tents in a valley vnderneath them neere vnto a creeke by the Sea side, which because it was not the place where the guide had bene the night before, they iudged them to be another company, and besetting them about, determined to take them if they could. But they hauing quickly discried our company, lanchd one great & another smal boat, being about 16 or 18 persons, and very narrowly escaping, put themselves to sea. Whereupon our souldiers discharged their Caliuers, and followed them, thinking the noise thereof being heard to our boats at sea, our men there would make what speede they might to that place. And thereupon indeede our men which were in the boates (crossing vpon them in the mouth of the sound whereby their passage was let from getting sea roome, wherein it had bene impossible for vs to overtake them by rowing) forced them to put themselves ashore vpon a point of land within the sayd sound (which vpon the occasion of the slaughter there, was since named The bloody point) whereunto our men so speedily followed, that they had little leifure left them to make any escape. But so soone as they landed, ech of them brake his Dare, thinking by that meanes to preuent vs, in carying away their boates for want of Dares. And desperately returning vpon our men, resisted them manfully in their landing, so long as their arrowes and darts lasted, and after gathering vp those arrowes which our men shot at them, yea, and plucking our arrowes out of their bodie incountred afresh againe, and maintained their cause vntill both weapons and life fayled them. And when they found they were mortally wounded, being ignorant what mercy meaneth, with deadly fury they cast themselves headlong from off the rockes into the sea, least perhaps their enemies should receiue glozy or prey of their dead carcaises, for they supposed vs belike to be Canibals or eaters of mans flesh. In this conflict one of our men was dangerously hurt in the belly with one of their arrowes, and of them were slaine fve or sixe, the rest by flight escaping among the rockes, sauing two women, whereof the one being old and vgly, our men thought shee had bene a deuill or some witch, and therefore let her goe: the other being yong, and cumbrd with a sucking childe at her backe, hiding her selfe behind the rockes, was espied by one of our men, who supposing she had bene a man, shot through the haire of her head, and pierced through the childes arme, whereupon she cried out, and our Surgeon meaning to heale her childes arme, applyed salues thereunto. But she not acquainted with such kind of surgery, plucked those salues away, and by continuall licking with her owne tongue, not much unlike our dogs, healed by the childes arme. And because the day was welnere spent, our men made haste vnto the rest of our company which on the other side of the water remained at the tents, where they found by the apparell, letter, and other English furniture, that they were the same company which Captaine Yorke discovered the night before, hauing remoued themselves from the place where he left them.

And now considering their sudden flying from our men, and their desperate maner of fighting, we began to suspect that we had heard the last newes of our men which the last yere were betrayed of these people. And considering also their rauenous and bloody disposition in eating any kind of raw flesh or carrion howseuer stinking, it is to bee thought that they had slaine and deuoured our men: For the dublet which was found in their tents had many holes therein being made with their arrowes and darts.

They

But now the night being at hand, our men with their captiues and such pooze stuffe as they found in their tents, returned towards their ships, when being at sea, there arose a sudden flau of winde, which was not a little dangerous for their small boates: but as God would they came all safely aboard. And with these good newes they returned (as before mentioned) into the Countesse of Warwicks sound vnto vs. And betweene Iackmans sound, from whence they came, and the Countesse of Warwicks sound betweene land and land, being thought the narrowest place of the Straights were iudged nine leagues ouer at the least: and Iackmans sound being vps the Southerland, lyeth directly almost ouer against the Countesses sound, as is reckoned scarce thirty leagues within the Straights from the Queenes Cape, which is the entrance of the Streits of the Southerland. This Cape being named Queene Elizabeths Cape, standeth in the latitude of 62 degrees and a halfe to the Northwards of New foundland, and vpon the same continent, for any thing that is yet knowen to the contrary.

The narrowest place of the Straits is 9. leagues ouer.

The Queenes Cape.

The manner of the meeting of the two captiues, and their entertainment

Having now got a woman captiue for the comfort of our man, we brought them both together, and euery man with silence desired to behold the manner of their meeting and entertainment, the which was moze worth the beholding than can be well expessed by writing. At their first encountering they beheld each the other very wisely a good space, without speech or word vttered, with great change of colour and countenance, as though it seemed the griefe and disdeine of their captiuitie had taken away the vse of their tongues and vtterance: the woman at the first very suddenly, as though she disdeined or regarded not the man, turned away, and began to sing as though she minded another matter: but being againe brought together, the man brake vp the silence first, and with sterne and stayed countenance, began to tell a long solemne tale to the woman, whereunto she gaue good hearing, and interrupted him nothing, till he had finished, and afterwards, being growen into moze familiar acquaintance by speech, they were turned together, so that (I thinke) the one would hardly haue liued without the comfort of the other. And for so much as we could perceine, albeit they liued continually together, yet they did neuer vse as man & wife, though the woman spared not to doe all necessary things that appertained to a good houswife indifferently for them both, as in making cleane their Cabin, and euery other thing that appertained to his ease: for when he was seasliffe, she would make him cleane, she would kill and flea the dogs for their eating, and dresse his meate. Only I thinke it worth the noting, the continencie of them both: for the man would neuer shife himselfe, except he had first caused the woman to depart out of his cabin, and they both were most shamefast, least any of their priuie partes should be discouered, either of themselves, or any other body.

The shamefastnes and chastity of those Savage captiues.

On Monday the sixth of August, the Lieutenant with all the Souldiers, for the better garde of the Pyners and the other things afoze, pitched their tents in the Countesses Island, and fortified the place for their better defence as well as they could, and were to the number of forty persons, when being all at laboure, they might perceiue vpon the top of a hill ouer against them a number of the countrey people wafting with a flag, and making great outcries vnto them, and were of the same companie, which had encountred lately our men vpon the other shoze, being come to complaine their late losses, and to entreate (as it seemed) for restitution of the woman and child, which our men in the late conflict had taken and brought away; whereupon the Generall taking the sauage captiue with him, and letting the woman where they might best perceiue her in the highest place of the Island, went ouer to talke with them. This captiue at his first encounter of his friends fell so out into teares that he could not speake a word in a great space, but after a while, ouercomming his kindnesse, he talked at full with his companions, and bestowed friendly vpon them such toys and trifles as we had giuen him, whereby we noted, that they are very kind one to another, and greatly sorrowfull for the losse of their friends. Our Generall by signes required his five men which they tooke captiue the last yere, and promised them, not only to release those which he had taken, but also to reward them with great gifts and friendship. Our Sauage made signes in answer from them that our men should be deliuered vs, and were yet liuing, and made signes likewise vnto vs that we should write our letters vnto them, for they knew very well the vse we haue of writing, and receiued knowledge thereof, either of our pooze captiue countrey men which they betrayed, or else by this our new captiue who hath serued vs daily write, and repeate againe such words of his language as we desired to learne: but they for this night, because it was late, departed without any letter, although they called earnestly in haile for the same. And the next morning early being the seventh of August, they called againe for the letter, which being deliuered vnto them, they speedily departed, making signes with three fingers, and pointing to the Sunne, that they meant to returne within 3 dayes, vntill which time we heard no moze of them, & about the time appointed they returned, in such sort as you shal afterwards heare.

Another appearance of the countrey people.

These people know the vse of writing.

A letter sent vnto the five English captiues.

This

This night because the people were very neere vnto vs, the Lieutenant caused the Drummer to sound a call, and euery man in the Island repaying to the Ensigne, he put them in minde of the place so farre from their countrey wherein they liued, and the danger of a great multitude which they were subiect vnto, if good watch and warde were not kept, for at euery low water the enimie might come almost by foot from the mayne vnto vs, wherefore he willed euery man to prepare him in good readinesse vpon all sudden occasions, and so giuing the watch their charge, the company departed to rest.

I thought the Captaines letter well worth the rememb'ring, not for the circumstance of curious ending, but for the substance and good meaning therein contained, and therefore haue repeated here the same, as by himselfe it was hastily written.

The forme of M. Martin Frobishers letter to the English captiues.

IN the name of God, in whom we all beleue, who (I trust) hath preserued your bodies and soules amongst these Infidels, I commend me vnto you. I will be glad to seeke by al means you can deuise for your deliuerance, either with force, or with any commodities within my ships, which I will not spare for your sakes, or any thing else I can doe for you. I haue aboard, of theirs, a man, a woman, and a child, which I am contented to deliuer for you, but the man which I caried away from hence the last yeere is dead in England. Moreover you may declare vnto them, that if they deliuer you not, I will not leaue a man aliue in their countrey. And thus, if one of you can come to speake with mee, they shall haue either the man, woman, or childe in pawne for you. And thus vnto God whom I trust you doe serue, in hast I leaue you, and to him wee will dayly pray for you. This Tuesday morning the seuenth of August. Anno 1577.

Yours to the uttermost of my power,

MARTIN FROBISHER.

Postscript.

I haue sent you by these bearers, penne, ynke, and paper, to write backe vnto me againe, if personally you cannot come to certifie me of your estate.

The cause why
M. Frobisher
entred no fur-
ther within
the Streites
this pere.

Now had the Generall altered his determination for going any further into the Streites at this time for any further discouery of the passage hauing taken a man and a woman of that countrey, which he thought sufficient for the vse of language: & hauing also met with these people here, which intercepted his men the last pere, (as the apparell and English furniture which was found in their tents, very well declared) he knew it was but a labour lost to seeke them further off, when he had found them there at hand. And considering also the short time he had in hand, he thought it best to bend his whole endeuour for the getting of Wyne, and to leaue the passage further to be discouered hereafter. For his commission directed him in this voyage, onely for the searching of the Dye, and to deferre the further discouery of the passage vntill another time.

Bests bulwarke

On Thursday the ninth of August we began to make a small fort for our defence in the Countesses Island, and entrenches a corner of a cliffe, which on three parts like a wall of good height was compassed and well fenced with the sea, and we finished the rest with calkes of the earth, to good purpose, and this was called Bests bulwarke, after the Lieutenants name, who first deuised the same. This was done for that wee suspected more lest the desperate men might oppresse vs with multitude, then any feare we had of their force, weapons, or policie of battel: but as wisdom would vs in such place (so farre from home) not to be of our selues altogether carelesse: so the signes which our captiue made vnto vs, of the comming downe of his Gouvernour or Prince, which he called Catchoe, gaue vs occasion to foresee what might ensue thereof, for he shewed by signes that this Catchoe was a man of higher stature farre then any of our nation is, and he is accustomed to be caried vpon mens shoulders.

Their King
called Catchoe.
How he is
honoured.

About midnight the Lieutenant caused a false Alarme to be giuen in the Island, to proue as well the readines of the company there as how, as also what help might be hoped for vpon the sudden fro the ships if need so required, & euery part was found in good readines vpon such a sudden.

Saturday the eleuenth of August the people shewed themselves againe, & called vnto vs from the side of a hil ouer against vs. The General (with good hope to heare of his men, and to haue answer of his letter) went ouer vnto them, where they presented themselves not about three in sight, but were hidden indeede in greater numbers behind the rocks, and making signes of delay with vs to intrappe some of vs to redeeme their owne, did onely seeke aduantage to craine our boat about a point of land from sight of our companie: whereupon our men iustly suspecting them

them kept aloofe without their danger, and yet let one of our company ashore, which tooke up a great bladder which one of them offered vs, and leauing a looking glasse in the place, came into the boate againe. In the meane while our men which stood in the Countesses Island to beholde, who might better discern them, then those of the boate, by reason they were on higher ground, made a great outcrie vnto our men in the boate, for that they saw diuers of the Sauages creeping behind the rockes towards our men, wherupon the Generall presently returned without tidings of his men.

Concerning this bladder which we receiued, our Captiue made signes that it was giuen him to keepe water and drinke in, but we suspected rather it was giuen him to swimme and shift away withall, for he and the woman sought diuers times to escape, hauing loosed our boates from a sterne our ships, and we neuer a boate left to pursue them withall, and had preuailed very farre, had they not bene very timely espied and preuented therein.

After our Generalls comming away from them they mustred themselves in our sight, vpon the top of a hill, to the number of twenty in a rancke, all holding hands ouer their heads, and dancing with great noise and songs together: we supposed they made this dance and shew for vs to vnderstand, that we might take view of their whole companies and force, meaning belike that we should doe the same. And thus they continued vpon the hill tops vntill night, when hearing a peece of our great Ordnance, which thundred in the hollownesse of the high hills, it made vnto them so fearefull a noise, that they had no great will to tarie long after. And this was done moze to make them know our force then to doe them any hurt at all.

On Sunday the 12 of August, Captaine Fenton trained the company, and made the souldiers maintaine skirmish among themselves, as well for their exercise, as for the countrey people to behold in what readines our men were alwaies to be found, for it was to be thought, that they lay hid in the hills thereabout, and obserued all the manner of our proceedings.

On Wednesday the fourteenth of August, our Generall with two small boates well appointed, for that hee suspected the countrey people to lie lurking thereabout, went up a certaine Bay within the Countesses sound, to search for Dre, and met againe with the countrey people, who so soone as they saw our men made great outcries, and with a white flag made of bladders sowed together with the guts and sinewes of beasts, waisted vs amaine vnto them, but shewed not aboue three of their company. But when wee came neere them, wee might perceiue a great multitude creeping behinde the rockes, which gaue vs good cause to suspect their traiterous meaning: wherupon we made them signes, that if they would lay their weapons aside, and come forth, we would deale friendly with them, although their intent was manifested vnto vs: but for all the signes of friendship we could make them they came still creeping towards vs behind the rockes to get moze aduantage of vs, as though we had no eyes to see them, thinking belike that our single wits could not discouer so bare deuises and simple drifts of theirs. Their spokesman earnestly perswaded vs with many inticing shewes, to come eate and sleepe ashore, with great arguments of courtesie, and clapping his bare hands ouer his head in token of peace and innocencie, willed vs to doe the like. But the better to allure our hungry stomacks, he brought vs a trimme baite of raw flesh, which for fashion sake with a boat-hooke wee caught into our boate: but when the cunning Cater perceiued his first sold morzell could nothing sharpen our stomacks, he cast about for a new traine of warme flesh to procure our appetites, wherfore he caused one of his fellowes in halting manner, to come forth as a lame man from behind the rockes, and the better to declare his kindnes in caruing, he hoisted him vpon his shoulders, and bringing him hard to the water side where we were, left him there limping as an easie prey to be taken of vs. His hope was that we would bite at this baite, and speedily leape ashore within their danger, wherby they might haue apprehended some of vs, to ransom their friends home againe, which before we had taken. The gentlemen and souldiers had great will to encounter them ashore, but the Generall moze carefull by procelle of time to winne them, then wilfully at the first to spoile them, would in no wise admit that any man should put himselfe in hazards ashore, considering the matter he now intended was for the Dre, and not for the Conquest: notwithstanding to prooue this cripples footemanship, he gaue liberty for one to shoote: wherupon the cripple hauing a parting blow, lightly recovered a rocke and went away a true and no fained cripple, and hath learned his lesson for euer halting afoze such cripples againe. But his fellowes which lay hid before, full quickly then appeared in their likenesse, and maintained the skirmish with their slings, bowes and arrowes very fiercely, and came as neere as the water suffred them: and with as desperate minde as hath bene seene in any men, without feare of shotte or any thing, followed vs all along the coast, but all their shot fell short of vs, and are of little danger. They had belayed all the coast

A bladder changed for a looking glasse.

No newes of the English captiues.

To what end the bladder was deliuered.

Those people dancing vpon the hill toppes.

A skirmish shewed to those people.

Their flags made of bladders.

Great offers.

20 hundred
Sauages.

coast along for vs, and being disperfed so, were not well to be numbred, but wee might difcerne of them aboue an hundred persons, and had caule to fufpect a greater number. And thus without losse or hurt we returned to our fhips againe.

Now our worke growing to an end, and hauing, onely with five poore Miners, and the helpe of a few gentlemen and fouldiers, brought aboard almost two hundred tunne of Ore in the fpace of twenty dayes, euery man therewithall well comforted, determined luftily to worke a freffh for a bone voyage, to bring our labour to a fpeedy and happy ende.

And vpon Wednesday at night being the one and twentieth of Auguft, we fully finished the whole worke. And it was now good time to leaue, for as the men were well wearied, fo their fhooes and clothes were well worn, their baskets bottoms torne out, their tooles broken, and the fhips reasonably well filled. Some with ouer-ftaining themfelues receiued hurts not a little dangerous, fome hauing their bellies broken, and others their legs made lame. And about this time the yce began to congeale and freeze about our fhips fides a night, which gaue vs a good argument of the Sunnes declining Southward, & put vs in mind to make more hafte homeward.

It is not a little worth the memorie, to the commendation of the gentlemen and fouldiers here, fit, who leauing all reputation apart, with fo great willingneffe and with couragious ftomackes, haue themfelues almoft overcome in fo fhort a time the difficultie of this fo great a labour. And this to be true, the matter, if it bee well weyed without further prooffe, now brought home doth well witneffe.

Thursday the 22 of Auguft, we plucked downe our tents, and euery man hafted homeward, and making bonafires vpon the top of the higheft Mount of the Ifland, and marching with Enfigne difplayed round about the Ifland, wee gaue a vollie of fhotte for a farewell, in honour of the righ honourable Lady Anne, Counteffe of Warwicke, whole name it beareth: and fo departed aboard.

The 23 of Auguft hauing the wind large at Weft, we fet faile from out of the Counteffes fount homeward, but the wind calming we came to anker within the point of the fame fount againe.

They returne.
Snow halfe a
foote deepe in
Auguft.

The 24 of Auguft about thre of the clocke in the morning, hauing the wind large at Weft, we fet faile againe, and by nine of the clocke at night, wee left the Queenes Fozeland afterne of vs, and being cleere of the Streites, we bare further into the maine Ocean, keeping our courfe more Southerly, to bring our felues the fooner vnder the latitude of our owne climate.

The wind was very great at fea, fo that we lay a hull all night, & had fnow halfe a foote deepe on the hatches.

From the 24 vntill the 28 we had very much wind, but large, keeping our courfe Southsouth-eaft, and had like to haue loft the Barkes, but by good hap we met againe. The height being taken, we were in degrees and a halfe.

The 29 of Auguft the wind blew much at Northeaft, fo that we could beare but onely a bunt of our fozefaille, and the Barkes were not able to cary any fayle at all.

The Michael loft company of vs and fhaped her courfe towards Orkney becaufe that way was better knowne vnto them, and arriued at Yermouth.

The Mafter of
the Gabriel
ftrooken ouer-
board.

The 30 of Auguft with the force of the wind, and a furge of the fea, the Mafter of the Gabriel and the Boatwain were ftriken both ouerboard, & hardly was the Boatwain recouered, hauing hold on a roape hanging ouerboard in the fea, and yet the Barke was laced foze and after with ropes a breaft high within board.

This Mafter was called William Smith, being but a yong man and a very fufficient mariner, who being all the morning before exceeding pleafant, told his Captaine he dreamed that he was caft ouerboard, and that the Boatwain had him by the hand, and could not faue him, and fo immediately vpon the end of his tale, his dreame came right euilly to paffe, and indeed the Boatwain in like fort held him by one hand, hauing hold on a rope with the other, vntill his force fayled, and the Mafter drowned. The height being taken we found our felues to be in the latitude of degrees and a halfe, and reckoned our felues from the Queenes Cape homeward about two hundred leagues.

The laft of Auguft about midnight, we had two or thre great and fudden flawes or ftormes.

The firft of September the ftorme was growen very great, and continued almoft the whole day and night, and lying a hull to carrie for the Barkes our fhip was much beaten with the fea, euery fea almoft ouertaking our poope, fo that we were constrained with a bunt of our faile to trie it out, and ease the rolling of our fhip. And fo the Gabriel not able to beare any fayle to keepe company with vs, and our fhip being higher in the poope, and a tall fhip, whereon the winde had more

more force to driue, went so fast away that we lost sight of them, and left them to God and their good fortune of Sea. The second day of September in the morning, it pleased God of his goodness to send vs a calme, whereby we perceiued the Rudder of our ship to be in twaine, and almost ready to fall away. Wherefore taking the benefite of the time, we slung halfe a dozen couple of our best men ouer boord, who taking great paines vnder water, driuing planks, and binding with ropes, did well strengthen and mend the matter, who returned the most part more then halfe dead out of the water, and as Gods pleasure was, the sea was calme vntill the worke was finished. The first of September, the height of the Sunne being taken, we found our selues to be in the latitude of degrees and a halfe. In this voyage commonly wee tooke the latitude of the place by the height of the Sunne, because the long day taketh away the light not onely of the Polar, but also of all other fixed Starres. And here the North Starre is so much eleuated about the Horizon, that with the Staffe it is hardly to be well obserued, and the degrees in the Astrolabe are too small to obserue minutes. Therefore wee alwaies vsed the Staffe and the Sunne as fittest instruments for this vse.

The Rudder of the Aide to be in twaine.

How the latitudes were alwaies taken in this voyage rather with the Staffe then Astrolabe.

Having spent foure or fve dayes in trauesel of the seas with contrary winde, making our Souther way good as neere as we could, to raise our degrees to bring our selues with the latitude of Sylley, wee tooke the height the tenth of September, and found our selues in the latitude of degrees and ten minutes. The eleuenth of September about five a clocke at night the winde came good Southwest, we vered sheat and set our course Southeast.

And vpon Thursday, the twelfth of September, taking the height, wee were in the latitude of and a halfe, and reckoned our selues not past one hundred and fifty leagues short of Sylley, the weather faire, the winde large at Westsouthwest, we kept our course Southeast.

The thirteenth day the height being taken, wee found our selues to be in the latitude of degrees, the wind Westsouthwest, then being in the height of Sylley, and we kept our course East, to run in with the flecue or chanel so called, being our narrow seas, and reckoned vs short of Sylley twelue leagues.

Sunday, the 15 of September about foure of the clocke, we began to sound with our lead, and had ground at 61 fadome depth, white small sandy ground, and reckoned vs vpon the backe of Sylley, and set our course East and by North, Eastnortheast, and Northeast among.

The sixteenth of September, about eight of the clocke in the morning sounding, we had 65 fadome of ey sand, and thought our selues thwart of S. Georges channell a little within the banks. And hearing a small saile all night, we made many soundings, which were about fortie fadome, and so shallow, that we could not well tell where we were.

The seuenteenth of September we sounded, and had 50 fadome, and were not farre off the lands end, finding bzanded sand with small wormes and Cockle shelles, and were shotte betwene Sylley and the lands ende, and being within the bay, we were not able to double the pointe with a South and by East way, but were faine to make another boord, the wind being at Southwest and by West, and yet could not double the point to come cleere of the lands end, so beare along the channell: and the weather cleered vp when we were hard aboord the shoze, and we made the lands end perfit, and so put vp along Saint Georges chanel. And the weather being very foule at sea, we couered some harborough, because our steerage was broken, and so came to ancoze in Padstow road in Cornwall. But riding there a very dangerous roade, we were aduised by the countrey, to put to Sea againe, and of the two euils, to choole the lesse, for there was nothing but present perill where we roade: whereupon we plyed along the channell to get to Londy, from whence we were againe driuen, being but an open roade, where our Anker came home, and with force of weather put to Seas againe, and about the three and twentieth of September, arrived at Milford Hauen in Wales, which being a very good harborough, made vs happy men, that we had receiued such long desired safetie.

The arrival of the Aide at Padstow in Cornwall.

Our coming to Milford Hauen.

About one moneth after our arriual here, by order from the Lords of the Counsell, the ship came up to Bristow, where the Oze was committed to keeping in the Castell there. Here we found the Gabriel one of the Barkes, arrived in good safetie, who hauing neuer a man within boord very sufficient to bring home the ship, after the Master was lost, by good fortune, when she came vpon the coast, met with a ship of Bristow at sea, who conducted her in safety thither.

The arriual of the Gabriel at Bristow.

Here we heard good tidings also of the arriual of the other Barke called the Michael, in the North parts, which was not a little topful vnto vs, that it pleased God so to bring vs to a safe meeting againe, and wee lost in all the voyage only one man, besides one that dyed at sea, which was sicke before he came aboard, and was so desirous to follow this enterprise, that he rather chose to dye therein, then not to be one to attempt so notable a voyage.

The Michael arrived in the North parts.

Only one man died the voyage.

The third voyage of Captaine *Frobisher*, intended for the discovery of *Cataia*, by *Meta Incognita*, Anno Do. 1578.

He Generall being returned from the second voyage, immediately after his arrivall in England, repaired with all hast to the Court being then at Windsor, to aduertise her Maiestie of his prosperous proceeding, and good successe in this last voyage, & of the plenty of gold Ore, with other matters of importance which he had in these Septentrionall parts discovered. He was courteously enterprised, and hartely welcommed of many noble men, but especially for his great ad-

M. Frobisher commended of her Maiestie.

The Gentlemen commended.

Commissioners appointed to examine the goodnesse of the Ore.

A name given to the place newly discovered.

The hope of the passage to *Cataya*.

A forte to be built in *Meta Incognita*.

A hundred men appointed to inhabit there.

Fiftene ships.

venture, commended of her Maiestie, at whose hands he receiued great thanks, and most gracious countenance, according to his deserts. Her Highnesse also greatly commended the rest of the Gentlemen in this seruice, for their great forwardnes in this so dangerous an attempt: but especially she reioyced very much, that among them there was so good order of gouernement, so good agreement, euery man so ready in his calling, to do whatsoeuer the General should command, which due commendation gratioisly of her Maiestie remembred, gaue so great encouragement to all the Captaines and Gentlemen, that they, to continue her Highnesse so good and honourable opinion of them, haue since neither spared labour, limme, nor life, to bring this matter (so well begun) to a happie and prosperous ende. And finding that the matter of the golde Ore had appeared, & made shew of great riches & profit, & the hope of the passage to *Cataya*, by this last voyage greatly increased, her Maiestie appointed speciall Commissioners chosen for this purpose, gentlemen of great iudgement, art, and skill, to looke thorowly into the cause, for the true trial and due examination thereof, and for the full handling of all matters therunto appertaining. And because that place and countrey hath neuer heretofore bene discovered, and therefore had no speciall name, by which it might be called and knowen, her Maiestie named it very properly *Meta Incognita*, as a marke and bound vnto hitherto vnknewen. The commissioners after sufficient trial and prooffe made of the Ore, and hauing vnderstood by sundrie reasons, and substantiall grounds, the possibilitie and likelihood of the passage, aduertised her highnesse, that the cause was of importance, and the voyage greatly woorthy to be aduanced againe. Whereupon preparation was made of ships and all other things necessary, with such expedition, as the time of the yeere then required. And because it was assuredly made accompt of, that the commoditie of Mines, there already discovered, would at the least counteruaile in all respects the aduenturers charge, and giue further hope & likelihood of greater matters to follow: it was thought needfull, both for the better guard of those parts already found, and for further discovery of the Inland and secrets of those countreys, & also for further search of the passage to *Cataya* (whereof the hope continually more & more increaseth) that certaine numbers of chosen souldiers and discret men for those purposes should be assigned to inhabit there. Whereupon there was a strong fort or house of timber, artificially framed, & cunningly deuised by a notable learned man here at home, in ships to be caried thither, wherby those men that were appointed to winter & stay there the whole yeere, might as well bee defended from the danger of the snow and cold ayre, as also fortified from the force or offence of those countrey people, which perhaps otherwise with too great multitudes might oppresse them. And to this great aduenture and notable exploit many well minded and forward Gentlemen of our countrey willingly haue offered themselves. And first Captaine Fenton Lieutenant generall for Captaine Frobisher, and in charge of the company with him there, Captaine Best, and Captaine Filpot, vnto whose good discretions the gouernment of that seruice was chiefly commended, who, as men not regarding peril in respect of the profit and common wealth of their countrey, were willing to abide the first brunt & aduenture of those dangers among a savage and brutish kinde of people, in a place hitherto euer thought for extreme cold not habitable. The whole number of men which had offered, and were appointed to inhabit *Meta Incognita* all the yeere, were one hundred persons, wherof 40 should be mariners for the vse of ships, 30 Miners for gathering the gold Ore together for the next yeere, and 30 souldiers for the better guard of the rest, within which last number are included the Gentlemen, Goldsmiths, Bakers, Carpenters, & all necessary persons. To each of the Captaines was assigned one ship, as well for the further searching of the coast & countrey there, as for to returne & bring backe their companies againe, if the necessity of the place so byged, or by miscarriage of the fleet the next yeere, they might be disappointed of their further prouision. Being therfore thus furnished with all necessaries, there were ready to depart vpon the said voyage 15 saile of good ships, wherof the whole number was to returne againe with their loading of gold Ore in the end of the sommer, except those 3 ships, which should be left for the vse of those Captains which should inhabit there the whole yeere. And being in so good readinesse

readinesse, the Generall with all the Captaines came to the Court, then lying at Greenwich, to take their leaue of her Maestie, at whose hands they all receiued great encouragement, and gracious countenance. Her highnesse besides other good gifts, and greater promises, bestowed on the Generall a faire chaine of golde, and the rest of the Captaines kissed her hand, tooke their leaue, and departed euery man towards their charge.

A chaine of
gold given to
M. Frobisher.

The names of the ships with their seuerall Captaines.

1 In the Aide being Amirall, was the Ge-	} Captaine	Frobisher.
nerall		Yorke.
2 In the Thomas Allen Viceamirall		Fenton.
3 In the Iudith Lieutenant generall		Best.
4 In the Anne Francis		Carew.
5 In the Hopewell		Filpot.
6 In the Beare		Tanfield.
7 In the Thomas of Ipswich		Courtney.
8 In the Emmanuel of Exceter		Moyles.
9 In the Francis of Foy		Vpcor.
10 In the Moone		Newton.
11 In the Emmanuel of Bridgewater		Randal.
12 In the Salomon of Weymouth		Kendal.
13 In the Barke Dennis		Haruey.
14 In the Gabriel		Kinnerley.
15 In the Michael		

The sayd fiftene saile of ships arriued and met together at Harwich, the seuen and twentieth day of May Anno 1578, where the Generall and the other Captaines made view, and mustred their companies. And euery seuerall Captaine receiued from the Generall certaine Articles of direction, for the better keeping of order and company together in the way, which Articles are as followeth.

Articles and orders to be obserued for the Fleete, set downe by Captaine Frobisher Generall, and deliuered in writing to euery Captaine, as well for keeping company, as for the course, the 31 of May.

1 In primis, to banish swearing, dice, and card-playing, and filthy communication, and to serue God twice a day, with the ordinary seruice vsuall in Churches of England, and to cleare the glasse, according to the old order of England.

2 The Admirall shall carie the light, & after his light be once put out, no man to goe a head of him, but euery man to sit his sailes to follow as neere as they may, without endangering one another.

3 That no man shall by day or by night depart further from the Admirall then the distance of one English mile, and as neere as they may, without danger one of another.

4 If it chance to grow thicke, and the wind contrary, either by day or by night, that the Admirall be forced to cast about, before her casting about shee shall giue warning, by shooting off a peece, and to her shall answer the Viceamirall and the Rereamirall each of them with a peece, if it bee by night, or in a fogge; and that the Viceamirall shall answer first, and the Rereamirall last.

5 That no man in the Fleete descreyng any sayle or sayles, giue vpon any occasion any chace before he haue spoken with the Admirall.

6 That euery euening all the Fleete come by and speake with the Admirall, at seuen of the Clocke, or betweene that and eight, and if the weather will not serue them all to speake with the Admirall, then some shall come to the Viceamirall, and receiue the order of their course of Dafter Hall chiefe Pilot of the Fleete, as he shall direct them.

7 If to any man in the Fleete there happen any mishchance, they shal presently shoote off two peeces by day, and if it be by night, two peeces, and shew two lights.

8 If any man in the Fleete come by in the night, & hale his fellow, knowing him not, he shall giue him this watch-word, Before the world was God. The other shal answer him (if he be one of our Fleete) After God came Christ his Sonne. So that if any be found amongst vs, not of our

owne company, he that first descrieth any such sayle or sayles, shall giue warning to the Admirall by himselfe or any other that he can speake to, that sailles better then he, being neereest vnto him.

9 That euery ship in the fleete in the time of fogs, which continually happen with little winds, and most part calmes, shall keepe a reasonable noise with trumpet, drumme, or other wise, to keepe themselves cleere one of another.

10 If it fall out so thicke or mistie that we lay it to hull, the Admirall shall giue warning with a piece, and putting out three lightes one ouer another, to the end that euery man may take in his sailles, and at his setting of sayles againe doe the like, if it be not cleere.

11 If any man discover land by night, that he giue the like warning, that he doth so for mischances, two lightes, and two pieces, if it be by day one piece, and put out his flagge, and strike all his sailles he hath aboard.

12 If any ship shall happen to lose company by force of weather, then any such ship or ships shall get her into the latitude of , and so keepe that latitude vntill they get Frisland. And after they be past the West parts of Frisland, they shall get them into the latitude of , and , and not to the Northward of ; and being once entered within the Streites, al such ships shall euery watch shoote off a good piece, and looke out well for smoke and fire which those that get in first shall make euery night, vntill all the fleete be come together.

13 That vpon the sight of an Ensigne in the mast of the Admirall (a piece being shot off) the whole fleete shall repaire to the Admirall, to vnderstand such conference as the Generall is to haue with them.

14 If we chance to meete with any enemies, that foure ships shall attend vpon the Admirall, viz. the Francis of Foy, the Moone, the Barke Dennis, and the Gabriel: and foure vpon my Lieutenant generall in the Iudith, viz. the Hopewel, the Armenal, the Beare, and the Salomon: and the other foure vpon the Vizadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, the Emmanuel, and the Michael.

15 If there happen any disordered person in the fleete, that he be taken and kept in safe custodie vntill he may conueniently be brought aboard the Admirall, and there to receiue such punishment as his or their offences shall deserue.

By me *Martin Frobisher.*

Our departure from England.

Cape Cleare the
first of June.

A charitable
deede.

Marke this
current.

Hauing receiued these articles of direction we departed from Harwich the one and thirtieth of May. And sayling along the South part of England Westward, we at length came by the coast of Ireland at Cape Cleare the sixth of June, and gaue chase there to a small barke which was supposed to be a Pyrat, or Rouer on the Seas, but it fell out indeede that they were poore men of Bristow, who had met with such company of Frenchmen as had spoiled and slaine many of them, and left the rest so fore wounded that they were like to perishe in the sea, hauing neither hand nor foote hole to helpe themselves with, nor victuals to sustaine their hungry bodies. Our Generall, who well vnderstood the office of a Souldier and an Englishman, and knew well what the necessitie of the sea meaneth, pitying much the miserie of the poore men, relieved them with Surgerie and salues to heale their hurtes, and with meate and drinke to comfort their pining hearts; some of them hauing neither eaten nor drunke more then oliues and stinking water in many dayes befoze, as they reported. And after this good deede done, hauing a large wind, we kept our course vpon our sayd voyage without staying for the taking in of fresh water, or any other prouision, whereof many of the fleete were not thoroughly furnished: and sayling towards the Northwest parts from Ireland, we mette with a great current from out of the Southwest, which caried vs (by our reckoning) one point to the Northeastwards of our sayd course, which current seemed to vs to continue it selfe towards Norway, and other the Northeast parts of the world, whereby we may be inducued to beleue, that this is the same which the Portugals meete at Capo de buona Speranza, where striking ouer from thence to the Streites of Magellan, and finding no passage there for the narrownesse of the sayde Streites, runneth along into the great Bay of Mexico, where also hauing a let of land, it is forced to strike backe againe towards the Northeast, as we not onely here, but in another place also, further to the Northwards, by good experience this yeere haue found, as shalbe hereafter in this place more at large declared.

Now had we sayled about foureteene dayes, without sight of any land, or any other liuing thing, except certaine fowles, as Willets, Robies, Gullies, &c. which there seeme onely to liue by sea.

The twentieth of June, at two of the clocke in the morning, the General descried land, & found

it to be West Frisland, now named West England. Here the Generall, & other Gentlemen went ashore, being the first knowen Christians that we haue true notice of, that euer set foot vpon that ground: and therefore the Generall tooke possession thereof to the vse of our Soueraigne Lady the Queenes Maiestie, and discouered here a goodly harborough for the ships, where were also certaine little boates of that countrey. And being there landed, they espied certaine tents and people of that countrey, which were (as they iudge) in all sorts, very like those of Meta Incognita, as by their apparell, and other things which we found in their tents, appeared.

West England.

The Sauage and simple people so soone as they perceiued our men comming towards them, (supposing there had bene no other world but theirs) fled fearefully away, as men much amazed at so strange a sight, and creatures of humane shape, so farre in apparell, complexion, and other things different from themselves. They left in their tents all their furniture for haste behind them, where amongst other things were found a boxe of small nailes, and certaine red Herrings, boords of Fire tree well cut, with diuers other things artificially wrought: whereby it appeareth, that they haue trade with some ciuill people, or else are indeede themselves artificiall workemen.

Our men brought away with them onely two of their dogs, leauing in recompense belles, looking-glasses, and diuers of our countrey toys behinde them.

This countrey, no doubt, promisseth good hope of great commoditie and riches, if it may be well discouered. The description whereof you shall finde moze at large in the second voyage.

Some are of opinion, that this West England is firme land with the Northeast partes of Meta Incognita, or else with Groenland. And their reason is, because the people, apparel, boates, and other things are so like to theirs: and another reason is, the multitude of Islands of yce, which lay betweene it and Meta Incognita, both argue, that on the North side there is a bay, which cannot be but by conioyning of the two lands together.

Frisland supposed to be conioyned with Groenland.

And hauing a faire and large winde we departed from thence towards Frobishers Streites, the 23 of June. But first wee gaue name to a high cliffe in West England, the last that was in our sight, and for a certaine similitude, we called it Charing crosse. Then wee bare Southerly towards the Sea, because to the Northwardes of this coast we met with much dyiuing yce, which by reason of the thicke mistes and weather might haue bene some trouble vnto vs.

The 23 of June.

Charing crosse.

On Monday the last of June, wee met with many great Whales, as they had bene Porpoises.

This same day the Salamander being vnder both her coyses and bonets, happened to strike a great Whale with her full stemme, with such a blow that the ship stode still, and stirred neither forward nor backward. The Whale thereat made a great and ugly noise, and cast vp his body and taile, and so went vnder water, and within two daies after, there was found a great Whale dead swimming aboue water, which wee supposed was that which the Salamander strooke.

A Whale strooke a ship.

The second day of July early in the morning we had sight of the Queenes Forland, and bare in with the land all the day, and passing thorow great quantity of yce, by night were entred somewhat within the Streites, perceiuing no way to passe further in, the whole place being frozen ouer from the one side to the other, and as it were with many walles, mountaines, and bulwarks of yce, choked vp the passage, and denied vs entrance. And yet doe I not thinke that this passage or Sea hereabouts is frozen ouer at any time of the yere: albeit it seemet so vnto vs by the abundance of yce gathered together, which occupied the whole place. But I doe rather suppose these yce to bee bred in the hollow soundes and freshets thereabouts: which by the heate of the sommers Sunne, being loosed, doe emptie themselves with the ebbes into the sea, and so gather in great abundance there together.

Frobishers Streites choked vp with yce.

And to speake somewhat here of the ancient opinion of the frozen sea in these parts: I doe thinke it to be rather a bare coniecture of men, then that euer any man hath made experience of any such sea. And that which they speake of Mare glaciale, may be truly thought to be spoken of these parts: for this may well be called indeede the ycie sea, but not the frozen sea, for no sea consisting of salt water can be frozen, as I haue moze at large herein shewed my opinion in my second voyage, for it seemeth impossible for any sea to bee frozen which hath his course of ebbing and flowing, especially in those places where the tides doe ebbe and flowe aboue ten fadome. And also all these aforesayd yce, which we sometime met a hundred mile from lande, being gathered out of the salt Sea, are in taste fresh, and being dissolued, become sweete and hole some water.

Salt water cannot freeze.

And the cause why this yere we haue bene more combred with yce then at other times before, may be by reason of the Easterly & Southerly winds, which brought vs more timely thither now then we looked for. Which blowing from the sea directly vpon the place of our Streits, hath kept in the yce, and not suffered them to be caried out by the ebbe to the maine sea, where they would in more short time haue bene dissolued. And all these fleeting yce are not only so dangerous in that they wind and gather so neere together, that a man may passe sometimes tenne or twelue miles as it were vpon one firme Island of yce: but also for that they open and shut together againe in such sort with the tides and sea-gate, that whilest one ship followeth the other with full sayles, the yce which was open vnto the foremost will iopne and close together before the latter can come to follow the first, whereby many times our shippes were brought into great danger, as being not able so sodainely to take in our sayles, or stay the swift way of our ships.

We were forced many times to stemme and strike great rockes of yce, and so as it were make way through mighty mountaines. By which meanes some of the fleete, where they found the yce to open, entred in, and passed so farre within the danger thereof, with continuall desire to recouer their port, that it was the greatest wonder of the world that they euer escaped safe, or were euer heard of againe. For euen at this present we missed two of the fleete, that is, the *Ludich*, wherein was the Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton; and the *Michael*, whom both we supposed had bene utterly lost, hauing not heard any tidings of them in moe then 20 dayes before.

Barke Dennis
sunke.

And one of our fleete named the *Barke Dennis*, being of an huntzeth tunne burden, seeking way in amongst these yce, receiued such a blow with a rocke of yce that she sunke downe therewith in the sight of the whole fleete. Howbeit hauing signified her danger by shooting off a peece of great Ordnance, new succour of other ships came so readily vnto them, that the men were all saued with boats.

Part of the
house lost.

Within this ship that was drowned there was parcell of our house which was to bee erected for them that should stay all the winter in *Mera Incognita*.

This was a more fearefull spectacle for the fleete to beholde, for that the outrageous storme which presently followed, threatned them the like fortune and danger. For the fleete being thus compassed (as *aforsayd*) on euery side with yce, hauing left much behinde them, thorow which they passed, and finding more before them, thorow which it was not possible to passe, there arose a sudden terrible tempest at the Southeast, which blowing from the maine sea, directly vpon the place of the Streites, brought together all the yce a sea-boorde of vs vpon our backs, and thereby debard vs of turning backe to recouer sea-roome againe: so that being thus compassed with danger on euery side, sundry men with sundry deuises sought the best way to saue themselves. Some of the ships, where they could find a place more cleare of yce, and get a little birch of sea roome, did take in their sayles, and there lay a drift. Other some fastened & moored Anker vpon a great Island of yce, and roade vnder the Lee thereof, supposing to be better guarded thereby from the outrageous winds, and the danger of the lesser fleeting yce. And againe some were so fast shut vp, and compassed in amongst an infinite number of great countreys and Islands of yce, that they were faine to submit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the vnnmercifull yce, and strengthened the sides of their ships with iunkes of cables, beds, Mattes, planks and such like, which being hanged ouer boord on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outrageous sway and strokes of the said yce. But as in greatest distresse, men of best valour are best to bee discerned, so it is greatly worthy commendation and noting with what inuincible minde euery Captaine encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painefull Mariners and poore Miners (vnacquainted with such extremities) to the euermlasting renowne of our nation, did overcome the hant of these so great and extreme dangers: for some, euen without boord vpon the yce, and some within boord vpon the sides of their ships, hauing poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and Axes in their handes, stood almost day and night without any rest, bearing off the force, and breaking the sway of the yce with such incredible paine and perill, that it was wonderfull to beholde, which otherwise no doubt had striken quite through and through the sides of their ships, notwithstanding our former prouision: for planks of timber of more then three inches thicke, and other things of greater force and bignesse, by the surging of the sea and billowe, with the yce were shiuered and cut in sunder, at the sides of our ships, so that it will seeme more then credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainly to bee proued, and that by many substantiall witnesses, that our ships, euen those of greatest burdens, with the meeting of contrary waues of the sea, were heaued vp betweene Islands of yce, a foote welneere out of the sea about their watermarke, hauing

hauing their knees and timbers within boord both bowed and broken therewith.

And amidst these extremes, whilst some laboured for defence of the ships; and sought to saue their bodies, other some of more milder spirit sought to saue the soule by deuout prayer and meditation to the Almighty, thinking indeede by no other meanes possible then by a diuine Miracle to haue their deliuerance: so that there was none that were either idle, or not well occupied, and he that helde himselfe in best securitie had (God knoweth) but onely bare hope remaining for his best safetie.

Thus all the gallant flecte and miserable men without hope of euer getting forth againe, distressed with these extremities remayned here all the whole night and part of the next day, excepting foure ships, that is, the Anne Francis, the Moone, the Francis of Foy, and the Gabriell, which being somewhat a Seaboord of the flecte, and being fast ships by a winde, hauing a more scope of cleare, tryed it out all the time of the storme vnder sayle, being hardly able to beare a roast of each.

And albeit, by reason of the fleeting yce, which were dispersed here almost the whole sea ouer, they were brought many times to the extreamest point of perill, mountaines of yce renne thousand times scaping them scarce one ych, which to haue striken had bene their present destruction, considering the swift course and way of the ships, and the vniuersallnesse of them to stay and turne as a man would wish: yet they esteemed it their better safetie, with such perill to seeke Sea-roome, than without hope of euer getting libertie to lie struing against the streame, and beating amongst the Ice mountaines, whose hugeness and monstrous greatnesse was such, that no man would credite, but such as to their paines sawe and felt it. And these foure shippes by the next day at noone got out to Sea, and were first cleare of the yce, who now enioying their owne libertie, begonne a new to sorrow and feare for their fellowes safeties. And deuoutly kneeling about their maine Mast, they gaue vnto God humble thankes, not only for themselves, but besought him likewise highly for their friendes deliuerance. And euen now whilst amidst these extremities this gallant flecte and valiant men were altogether ouerlaboured and forewatched, with the long and fearefull continuance of the forelaid dangers, it pleased God with his eyes of mercie to looke downe from heauen to sende them helpe in good time, giuing them the next day a more fauourable winde at the West Northwest, which did not onely disperse and driue forth the yce before them, but also gaue them libertie of more scope and Sea-roome, and they were by night of the same day following perceiued of the other foure shippes, where (to their greatest comfort) they enioyed againe the fellowship one of another. Some in mending the sides of their ships, some in setting vp their top Mastes, and mending their sayles and tacklings; Again, some complaining of their false Stemme bozne away, some in stopping their leakes, some in recounting their dangers past, spent no small time & labour. So that I dare well auouch, there were neuer men more dangerously distressed, nor more mercifully by Gods prouidence deliuered. And hereof both the tozne ships, and the forewared bodies of the men arriued doe beare most euident marke and witnesse. And now the whole flecte plyed off to Seaward, resolving there to abide untill the Sunne might consume, or the force of winde disperse these yce from the place of their passage: and being a good birch off the shoze, they tooke in their sailes, and lay adrift.

The seuenth of Iuly as men nothing yet dismayed, we cast about towards the inward, and had sight of land, which rose in forme like the Northland of the straights, which some of the flecte, and those not the worst Harriners, iudged to be the North fozeland: howbeit other some were of contrary opinion. But the matter was not well to be discerned by reason of the thicke fogge which a long time hung vpon the coast, & the new falling snow which yeerely altereth the shape of the land, and taketh away oftentimes the Hariners markes. And by reason of the darke mists which continued by the space of twentie dayes together, this doubt grewe the greater and the longer perillous. For whereas indeede we thought our selues to be vpon the Northeast side of Frobishers straights, we were now caried to the Southwestwards of the Queenes Foreland, and being deceiued by a swift current comming from the Northeast, were brought to the Southwestwards of our laid course many miles more then we did thinke possible could come to passe. The cause whereof we haue since found, and it shall be at large hereafter declared.

Here we made a point of land which some mistooke for a place in the straights called Mount Warwicke: but how we should be so farre shot by so suddainely within the laid straights the expert Hariners began to maruell, thinking it a thing impossible that they could be so farre overtaken in their accounts, or that any current could deceiue them here which they had not by former experience prououed and found out. Howbeit many confessed that they found a swifter course

Another
allant.

Fogge, snow,
and mists
hinder the
Hariners
markes.

A swift cur-
rent from the
Northeast.

A current.

course of flood then before time they had obserued. And truly it was wonderfull to heare and see the rushing and noise that the tides do make in this place with so violent a force that our ships lying a hull were turned sometimes round about euen in a moment after the maner of a whirle-poolle, and the noyse of the freame no lesse to be heard a farre off, then the waterfall of London Bridge.

James Beare a
good Mariner.

Christopher Hall
chiefe Pilot.

But whilst the Fleet lay thus doubtfull amongst great store of yce in a place they knew not without sight of Sunne, whereby to take the height, and so to know the true eleuation of the pole, and without any cleere of sight to make perfit the coast, the Generall with the Captaines & Masters of his ships, began doubtfully to question of the matter, and sent his Pinelle aboard to heare each mans opinion, and specially of Iames Beare, Master of the Anne Francis, who was knowen to be a sufficient and skilful Mariner, and hauing bene there the yere before, had wel obserued the place, and drawn out Cardes of the coast. But the rather this matter grew the more doubtfull, for that Christopher Hall chiefe Pilot of the voyage, deliuered a plaine and publique opinion in the hearing of the whole Fleet, that hee had neuer seene the foresayd coast before, and that he could not make it for any place of Frobishers Streits, as some of the Fleet supposed, and yet the landes doolie and trend so like, that the best Mariners therein may bee de- ceitued.

The tenth of Iuly, the weather still continuing thicke and darke, some of the ships in the fogge lost sight of the Admirall and the rest of the fleet, and wandring to and fro, with doubtfull opinion whether it were best to seeke backe againe to seaward through great store of yce, or to follow on a doubtfull course in a Sea, Bay, or Streites they knew not, or along a coast, whereof by reason of the darke mistes they could not discern the dangers, if by chance any rocke or broken ground should lie off the place, as commonly in these parts it doth.

The Viceadmirall Captaine Yorke considering the foresayd opinion of the Pilot Hall, who was with him in the Thomas Allen, hauing lost sight of the Fleet, turned backe to sea againe, hauing two other ships in company with him.

Also the Captaine of the Anne Francis hauing likewise lost company of the Fleet, and being all alone, held it for best to turne it out to sea againe, vntill they might haue cleere weather to take the Sunnes altitude, and with incredible paine and perill got out of the doubtfull place, into the open Sea againe, being so narrowly distressed by the way, by meanes of continuall fogge and yce, that they were many times ready to leape vpon an Island of yce to auoide the present danger, and so hoping to prolong life awhile meant rather to die a pining death.

Hard shifts to
saue mens
liues.

Some hoped to saue themselves on chesses, and some determined to tie the Hatches of the ships together, and to binde themselves with their furniture fast thereunto, and so to be towed with the ship-bore ashore, which otherwise could not receiue halfe of the companie, by which meanes if happily they had arriued, they should epyther haue perished for lacke of foode to eate, or else should themselves haue bene eaten of those rauenous, bloodie, and Men-eating people.

The coast as
long as South
side of Gron-
land so leagues

The rest of the Fleet following the course of the Generall which led them the way, passed vpon aboute fiftie leagues within the saide doubtfull and supposed straights, hauing alwayes a faire continent vpon their Starreboorde side, and a continuance still of an open Sea before them.

Mistaken
straights
which in-
deede are no
straights.

The Generall albeit with the first perchance he found out the error, and that this was not the olde straights, yet he perswaded the Fleet alwayes that they were in their right course, and knowen straights. Wherein I suppose he rather dissembled his opinion therein then other- wise, meaning by that policie (being himselfe led with an honourable desire of further discou- rie) to induce the Fleet to follow him, to see a further prooffe of that place. And as some of the companie reported, he hath since confessed that if it had not bene for the charge and care he had of the Fleet and freighted ships, he both would and could haue gone through to the South Sea, called Mar del Sur, and dissolued the long doubt of the passage which we seeke to find to the rich countrey of Caraya.

Frobisher could
haue passed to
Caraya.

Faire open
way.

Reasons to
prooue a pas-
sage here.

1 Of which mistaken straights, considering the circumstance, we haue great cause to con- firme our opinion, to like and hope well of the passage in this place. For the foresayd Bay or Sea, the further we sayled therein, the wider we found it, with great likelihood of endlesse continuance. And where in other places we were much troubled with yce, as in the entrance of the same, so af- ter we had sayled fiftie or fiftie leagues therein we had no let of yce, or other thing at all, as in other places we found.

2 Also this place seemeth to haue a maruellous great indraft, and draweth vnto it most of the drift

drift yce, and other things which doe fleete in the Sea, either to the North or Eastwards of the same, as by good experience we haue found.

Great in-
drifts.

3 For here also we met with boordes, lathes, and diuers other things drining in the Sea, which was of the wracke of the ship called the Barke Dennis, which perished amongst the yce as before said, being lost at the first attempt of the entrance ouerthwart the Queenes forelande in the mouth of Frobishers straights, which could by no meanes haue bene so brought thither, nei-ther by winde nor tyde, being lost so many leagues off, if by force of the said current the same had not bene violently brought. For if the same had bene brought thither by tide of flood, looke how farre the said flood had carried it, the ebbe would haue recarried it as farre backe againe, and by the winde it could not so come to passe, because it was then sometime calme, and most times contrarie.

A current to
the West.

And some Mariners doe affirme that they haue diligently obserued, that there runneth in this place nine houres flood to three ebbe, which may thus come to passe by force of the sayd current: for whereas the Sea in most places of the world, doth more or lesse ordinarily ebbe and flow once euery twelue houres with sixe houres ebbe, and sixe houres flood, so also would it doe there, were it not for the violence of this hastning current, which forceth the flood to make appearance to be- ginne before his ordinary time one houre and a halfe, and also to continue longer than his natu- rall course by an other houre and a halfe, vntill the force of the ebbe be so great that it will no lon- ger be resisted: according to the saying, Naturam expellas furca licet, vique recurrit. Although nature and naturall courses be forced and resisted neuer so much, yet at last they will haue their owne way againe.

Nine houres
flood to three
houres ebbe.

Whereouer it is not possible that so great course of floods and current, so high swelling tides with continuance of so deepe waters, can be digested here without unburdening themselves into some open Sea beyond this place, which argueth the more likelihood of the passage to be hereabouts. Also we suppose these great indrafts doe growe and are made by the reuerberation and reflection of that same current, which at our comming by Ireland, met and crossed vs, of which in the first part of this discourse I spake, which comming from the bay of Mexico, pas- sing by and washing the Southwest parts of Ireland, reboundeth ouer to the North-east parts of the world, as Norway, Island, &c. where not finding any passage to an open Sea, but rather being there encreased by a new access, and another current meeting with it from the Scythian Sea, passing the bay of Saint Nicholas Westward, it doth once againe rebound backe, by the coastes of Groenland, and from thence vpon Frobishers straights being to the Southwestwardes of the same.

5 And if that principle of Philosophie be true, that Inferiora corpora reguntur à superioribus, that is, if inferiour bodie be gouerned, ruled, and caried after the manner and course of the supe- rior, then the water being an inferior Element, must needs be gouerned after the superior hea- uen, and so follow the course of Primum mobile from East to West.

The sea mo-
ueth from
East to West
continually.

6 But euery man that hath written or consider. d any thing of this passage, hath more doub- ted the returne by the same way by reason of a great downefall of water, which they imagine to be thereabouts (which we also by experience partly find) than any mistrust they haue of the same passage at all. For we find (as it were) a great downefall in this place, but yet not such but that we may returne, although with much a doe. For we were easlier carried in one houre then we could get forth againe in three. Also by another experience at another time, we found this cur- rent to deceiue vs in this sort: That whereas we supposed it to be 15 leagues off, and lying a hull, we were brought within two leagues of the shore contrarie to all expectation.

Authentie.

Hard but yet
possible tur-
ning backe as
gaine.

Our men that sayled furthest in the same mistaken straights (hauing the maine land vpon their starboord side) affirme that they met with the outlet or passage of water which commeth thro- row Frobishers straights, and followeth as all one into this passage.

Some of our companie also affirme that they had sight of a continent vpon their larboord-side being 60 leagues within the supposed straights: howbeit except certaine Islands in the entrance hereof we could make no part perfect thereof. All the foresaid tract of land seemeth to be more fruitfull and better stozed of Grasse, Deere, Wilde fowle, as Partridges, Larkes, Seamewes, Gulls, Wilmots, Falcons and Tassel gentils, Rauens, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and other things, than any other part we haue yet discovered, and is more populous. And here Luke Ward, a Gentleman of the companie, traded marchandise, and did exchange knives, bels, looking glasses, &c. with those countrey people, who brought him foule, fish, beares skinnes, and such like, as their countrey yeeldeth for the same. Here also they saw of those greater boats of the countrey, with twentie persons in a peece.

Traffique.

Robt

Returne out of
the mistaken
straights.

Great dan-
gers.

Anne Francis
met with some
of the fleet.

Francis of Foy.

Bridgewater ship.

Now after the Generall had bestowed these many dayes here, not without many dangers, he returned backe againe. And by the way sayling alongst this coast (being the backside of the supposed continent of America) and the Queenes Foreland, he perceiued a great sound to goe thorow into Frobishers Straights. Whereupon he sent the Gabriel the one and twentieth of July, to proue whether they might goe thorow and meete againe with him in the straights, which they did: and as wee imagined before, so the Queenes foreland proued an Island, as I thinke most of these supposed continents will. And so he departed towarde the straights, thinking it were high time now to recouer his Port, and to prouide the Fleet of their lading, whereof he was not a little carefull, as shall by the procelle and his resolute attempts appeare. And in his returne with the rest of the fleet he was so intangled by reason of the darke fogge amongst a number of Islands and broken ground that lye off this coast, that many of the shippes came ouer the top of rockes, which presently after they might perceiue to lie dry, hauing not halfe a foote water more then some of their ships did draw. And by reason they could not with a smal gale of wind stemme the force of the flood, whereby to goe cleere off the rockes, they were faine to let an anker fall with two bent of Cable together, at an hundred and odde fadome depth, where otherwise they had bene by the force of the tydes caried vpon the rockes againe, and perished: so that if God in these fortunes (as a mercifull guide, beyond the expectation of man) had not caried vs thorow, we had surely perished amidst these dangers. For being many times driuen hard aboord the shore without any sight of land, vntill we were ready to make shipwracke thereon, being forced commonly with our boats to sound before our ships, least we might light thereon before we could discern the same; it pleased God to giue vs a cleare of Sunne and light for a short time to see and auoyde thereby the danger, hauing bene continually darke before, and presently after. Manie times also by meanes of fogge and currents being driuen neere vpon the coast, God lent vs euen at the very pinch one prosperous breath of winde or other, whereby to double the land, and auoid the perill, and when that we were all without hope of helpe, euery man recommending himselfe to death, and crying out, Lord now helpe or neuer, now Lord looke downe from heauen and saue vs sinners, or else our safetie cometh too late: euen then the mightie maker of heauen, and our mercifull God did deliuer vs: so that they who haue bene partakers of these dangers doe euen in their soules confesse, that God euen by miracle hath sought to saue them, whose name he prayesd euermore.

Long time now the Anne Francis had layne beating off and on all alone before the Queenes foreland, not being able to recouer their Port for yce, albeit many times they dangerously attempted it, for yet the yce choaked by the passage, and would not suffer them to enter. And hauing neuer scene any of the fleet since twenty dayes past, when by reason of the thicke mistes they were seuered in the mistaken straights, they did now this present 23 of July ouerthwart a place in the straights called Hattons Hedland, where they met with seuen ships of y^e fleet againe, which good hap did not onely reioyce them for themselves, in respect of the comfort which they receiued by such good companie, but especially that by this meanes they were put out of doubt of their deare friends, whose safeties long time they did not a little suspect and feare.

At their meeting they hailed the Admirall after the manner of the Sea, and with great ioy welcommed one another with a thundring volley of shot. And now euery man declared at large the fortunes and dangers which they had passed.

The foure and twentieth of July we met with the Francis of Foy, who with much adoe sought way backe againe through the yce from out of the mistaken straights, where (to their great perill) they proued to recouer their Port. They brought the first newes of the Vizeadmirall Captaine Yorke, who many dayes with themselves, and the Busse of Bridgewater was missing. They reported that they left the Vizeadmirall reasonably cleare of the yce, but the other ship they greatly feared, whom they could not come to helpe, being themselves so hardly distressed as neuer men more. Also they told vs of the Gabriel, who hauing got thorow from the backside, and Western point of the Queenes foreland, into Frobishers Straights, fell into their company about the cape of Good hope.

And vpon the seuen and twentieth of July, the ship of Bridgewater got out of the yce and met with the Fleet which lay off and on vnder Hattons Hedland. They reported of their marvellous accidents and dangers, declaring their ship to be so leake that they must of necessitie seeke harborow, hauing their stem so beaten within their huddings, that they had much adoe to keepe themselves aboue water. They had (as they say) five hundred strokes at the pump in lesse then halfe a watch, being scarce two houres; their men being so ouer-wearied therewith, and with the former dangers that they desired helpe of men from the other ships. Moreover they declared that

that there was nothing but yce and danger where they had bene, and that the Straights within were frozen vp, and that it was the most impossible thing of the world, to passe vp vnto the Countesse of Warwicks sound, which was the place of our Port.

The Straights
frozen ouer.

The report of these dangers by these ships thus published amongst the fleete, with the remembrance of the perils past, and those present before their face, brought no small feare and terror into the hearts of many considerate men. So that some beganne priuily to murmure against the Generall for this wilfull manner of proceeding. Some desired to discouer some harborow thereabouts to refresh themselves and reforme their broken vessels for a while, vntill the North and Northwest windes might disperse the yce, and make the place more free to passe. Other some forgetting themselves, spake more vndutifully in this behalfe, saying: that they had as leeuue be hanged when they came home, as without hope of safetie to seeke to passe, and so to perish amongst the yce.

The Generall not opening his eares to the peeuisht passion of any priuate person, but chiefly respecting the accomplishment of the cause he had vnderaken (wherein the chiefe reputation and fame of a Generall and Captaine consisteth) and calling to his remembrance the short time he had in hand to prouide so great number of ships their loading, determined with this resolution to passe and recouer his Port, or else there to burie himselfe with his attempt.

20 balliant
minds of M.
Frobisher.

Notwithstanding somewhat to appease the feeble passions of the fearefuller sort, and the better to entertaine time for a season, whilst the yce might the better be dissolued, he haled on the Fleete with beleefe that he would put them into harborow: thereupon whilst the shippes lay off and on vnder Hattons Hedland, he sought to goe in with his Pinnesses amongst the Flaudes there, as though hee meant to search for harborowe, where indeede he meant nothing lesse, but rather sought if any Dre might be found in that place, as by the sequele appeared.

In the meane time whilst the Fleete lay thus doubtfull without any certaine resolution what to do, being hard aboord the lee-shore, there arose a sodaine and terrible tempest at the South-southeast, whereby the yce began maruellously to gather about vs.

Whereupon euery man, as in such case of extremitie he thought best, sought the wisest way for his owne safetie. The most part of the Fleete which were further shot vp within the Straights, and so farre to the leeward, as that they could not double the land, following the course of the Generall, who led them the way, tooke in their Sayles, and layde it a hull amongst the yce, and so passed ouer the storme, and had no extremitie at all, but for a short time in the same place.

Howbeit the other ships which plyed out to Seaward, had an extreme storme for a longer season. And the nature of the place is such, that it is subiect diuersly to diuers windes, according to the sundry situation of the great Alps and mountaines there, euery mountaine causing a seuerall blast, and pirrie, after the manner of a Leuant.

In this storme being the five and twentieth of Iuly, there fell so much snow, with such bitter cold aire, that we could not scarce see one another for the same, nor open our eyes to handle our ropes and sayles, the snow being aboue halfe a foote deepe vpon the hatches of our ship, which did so wet thorow our poore Mariners clothes, that hee that had five or sixe shifts of apparell had scarce one drye theed to his backe, which kind of wet and coldnesse, together with the ouerlabouring of the poore men amidst the yce, bred no small sicknesse amongst the fleete, which somewhat discouraged some of the poore men, who had not experience of the like before, euery man perswading himselfe that the winter there must needes be extreme, where they found so vnseasonable a Sommer.

Snow in Iuly

Extreme winter.
Great heat in
Meta Incognita.

And yet notwithstanding this cold aire, the Sunne many times hath a marvellous force of heate amongst those mountaines, insomuch that when there is no breath of winde to bring the colde aire from the dispersed yce vpon vs, we shall be wearie of the bloming heate and then suddenly with a perry of winde which commeth downe from the hollownesse of the hilles, we shall haue such a breath of heate brought vpon our faces as though we were entred within some bath-stoue or hote-house, and when the first of the pirry and blast is past, we shall haue the winde suddenly a new blow cold againe.

Unconstant
weather.

In this storme the Anne Francis, the Moone, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who found themselves able to hold it vp with a saile, and could double about the Cape of the Queenes foreland, plyed out to the Seaward, holding it for better policie and safetie to seeke Searoom, then to hazard the continuance of the storme, the danger of the yce, and the lee-shore.

And being vncertaine at this time of the Generalls priuate determinations, the weather being

so

so darke that they could not discerne one another, nor perceiue which way he wrought, betooke themselves to this course for best and safest.

The Generall
recouereth his
port.

The General, notwithstanding the great storme, following his own former resolution, fought by all meanes possible, by a shorter way to recouer his Port, and where he saw the yce neuer so little open, he gate in at one gappe and out at another, and so himselfe valiantly led the way thorow befoze to induce the flecte to follow after, and with incredible paine and perill at length gat through the yce, and vpon the one and thirtieth of July recouered his long wished Port after many attempts and sundry times being put backe, and came to anker in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, in the entrance whereof, when he thought all perill past, he encountered a great Island of yce which gaue the Ayde such a blow, hauing a little befoze wayed her anker a cocke bill, that it stroke the anker flouke through the ships bowes vnder the water, which caused so great a leake, that with much adoe they preserued the ship from sinking.

At their arriual here they perceiued two ships at anker within the harborough, whereat they began much to maruell and greatly to reioyce, for those they knew to be the Michael, wherein was the Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton, and the small Barke called the Gabriel, who so long time were missing, and neuer heard of befoze, whom euery man made the last reckoning, neuer to heare of againe.

Maister Wolfall
Preacher.

Here euery man greatly reioyced of their happie meeting, and welcommed one another after the Sea manner with their great Ordinance, and when each partie had ripped vp their sundry fortunes and perills past, they highly prayed God, and altogether vpon their knees gaue him due, humble and hearty thanks, and Maister Wolfall a learned man, appointed by her Maiesties Councell to be their Minister and Preacher made vnto them a godly sermon, exhorting them especially to be thankefull to God for their strange and miraculous deliuerance in those so dangerous places, and putting them in mind of the vncertainetie of mans life, willed them to make themselves alwayes readie as resolute men to enioy and accept thankfully whatsoever aduerture his diuine Providence should appoint. This maister Wolfall being well seated and settled at home in his owne Countrey, with a good and large liuing, hauing a good honest woman to wife and very towardly childe, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painefull voyage, for the onely care he had to saue soules, and to reforme those Infidels if it were possible to Christianitie: and also partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage so well begunne, might be brought to perfection: and therefore he was contented to stay there the whole yeare if occasion had serued, being in euery necessary action as forward as the resolute men of all. Wherefore in this behalfe he may rightly be called a true Pastor and minister of Gods word, which for the profite of his flocke spared not to venture his owne life.

The aduen-
tures of Cap-
taine Fenton
and his com-
panie.

Extremities
caused men to
deuise new
arts and re-
medies.

Ward his.

But to retorne againe to Captaine Fentons company, and to speake somewhat of their dangers (albeit they be moze then by writing can be expessed) they reported that from the night of the first storme which was about the first day of July untill seven dayes befoze the Generals arriual, which was the five and twentieth of the same, they neuer saw any one day or houre, wherein they were not troubled with continuall danger and feare of death, and were twentie dayes almost together fast amongst the yce. They had their ship stricken through and through on both sides, their false stemme bozne quite away, and could goe from their ships in some places vpon the yce very many miles, and might easily haue passed from one Island of yce to another euen to the shore, and if God had not wonderfully provided for them and their necessitie, and time had not made them moze cunning and wise to seeke strange remedies for strange kindes of dangers, it had bene impossible for them euer to haue escaped: for among other deuises, wheresoeuer they found any Island of yce of greater bignesse then the rest (as there be some of moze then halfe a mile compasse about, and almost forty fadome high) they commonly coueted to recouer the same, and thereof to make a bulwarke for their defence, whereon hauing moored anker, they rood vnder the lee thereof for a time, being thereby garded from the danger of the lesser diuing yce. But when they must needs forgoe this new found fort by meanes of other yce, which at length would vndermine and compasse them round about, and when that by heauing of the billow they were therewith like to be bzused in peeces, they vsed to make fast the shippe vnto the most firme and broad peece of yce they could find, and binding her nose fast thereunto, would fill all their sayles whereon the winde hauing great power, would force forward the ship, and so the shippe bearing befoze her the yce, & so one yce diuing forward another, should at length get scope & sea-roome. And hauing by this meanes at length put their enemies to flight, they occupied the cleare place for a prettie season among sundry mountaines and Alpes of yce. One there was found by measure to be 65 fadome aboue water, which for a kind of similitude, was called Salomons porch.

Some

Some thinke those Ilands eight times so much under water as they are above, because of their monstrous weight. But now I remember I saw very strange wonders, men walking, running, leaping and thooing upon the mayne seas 40. mples from any land, without any Shippe or other vessell under them. Also I saw fresh Rivers running amidst the salt Sea a hundred myle from land, which if any man will not beleue, let him knowe that many of our company leapt out of their Shippe vpon Ilandes of yce, and running there vp and downe, did shoote at Buts vpon the yce, and with their Caliuers did kill great Seales, which vse to lye and sleepe vpon the yce, and this yce melting aboute at the toppes by reflection of the Sunne, came downe in sundry streames, which vnitng together, made a pretie Brooke able to driue a Mill.

The sayde Captaine Fenton recovered his Port tenne dayes before any man, and spent good tyme in searching for Mine, and hee found good store thereof. He also discouered about tenne Miles vp into the Countrey, where he perceiued neither Towne, Village, nor likelihood of habitation, but it seemeth (as he sayth) barren, as the other parts which as yet we haue entered vpon: but their victuals and prouision went so scant with them, that they had determined to returne homeward within seuen dayes after, if the Fleet had not then arriued.

The Generall after his arriual in the Countesses sound, spent no time in vaine, but immediately at his first landing called the chiefe Captaines of his Councell together, and consulted with them for the speedier execution of such things as then they had in hand. As first, for searching and finding out good Minerall for the Miners to be occupied on. Then to giue good Orders to bee obserued of the whole company on shore. And lastly, to consider for the erecting vp of the Fort and House for the vse of them which were to abide there the whole yeere. For the better handling of these, and all other like important causes in this seruice, it was ordeined from her Maiestie and the Councell, that the Generall should call vnto him certaine of the chiefe Captaines and Gentlemen in Councell, to conferre, consult and determine of all occurrents in this seruice, whose names are as here they follow.

Captaine Fenton.	}	{	Captaine Carew.
Captaine Yorke.			
Captaine Best.			Captaine Philpot.

And in Sea causes to haue as assistants, Christopher Hall and Charles Iackman, being both very good Pilots, and sufficient Mariners, whereof the one was chiefe Pilot of the Voyage, and the other for the discouerie. From the place of our habitation Westward, Master Selman was appointed Notarie, to register the whole maner of proceeding in these affaires, that true relation thereof might be made, if it pleased her Maiestie to require it.

The first of August euery Captaine by order, from the Generall and his councell, was commanded to bring ashore vnto the Countesses Iland all such Gentlemen, souldiers, and Pyners, as were under their charge, with such prouision as they had of victuals, tents, and things necessary for the speedy getting together of Mine, and freight for the Shippes.

The Muster of the men being taken, and the victuals with all other things viewed and considered, euery man was set to his charge, as his place and office required. The Pyners were appointed where to worke, and the Mariners discharged their Shippes.

Upon the second of August were published and proclaymed vpon the Countesse of Warwicks Iland with sound of Trumpet, certaine Orders by the Generall and his councell, appoynted to be obserued of the company during the time of their abiding there.

In the meane time, whilst the Mariners plyed their worke, the Captaines sought out new Pynes, the Goldfiners made tryall of the Ore, the Mariners discharged their Shippes, the Gentlemen for example sake laboured heartily, and honestly encouraged the inferiour sort to worke. So that the small tyme of that little leasure that was left to carrie, was spent in vaine.

The second of August the Gabriel arriued, who came from the Viceadmirall, and beeing distressed sore with Ice, put into Harbrough neere vnto Mount Oxford. And now was the whole Fleet arriued safely at their Port, excepting foure, besides the Shippe that was lost: that is, the Thomas Allen, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Moone, whose absence was some lette vnto the workes and other proceedings, aswell for that these Shippes were furnished with the better sorte of Pyners, as with other prouision for the habitation.

The ninth of August the Generall with the Captaynes of his counsell assembled together, and began to consider and take order for the erecting vp of the house or Fort for them that were

Consultation
for inhabiting
Meta incognita.

An hundred
men appoint-
ed to inhabite.

No habitation
this yeere.

to inhabite there the whole yeere, and that presently the Masons and Carpenters might goe in hande therewith. First therefore they perused the Bills of lading, what euery man receiued into his Shippe, and found that there was arriued onely the Eastside, and the Southside of the house, and yet not that perfect and entier: for many pieces thereof were vsed for fenders in many Shippes, and so broken in pieces whilst they were distressed in the yce. Also after due examination had, and true account taken, there was found want of drinke and fuel to serue one hundred men, which was the number appoynted first to inhabite there, because their greatest store was in the Shippes which were not yet arriued. Then Captaine Fenton seeing the scarcitie of the necessary things aforesayd, was contented, and offered himselfe to inhabite there with sixtie men. Whereupon they caused the Carpenters and Masons to come before them, and demanded in what time they would take vpon them to erect by a lesse house for sixtie men. They required eight or nine weekes, if there were Tymber sufficient, whereas now they had but fixe and twentie dayes in all to remaine in that Countrey. Wherefore it was fully agreed vpon, and resolved by the Generall and his counsell, that no habitation should be there this yeere. And therefore they willed Master Selman the Register to set downe this decree with all their consents, for the better satisfiing of her Maestie, the Lords of the Counsell, and the Aduenturers.

The Anne Francis, since shee was parted from the Fleet, in the last storme before spoken of, could neuer recouer aboue five leagues within the streights, the winde being sometime contrary, and most times the yce compassing them round about. And from that time, being about the leuen and twentieth of July, they could neither heare nor haue sight of any of the Fleet, until the 3. of August, when they descried a sayle neere vnto Mount Oxford, with whom when they had spoken, they could vnderstand no newes of any of the Fleet at all. And this was the Thomas of Ipswich, who had layne beating off and on at Sea with very fowle weather, and contrary winde, euer since that fozesayd storme, without sight of any man. They kept company not long together, but were forced to loose one another againe, the Moone being consozt alwayes with the Anne Francis, and keeping very good company plyed vp together into the streights, with great desire to recouer their long wished Port: and they attempted as often, and passed as farre as possible the winde, weather, & yce gaue them leaue, which commonly they found very contrary. For when the weather was cleare and without fogge, then commonly the winde was contrary. And when it was eyther Easterly or Southerly, which would serue their turnes, then had they so great a fogge and darke miste therewith, that eyther they could not discerne way thorow the yce, or els the yce lay so thicke together, that it was impossible for them to passe. And on the other side, when it was calme, the Tydes had force to bying the yce so suddenly about them, that commonly then they were most therewith distressed, hauing no Winde to cary them from the danger thereof.

And by the first of August being with much adoe got vp as high as Leicester point, they had good hope to finde the Souther shore cleare, and so to passe vp towarde their Port. But being there becalmed and lying a hull openly vpon the great Bay which commeth out of the mistaken streights before spoken of, they were so suddenly compassed with yce round about by meanes of the swift Tydes which run in that place, that they were neuer afore so hardly beset as now. And in seeking to auoyde these dangers in the darke weather, the Anne Francis lost sight of the other two Ships, who being likewise hardly distressed, signified their danger, as they since reported, by shooting off their ordinance, which the other could not heare, nor if they had heard, could haue giuen them any remedie, being so busily occupied to winde themselves out of their owne troubles.

The Moone.

The Fleet boate called the Moone, was here heaued aboue the water with the force of the yce, and receiued a great leake thereby. Likewise the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Anne Francis were soze bzused at that instant, hauing their false stemples bozne away, and their ship sides stricken quite through.

Now considering the continuall dangers and contraries, and the little leasure that they had left to tarie in these partes, besides that euery night the ropes of their Shippes were so frozen, that a man could not handle them without cutting his handes, together with the great doubt they had of the Fleetes safety, thinking it an impossibilitie for them to passe vnto their Port, as well for that they saw themselves, as for that they heard by the former report of the Shippes which had prooued before, who affirmed that the streights were all frozen ouer within: They thought it now very hie time to consider of their estates and safeties that were yet left together. And hereupon the Captaines and masters of these Shippes, desired the Captaine of the Anne Francis to enter into consideration with them of these matters. Wherefore Captaine Tanfield of the Thomas of Ipswich, with his Pilot Richard Cox, and Captaine Vpcore of the Moone, with

The Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich and the Moone consulted.

his

his master Iohn Lakes came aboarde the Anne Francis the eight of August to consult of these causes. And being assembled together in the Captaines Cabin, sundry doubts were there alledged. For the fearefuller sort of Mariners being ouertyped with the continuall labour of the former dangers, couered to returne homeward, saying that they would not againe tempt God so much, who had giuen them so many warnings, and deliuered them from so wonderfull dangers: that they rather desired to lose wages, freight, and all, then to continue and follow such desperate fortunes. Again, their Ships were so leake, and the men so wearie, that to amend the one, and refresh the other, they must of necessitie seeke into harborough.

But on the other side it was argued againe to the contrary, that to seeke into harborough thereabouts, was but to subiect themselves to double dangers: if happily they escaped the dangers of Rocks in their entring, yet being in, they were neuerthelesse subiect there to the danger of the Ice, which with the swift tydes and currents is carped in and out in most harboroughs thereabouts, and may thereby gaule their Cables asunder, driue them vpon the shoare, and bying them to much trouble. Also the coast is so much subiect to broken ground and rockes, especially in the mouth and entrance of euery Harborough, that albeit the Channell be sounded ouer and ouer againe, yet are you neuer the neerer to discern the dangers. For the bottome of the Sea holding like shape and forme as the Land, being full of hills, dales, and ragged Rocks, suffreth you not by your soundings to knowe and keepe a true gesse of the depth. For you shall sound vpon the side or hollownesse of one Hill or Rocke vnder water, and haue a hundred, fiftie, or fourtie fadome depth: and before the next cast, yet you shall be able to heaue your lead againe, you shall be vpon the toppe thereof, and come aground to your vtter confusion.

Another reason against going to harborough was, that the colde ayre did threaten a sudden freezing vpon the sounds, seeing that euery night there was new congealed yce, euen of that water which remayned within their shippes. And therefore it should seeme to be more safe to lye off and on at Sea, then for lacke of winde to bying them forth of harborough, to hazard by sudden frosts to be shut vp the whole yeere.

After many such dangers and reasons alledged, and large debating of these causes on both sides, the Captaine of the Anne Francis deliuered his opinion vnto the company to this effect. First concerning the question of returning home, hee thought it so much of honorable, as not to grow in any farther question: and againe to returne home at length (as at length they must needes) and not to be able to bying a certaine report of the Fleete, whether they were liuing or lost, or whether any of them had recovered their Port or not, in the Countesses sound, (as it was to bee thought the most part would if they were liuing) hee sayde that it would be so great an argument eyther of want of courage or discretion in them, as hee resolved rather to fall into any danger, then so shamefully to consent to returne home, protesting that it should neuer bee spoken of him, that hee would euer returne without doing his endeavour to finde the Fleete, and knowe the certaintie of the Generals safetie. Hee put his company in remembrance of a Pinnisse of fine tunne burthen, which hee had within his Shippe, which was carped in pieces, and vnmade vp for the vse of those which should inhabite there the whole yeere, the which, if they could finde meanes to ioyne together, hee offered himselfe to prooue before therewith, whether it were possible for any Boate to passe for yce, whereby the Shippe might bee brought in after, and might also thereby giue true notice, if any of the Fleete were arrived at their Port or not.

Captaine Bells resolution.

A Pinnisse for the inhabiteers.

But notwithstanding, for that he well perceined that the most part of his company were addicted to put into harborough, hee was willing the rather for these causes somewhat to encline thereunto. As first, to search alongst the same coast, and the soundes thereabouts, hee thought it to be to good purpose, for that it was likely to finde some of the Fleete there, which being leake, and soze bzused with the yce, were the rather thought likely to be put into an yll harborough, being distressed with foule weather in the last storme, then to hazard their vncertaine safeties amongst the yce: for about this place they lost them, and lest the Fleete then doubtfully questioning of harborough.

It was likely also, that they might finde some fitte harborough thereabouts, which might bee behoouefull for them against another time. It was not likewise impossible to finde some Dyne or Dyne thereabouts wherewithall to freight their Shippes, which would bee more commodious in this place, for the neerenesse to Seaward, and for a better outlet, then farther within the streights, being likely heere alwayes to loaden in a shorter time, howsoeuer the streight should be pestered with yce within, so that if it might come to passe that thereby they might eyther finde the Fleete, Dyne, or conuenient harborough, any of these three would serue their present turnes,

and giue some hope and comfort vnto their companies, which now were altogether comfortlesse. But if that all fortune should fall out so contrary, that they could neyther recouer their Port, nor any of these aforesayde helpes, that yet they would not depart the Coast, as long as it was possible for them to tary there, but would lye off and on at Sea athwart the place. Therefore his finall conclusion was set downe thus, First, that the Thomas of Ipswich and the Moone should consort and keepe company together carefully with the Anne Francis, as neere as they could, and as true Englishmen and faithfull friends, should supply one anothers want in all fortunes and dangers. In the morning following, euery Shippe to send off his Boate with a sufficient Pilot, to search out and sound the harboroughs for the safe bringing in of their Shippes. And being arrived in harborough, where they might finde conuenient place for the purpose, they resolved forthwith to ioyne and sette together the Pinnele, wherewithall the Captaine of the Anne Francis might, according to his former determination, discover by into the Streights.

After these determinations thus set downe, the Thomas of Ipswich the night following lost company of the other Shippes, and afterward shayed a contrary course homeward, which fell out as it manifestly appeared, very much against their Captaine Master Tanfieldes minde, as by due examination before the Lordes of her Maesties most honourable priue Counsell it hath since bene pproved, to the great discredite of the Pilot Cox, who specially perswaded his company against the opinion of his sayd Captaine, to returne home.

And as the Captaine of the Anne Francis doeth witnesse, even at their conference together, Captaine Tanfield tolde him, that he did not a little suspect the sayd Pilot Cox, saying that he had opinion in the man neither of honest duetie, manhoode, nor constancie. Notwithstanding the sayde Shippes departure, the Captaine of the Anne Francis being desirous to put in execution his former resolutions, went with his Shippeboate (being accompanied also with the Moones Skiffe) to prooue amongst the Ilands which lye vnder Hattons Hedland, if any conuenient harborough, or any knowledge of the Fleete, or any good Dre were there to be found. The Shippes lying off and on at Sea the while vnder Sayle, searching through many sounds, they sawe them all full of many dangers and broken ground: yet one there was, which seemed an indifferent place to harborough in, and which they did very diligently sound ouer, and searched againe.

Here the sayde Captaine found a great blacke Iland, whereunto hee had good liking, and certifying the company thereof, they were somewhat comforted, and with the good hope of his wordes rowed cheerefully vnto the place: where when they arrived, they found such plentie of blacke Dre of the same sort which was brought into England this last yeere, that if the goodnesse might answer the great plentie thereof, it was to be thought that it might reasonably suffice all the golde-gluttons of the world. This Iland the Captaine for cause of his good hap, called after his owne name, Bestes blessing, and with these good tydings returning aboard his Ship the ninth of August about tenne of the clocke at night, hee was ioyfully welcommed of his company, who before were discomfited, and greatly expected some better fortune at his handes.

Bestes blessing.

Anne Francis in danger.

The Moone in harborough.

The next day being the tenth of August, the weather reasonably fayre, they put into the forsayde Harborough, hauing their Boate for their better securitie sounding before their Shippe. But for all the care and diligence that could bee taken in sounding the Channele ouer and ouer againe, the Anne Francis came aground vpon a sunken Rocke within the Harborough, and lay thereon more then halfe dze vntill the next flood, when by Gods Almighty prouidence, contrary almost to all expectation, they came afloat againe, being forced all that time to vnderlette their Shippe with their mayne Parde, which otherwise was likely to ouerset and put thereby in danger the whole company. They had aboue two thousand strokes together at the Pumpe, before they could make their Shippe free of the water againe, so sore thee was brused by lying vpon the Rockes. The Moone came safely, and roade at anchor by the Anne Francis, whose helpe in their necessitie they could not well haue missed.

Now whilst the Mariners were romaging their Shippes, and mending that which was amisse, the Miners followed their labour for getting together of sufficient quantitie of Dre, and the Carpenters indeuoured to doe their best for the making vp of the Boate or Pinnele: which to bring to passe, they wanted two speciall and most necessarie things, that is, certaine principall tymbers that are called Knees, which are the chiefest strength of any Boate, and also nayles, wherewithall to ioyne the plancks together. Whereupon hauing by chance a Smyth amongst them, (and yet unfurnished of his necessary tooles to worke and make nayles withall) they

they were faine of a gunne chamber to make an Anvile to worke upon, and to vse a pickaxe in stead of a sledge to beate withall, and also to occupie two small bellows in steade of one payre of greater Smiths bellows. And for lacke of small Iron for the easier making of the nayles, they were forced to breake their tongs, grydiron, and firethouell in peeces.

The eleuenth of August the Captaine of the Anne Francis taking the Master of his Shippe with him, went vnto the toppes of Hartons Hedland, which is the highest land of all the streights, to the ende to descry the situation of the Countrey underneath, and to take a true plotte of the place, whereby also to see what store of Pee was yet left in the streights, as also to search what Mineral matter or fruite that soyle might yeelde: And the rather for the honour the said Captaine doeth owe to that Honourable name which himselfe gaue thereunto the last yeere, in the highest part of this Hedland he caused his company to make a Columne or Crosse of stone, in token of Christian possession. In this place there is plentie of blacke Ore, and diuers pretie Partie stone.

The seventeenth of August the Captaines with their companies chased and killed a great white Beare, which aduentured and gaue a fierce assault vpon twentie men being weaponed. And he serued them for good meate many dayes. A mightie white Beare.

The eighteenth of August the Pinnesse with much adoe being set together, the sayde Captaine Best determined to depart by the streights, to proue and make tryall, as before was pretended, some of his company greatly perswading him to the contrary, and specially the Carpenter that set the same together, who sayde that hee would not aduenture himselfe therein for five hundred pounds, for that the boate hung together but onely by the strength of the nayles, and lacked some of her principall knees and tymbers. A Pinnesse there built.

These wordes somewhat discouraged some of the company which should haue gone therein. Whereupon the Captaine, as one not altogether addicted to his owne selfe-will, but somewhat foreseeing how it might be afterwards spoken, if contrary fortune should happen him (Lo he hath followed his owne opinion and desperate resolutions, and so thereafter it is befallen him) calling the Master and Mariners of best iudgement together, declared vnto them how much the cause imported him in his credite to seeke out the Generall, as well to conferre with him of some causes of weight, as otherwise to make due examination and tryall of the goodnesse of the Ore, whereof they had no assurance but by gesse of the eye, and it was well like the other: which so to cary home, not knowing the goodnesse thereof, might be as much as if they should bring so many stones. And therefore hee desired them to deliuer their plaine and honest opinion, whether the Pinnesse were sufficient for him so to aduenture in or no. It was answered, that by carefull heede taking thereunto amongst the yce, and the foule weather, the Pinnesse might suffice. And hereupon the Masters mate of the Anne Francis called Iohn Gray, manfully and honestly offering himselfe vnto his Captaine in this aduenture and seruice, gaue cause to others of his Mariners to follow the attempt.

And vpon the nineteenth of August the sayd Captaine being accompanied with Captaine Vpcore of the Moone, and eightene persons in the small Pinnesse, hauing conuenient portion of victuals and things necessary, departed vpon the sayd pretended Voyage, leaving their shippe at anchor in a good readinesse for the taking in of their freight. And hauing little winde to sayle withall, they plyed alongst the Souther shore, and passed about 30. leagues, hauing the onely helpe of mans labour with Dares, and so intending to keepe that shore aboord until they were got vnto the farthest and narrowest of the streights, minded there to crosse ouer, and to search likewise alongst the Northerland vnto the Countesses sound, and from thence to passe all that coast along, whereby if any of the Fleet had bene distressed by wrecke of rocke or yce; by that meanes they might be perceiued of them, and so they thereby to giue them such helpe and reliefe as they could. They did greatly feare, and euer suspect that some of the Fleet were surely cast away, and dyuen to seeke lowe sallets amongst the colde cliffes. They aduenture by the streight in a weake Pinnesse.

And being shotte vnto about forty leagues within the Streights, they put ouer towarde the Norther shore, which was not a little dangerous for their small boates. And by meanes of a sudden flawe were dyruen, and faine to seeke harborough in the night amongst all the rockes and broken ground of Gabriels Islands, a place so named within the streights about the Countesse of Warwicks sound: And by the way where they landed, they did finde certaine great stones set vp by the Countrey people as it seemed, for markes, where they also made many Crosses of stone, in token that Christians had bene there. The 22. of August they had sight of the Countesses sound, and made the place perfect from the toppes of a hill, and keeping along the Norther shore, perceiued the smoke of a fire vnder a hils side: whereof they diuersly deemed. When they came 40. Leagues within the streights.
Gabriels Islands.

neerer the place, they perceiued people which waisted vnto them, as it seemed, with a flagge or ensigne. And because the Country people had vsed to doe the like, when they perceiued any of our boats to passe by, they suspected them to be the same. And comming somewhat neerer, they might perceiue certaine tents, and discerne this ensigne to be of mingled colour, blacke and white, after the English fashion. But because they could see no Shippe, nor likelihood of harborough within fise or sixe leagues about, and knewe that none of our men were wont to frequent those partes, they could not tell what to iudge thereof, but imagined that some of the ships being carried so high with the storme and mistes, had made shipwracke amongst the yce or the broken Islands there, and were spoyled by the countrey people, who might vse the sundry coloured flagge for a policie, to bring them likewise within their danger. Whereupon the sayd Captaine with his companies, resolved to recover the same ensigne, if it were so, from those base people, or els to lose their liues, and all together. In the ende they discerned them to be their countrey men, and then they deemed them to haue lost their Ships, and so to be gathered together for their better strength. On the other side, the company ashore feared that the Captaine hauing lost his Shippe, came to seeke forth the flecte for his reliefe in his pooze Pinisse, so that their extremities caused eche part to suspect the worst.

Proximus sum
egomet mihi.

The Captaine now with his Pinisse being come neere the shoare, commanded his Boate carefully to be kept ashoare, lest in their necessitie they might winne the same from him, and seeke first to saue themselves: for euery man in that case is next himselfe. They hailed one another according to the manner of the Sea, and demaunded what cheere: and either partie answered the other, that all was well: whereupon there was a sudden and ioyfull outshoote, with great flinging by of caps, and a braue voly of shotte to welcome one another. And truly it was a most strange case to see how ioyfull and gladd euey partie was to see themselves meete in safetie againe, after so strange and incredible dangers: Yet to be short, as their dangers were great, so their God was greater.

Captain Yorke
arrived.

And here the company were working vpon new Mines, which Captaine Yorke being here arrived not long before, had found out in this place, and it is named the Countesse of Suffex Mine.

After some conference with our friends here, the Captaine of the Anne Francis departed towards the Countesse of Warwicks sound, to speake with the Generall, and to haue tryall made of such mettall as he had brought thither, by the Goldsmiths. And so he determined to dispatch againe towards his ship. And hauing spoken with the General, he receiued order for all causes, and direction as well for the bringing by of his Shippe to the Countesses sound, as also to freight his Ship with the same Dare which he himselfe had found, which vpon triall made, was supposed to be very good.

The 23. of August, the sayd Captaine mette together with the other Captaines (Commissioners in counsell with the Generall) aboord the Ayde, where they considered and consulted of sundry causes, which being particularly registred by the Notarie, were appoynted where and how to be done against another yeere.

None of the
people will be
taken.

The 24. of August, the Generall with two Pinisses and good numbers of men went to Beares sound, commanding the sayd Captaine with his Pinisse to attend the seruice, to see if he could encounter or apprehend any of the people: for sundry times they shewed themselves busie thereabouts, sometimes with seuen or eyght Boates in one company, as though they minded to encounter with our company which were working there at the Mines, in no great numbers. But when they perceiued any of our Shippes to ryde in that roade (being belike moze amazed at the countenance of a Shippe, and a moze number of men) they did neuer shewe themselves againe there at all. Wherefore our men sought with their Pinisses to compass about the Island where they did vse, supposing there suddenly to intercept some of them. But before our men could come neere, hauing belike some watch in the toppes of the mountaines, they conueyed themselves priuily away, and left (as it should seeme) one of their great bartes behinde them for haste, which we found neere to a place of their caues and housing. Therefore, though our Generall were very desirous to haue taken some of them to haue brought into England, they being now growen moze wary by their former losses, would not at any time come within our dangers. About midnight of the same day, the captaine of the Anne Francis departed thence and set his course ouer the streights towards Hattons Hedland, being about 15. leagues ouer, and returned aboord his Shippe the 25. of August, to the great comfort of his company, who long expected his comming, where hee found his Shippes ready rigged and loden. Wherefore he departed from thence againe the next morning towards the Countesses sound, where

where he arrived the 28. of the same. By the way he set his Miners ashore at Beares sound, for the better dispatch and gathering the Ore together, for that some of the ships were behind hand with their freight, the time of the yeere passing suddenly away.

The thirtieth of August the Anne Francis was brought aground, and had 8. great leakes mended which she had received by meanes of the rocks and yce. This day the Parsons finished a house which Captaine Fenton caused to be made of lyme and stone upon the Countesse of Warwicks Island, to the ende we might proue against the next yeere, whether the snow could overwhelme it, the frost breake it up, or the people dismember the same. And the better to allure those brutish and vnciuill people to courtellie against other times of our comming, we left therein diuers of our Countrey toys, as belles, and kniues, wherein they specially delight, one for the necessary vse, and the other for the great pleasure thereof. Also pictures of men and women in lead, men on horsebacke, looking glasses, whistles, and pipes. Also in the house was made an Ouen, and bread left baked therein for them to see and taste.

A house builded and left there.

We buried the timber of our pretended fort. Also here we sowed pease, cozne, and other graine, to proue the fruitfulness of the soyle against the next yeere.

After Wollfall on Winters Fornace preached a goodly sermon, which being ended, he celebrated also a Communion upon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Captaine of the Anne Francis, and many other Gentlemen and Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The celebration of the diuine mystery was the first signe, seale, and confirmation of Christs name, death, and passion euer known in these quarters. The said W. Wollfall made sermons, and celebrated the Communion at sundry other times, in severall and sundry ships, because the whole company could neuer meet together at any one place. The Fleet now being in some good readinesse for their lading, the Generall calling together the Gentlemen and Captaines to consult, told them that he was very desirous that some further discouery should be attempted, and that he would not onely by Gods helpe bring home his Ships laden with Ore, but also meant to bring some certificate of a further discouery of the Countrey, which thing to bring to passe (hauing sometime therein consulted) they found very hard, and almost inuincible. And considering that already they had spent sometime in searching out the trending and fashion of the mistaken straites, therefore it could not be sayd, but that by this voyage they haue notice of a further discouery, and that the hope of the passage thereby is much furthered and encreased, as appeared before in the discourse thereof. Yet notwithstanding if any meanes might be further deuised, the Captaines were contented and willing, as the Generall shoulde appoint and commaund, to take any enterpryse in hand. Which after long debating was found a thing very impossible, and that rather consultation was to be had of returning homeward, especially for these causes following. First the darke foggy mists, the continuall falling snowe and stormy weather which they commonly were vnder with, and now daily euer more and more increased, haue no small argument of the Winters drawing neere. And also the frost euery night was so hard congealed within the sound, that if by euill hap they should bee long kept in with contrary winds, it was greatly to be feared, that they should be shut vp there fast the whole yeere, which being vtterly vnprouided, would be their vtter destruction. Again, drinke was so scant throughout all the Fleet by meanes of the great leakage, that not onely the prouision which was layd in for the habitation was wanting and wasted, but also each shippes severall prouision spent and lost, which many of our company to their great griefe found in their returne since, for all the way homewards they dranke nothing but water. And the great cause of this leakage and wasting was, for that the great timber and seacole, which lay so waighty vpon the barrells, brake, bruised, and rotted the hoopes insunder. Yet notwithstanding these reasons alleaged the Generall himselfe (willing the rest of the Gentlemen and Captaines euery man to looke to his severall charge and lading, that against a day appointed, they should be all in a readinesse to set homeward) went in a Pinasse, and discovered further Northward in the straights, and found that by Beares sound and Halles Island, the land was not firme, as it was first supposed, but all broken Islands in maner of an Archipelagus, and so with other secret intelligence to himselfe, he returned to the Fleet. Where presently vpon his arrivall at the Countesses sound, he began to take order for their returning homeward, and first caused certaine Articles to be proclaimed, for the better keeping of orders and courses in their returne, which Articles were deliuered to euery Captaine.

W. Wollfall a goodly Preacher.

Consultation for a further discouery.

Broken Islands in maner of an Archipelagus.

The Fleetes returning homeward.

HAuing now received Articles and directions for our returne homewards, all other things being in forwardnesse and in good order, the last day of August the whole Fleet departed from

from

Returne
homeward.

from the Countesses sound, excepting the Iudich, and the Anne Francis, who stayed for the taking in of fresh water, and came the next day and mette the Fleete lying off and on, athwart Beares sound, who stayed for the Generall, which then was gone ashore to dispatch the two Barkes and the Busse of Bridgewater, for their loading, whereby to get the companies and other things aboard. The Captaine of the Anne Francis hauing most part of his company ashore, the first of September went also to Beares sound in his Pinelle to fetch his men aboard, but the wind grew so great immediatly upon their landing, that the shippes at Sea were in great danger, and some of them forcibly put from their ankers, and greatly feared to be utterly lost, as the Hopewell, wherein was Captaine Carew and others, who could not tell on which side their danger was most: for hauing mightie rockes threatening on the one side, and drying Islands of cutting yce on the other side, they greatly feared to make shipwacke, the yce drying so neere them that it touched their bolt-sprit. And by meanes of the Sea that was growne so hie, they were not able to put to sea with their small Pinelles to recouer their shippes. And againe, the shippes were not able to carrie or lie athwart for them, by meanes of the outrageous windes and swelling seas. The Generall willed the Captaine of the Anne Francis with his company, for that night to lodge aboard the Busse of Bridgewater, and went himselfe with the rest of his men aboard the Barkes. But their numbers were so great, and the provision of the Barkes so scant, that they pestered one another exceedingly. They had great hope that the next morning the weather would be faire, whereby they might recouer their shippes. But in the morning following it was much worse, for the storme continued greater, the Sea being more swollen, and the Fleete gone quite out of sight. So that now their doubts began to grow great: for the ship of Bridgewater which was of greatest receipt, and whereof they had best hope and made most account, roade so farre to leeward of the harborowes mouth, that they were not able for the rockes (that lay betwene the wind and them) to lead it out to Sea with a saile. And the Barkes were already so pestered with men, and so slenderly furnished with provision, that they had scarce meat for sixe dayes for such numbers.

The Generall in the morning departed to Sea in the Gabriel to seeke the Fleete, leaving the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Michael behind in Beares sound. The Busse set saile, and thought by turning in the narrow channell within the harborow to get to windward: but being put to leeward more, by that meanes was faine to come to anker for her better safetie, amongst a number of rockes, and there left in great danger of euer getting forth againe. The Michael set saile to follow the Generall, and could giue the Busse no reliefe, although they earnestly desired the same. And the Captaine of the Anne Francis was left in hard election of two euils: eyther to abide his fortune with the Busse of Bridgewater, which was doubtfull of euer getting forth, or else to bee towed in his small Pinelle at the sterne of the Michael thorow the raging Seas, for that the Barke was not able to receiue or relieue halfe his company, wherein his danger was not a little perillous.

So after hee resolved to commit himselfe with all his company vnto that fortune of God and Sea, and was dangerously towed at the sterne of the Barke for many miles, untill at length they espyed the Anne Francis vnder saile, hard vnder their Lee, which was no small comfort vnto them. For no doubt, both those and a great number more had perished for lacke of victuals, and convenient roome in the Barkes without the helpe of the sayd Ship. But the honest care that the Master of the Anne Francis had of his Captaine, and the good regarde of duetie towards his Generall, suffered him not to depart, but honestly abode to hazard a dangerous roade all the night long, notwithstanding all the stormy weather, when all the Fleete besides departed. And the Pinelle came no sooner aboard the shippe, and the men entered, but shee presently shivered and fell in pieces and sunke at the ships sterne, with all the poore mens furniture: so weake was the boat with towing, and so forcible was the sea to bzuile her in pieces. But (as God would) the men were all saued.

At this present in this storme many of the Fleete were dangerously distressed, and were seuered almost all asunder. Yet, thanks be to God, all the Fleete arriued safely in England about the first of October, some in one place and some in another. But amongst other, it was most marueilous how the Busse of Bridgewater got away, who being left behind the Fleete in great danger of neuer getting forth, was forced to seeke a way Northward thorow an vnknown channell full of rockes, vpon the backe side of Beares sound, and there by good hap found out a way into the North sea, a very dangerous attempt: saue that necessitie, which hath no law, forced them to trie matters. This afore sayd North sea is the same which lyeth vpon the backe side of Frobishers Straits, where first the Generall himselfe in his Pinelle, and after some other of our company haue

An vnknown
channell into
the North sea,
discovered by
the Busse of
Bridgewater.

haue discovered (as they affirme) a great foze land, where they would haue also a great likelihood of the greatest passage towards the South sea, or Mar del Sur.

The Busse of Bridgewater, as she came home ward, to the Southeastward of Friseland, discovered a great Island in the latitude of 57 degrees and an halfe, which was neuer yet found before, and sailed three dayes alongst the coast, the land seeming to be fruitfull, full of woods, and a champion Countrey.

There died in the whole Fleet in all this voyage not above forty persons, which number is not great, considering how many ships were in the Fleet, and how strange fortunes we passed.

A generall and briefe description of the Countrey, and condition of the people, which are found in *Meta Incognita*.

Having now sufficiently and truly set forth the whole circumstance, and particular handling of euery occurrent in the 3. voyages of our worthy Generall, Captaine Frobisher, it shal not be from the purpose to speake somewhat in generall of the nature of this Countrey called *Meta Incognita*, and the condition of the sauages there inhabiting.

First therefore touching the Topographical description of the place, It is now found in the last voyage, that Queene Elizabeths Cape being situate in latitude at 61. degrees and a halfe, which before was supposed to be part of the firme land of America, and also al the rest of the South side of Frobishers Straites, are all seuerall Islands and broken land, and likewise so will all the North side of the said Straites fall out to be as I thinke. And some of our company being entred about 60. leagues within the mistaken Straites in the third voyage mentioned, thought certainly that they had discryed the firme land of America towards the South, which I thinke will fall out so to be.

These broken lands and Islands being very many in number, do seeme to make there an Archipelagus, which as they all differ in greatnesse, forme, and fashion one from another, so are they in goodnesse, colour, and soyle much unlike. They all are very high lands, mountaines, and in most parts couered with snowe even all the Sommer long. The Northward lands haue lesse store of snow, more grasse, and are more plaine Countreys: the cause whereof may be, for that the Souther Islands receiue all the snow, that the cold winds and percing ayre bring out of the North. And contrarily, the North parts receiue more warme blasts of mildet ayre from the South, whereupon may grow the cause why the people couet to inhabit more vpon the North parts then the South, as farre as we can yet by our experience perceiue they doe. These people I iudge to be a kind of Tartar, or rather a kind of Samoed, of the same sort and condition of life that the Samoeds bee to the Northward beyond Moscouy, who are called Samoeds, which is as much to say in the Moscouy tongue, as eaters of themselves, and so the Russians their borderers doe name them. And by late conference with a friend of mine (with whom I did sometime trauell in the parts of Moscouy) who hath great experience of those Samoeds and people of the Northward, I find that in all their maner of liuing, those people of the Northward, and these of the Northward are like. They are of the colour of a ripe Oliue, which how it may come to passe, being borne in so cold a climate, I referre to the iudgement of others, for they are naturally borne children of the same colour and complexion that all the Americans are, which dwell vnder the Equinoctiall line.

They are men very active and nimble. They are a strong people and very warlike, for in our sight vpon the toppes of the hilles they would often muster themselves, and after the maner of a skirmish trace their ground very nimbly, and mannage their bowes and darts with great dexterity. They go clad in coates made of the skinnies of beasts, as of Seales, Deere, Beares, Foxes, and Vares. They haue also some garments of feathers, being made of the cales of foules, finely sowed and compact together. Of all which sorts wee brought home some with vs into England, which we found in their tents. In Sommer they vse to weare the hairie side of their coates outward, and sometime goe naked for too much heate. And in Winter (as by signes they haue declared) they weare foure or fife folde vpon their bodies with the haire (for warmth) turned inward. Whereby it appeareth, that the ayre there is not indifferent, but either it is feruent hote, or els extreme cold, & farre more excellue in both qualities, then the reason of the climate shoulde yeelde. For there it is colder, being vnder 62. degrees in latitude, then it is at Wardhouse in the voyage to Saint Nicholas in Moscouie, being at about 72. degrees in latitude. The reason hereof perhaps may be, that this *Meta Incognita* is much frequented and vered with Easterne and North-eastern winds, which from the sea and yce bringeth often an intollerable cold ayre, which was also the cause that this yere our Straits were so long shut by with so great store of yce. But there is

great

A fruitfull new Island discovered.

A Topographical description of *Meta Incognita*.

The people of *Meta Incognita* like vnto Samoeds.

Their native colour.

Their apparel

The accidentall cause of the cold ayre at *Meta Incognita*.

great hope and likelihood, that further within the Straights it will bee more constant and temperate weather.

The Sauiages
delight in
Musicke.

Hard kind of
living.

Their weas-
pons.

Their chastity.

Their boates.

Traffique
with some o-
ther nation
unknowen.

Gold.

The Jewell.

These people are in nature very subtil and sharpe witted, ready to conceiue our meaning by signes, and to make answer well to be understood againe. And if they haue not seene the thing whereof you aske them, they will wincke, or couer their eyes with their hands, as who would say, it hath bene hid from their sight. If they vnderstand you not whereof you aske them, they will stop their eares. They will teach vs the names of each thing in their language which wee desire to learne, and are apt to learne any thing of vs. They delight in Musicke aboue measure, and will keepe time and stroke to any tune which you shall sing, both with their voyce, head, hand and feete, and will sing the same tune aptly after you. They will row with our Ores in our boates, and keepe a true stroke with our Mariners, and seeme to take great delight therein. They liue in Caves of the earth, and hunt for their dinners or praye, euen as the beare or other wild beastes do. They eat raw flesh and fish, and refuse no meat howsoever it be stinking. They are desperate in their fight, fullen of nature, and rancorous in their maner of feeding.

Their sullen & desperate nature both herein manifestly appeare, that a company of them being emironed by our men on the top of a hie cliffe, so that they could by no meanes escape our hands, finding themselves in this case distressed, chose rather to cast themselves headlong down the rocks into the sea, and so be bruised and drowned, rather then to yeeld themselves to our mens mercies.

For their weapons to offend their enemies or kill their prey withall, they haue darts, stings, bowes, and arrowes headed with sharpe stones, bones, and some with yron. They are exceeding friendly and kind hearted one to the other, and mourne greatly at the losse or harme of their fellows, and expresse their griefe of mind, when they part one from another with a mournful song, and Dirges. They are very shamefast in bewraying the secrets of nature, and very chaste in the maner of their living: for when the man, which wee brought from thence into England the last voyage, shoulde put off his coat or discouer his whole body for change, hee would not suffer the woman to bee present, but put her forth of his Cabin. And in all the space of two or three moneths, while the man liued in company of the woman, there was neuer any thing seene or perceiued betweene them, more then might haue passed betweene brother and sister: but the woman was in all things very seruiceable for the man, attending him carefully when he was sicke, and he likewise in all the meates which they did eate together, woulde carue vnto her of the sweetest, fattest, and best morsels they had. They wondered much at all our things, and were afraid of our horses and other beasts out of measure. They began to grow more ciuill, familiar, pleasant, and docible amongst vs in very short time.

They haue boates made of leather, and couered cleane ouer sauing one place in the middle to sit in, planked within with timber, and they vse to row therein with one Ore, more swiftly a great deale, then we in our boates can doe with twentie. They haue one sort of greater boates where- in they can carrie aboue twentie persons, and haue a Mast with a saile thereon, which saile is made of thinne skinned or bladders, sowed together with the sinewes of fishes.

They are good fishermen, and in their small Boates being disguised with their coates of Scales skinned, they deceiue the fish, who take them rather for their fellow Seales, then for deceiuing men.

They are good marke-men. With their dart or arrow they will commonly kill a Ducke, or any other foule in the head, and commonly in the eye.

When they shoote at a great fish with any of their darts, they vse to tye a bladder thereunto, whereby they may the better find them againe, and the fish not able to cary it so easily away (for that the bladder doth boy the dart) will at length be wearie, and dye therewith.

They vse to traffike and erchange their commodities with some other people, of whom they haue such things as their miserable Countrey, and ignorance of Art to make, denieth them to haue, as barres of yron, heads of yron for their darts, needles made foure square, certaine buttons of copper, which they vse to weare vpon their foreheads for ornament, as our Ladies in the Court of England doe vse great pearle.

Also they haue made signes vnto vs, that they haue seene gold, and such bright plates of metals, which are vled for ornaments amongst some people with whom they haue conference.

We found also in their tents a Guiny Beane of redde colour, the which doth vsually grow in they hote Countreys: whereby it appeareth they trade with other nations which dwell farre off, or else themselves are great traouellers.

They haue nothing in vse among them to make fire withall, sauing a kinde of Heath and Masse which groweth there.

And

And they kindle their fire with continuall rubbing and fretting one ſticke againſt another, as we doe with ſlints. They drawe with dogges in ſleads vpon the yce, and remooue their tents therewithall wherein they dwell in Sommer, when they goe a hunting for their praye and prouiſion againſt Winter. They doe ſometime parboyle their meat a little and ſecth the ſame in kettles made of beaſts ſkins: they haue alſo pannes cut and made of ſtone very artificially: they uſe pretty ginner wherewith they take foule. The women carry their ſucking children at their backes, and doe feede them with rawe fleſh, which firſt they do a little chaw in their owne mouths. The women haue their faces marked or painted ouer with ſmall blew ſpots: they haue blacke and long haire on their heads, and trimme the ſame in a decent order. The men haue but little haire on their faces, and very thinne beards. For their common drinke, they eate yce to quench their thirſt withall. Their earth yeeldeth no graine or fruit of ſuſtenance for man, or almoſt for beaſt to liue vpon: and the people will eate graſſe and ſhrubs of the ground, euen as our kine doe. They haue no wood growing in their Countrey thereabouts, and yet wee find they haue ſome timber among them, which we thinke doth grow farre off to the Southwards of this place, about Canada, or ſome other part of New ſound land: for there belike, the trees ſtanding on the cliffes of the ſea ſide, by the waight of yce and ſnow in Winter ouercharging them with waight, when the Sommer ſhaw cometh about, and alſo the Sea vnderfretting them beneath, which winneth dayly of the land, they are undermined and fall downe from thoſe cliffes into the Sea, and with the tydes and currents are driuen to and fro vpon the coaſtes further off, and by coniecture are taken by here by theſe Countrey people, to ſerue them to planke and ſtrengthen their boates withall, and to make darters, bowes, and arrowes, and ſuch other things neceſſarie for their vſe. And of this kind of dyſt wood we find all the Seas ouer great ſtoze, which being cut or ſawed aſunder, by reaſon of long lying in the Sea is eaten of wormes, and full of holes, of which ſort theirs is found to be.

How they
make fire.

Their kettles
and pannes.

The people
eate graſſe and
ſhrubs.

We haue not yet found any venemous Serpent or other hurtful thing in theſe parts, but there is a kind of ſmall flie or gnat that ſtingeth and offeneth ſorely, leauing many red ſpots in the face, and other places where he ſtingeth. They haue ſnow and haile in the beſt time of their Sommer, and the ground froſen three fadome deepe.

A ſtrange kind
of gnat.

Theſe people are great inchanters, and vſe many charmes of witchcraft: for when their heads doe ake, they tye a great ſtone with a ſtring vnto a ſticke, and with certaine prayers and wordes done to the ſticke, they liſt vp the ſtone from ground, which ſometimes with all a mans force they cannot ſtirre, and ſometime againe they liſt as eaſily as a feather, and hope thereby with certaine ceremonious wordes to haue eaſe and helpe. And they made vs by ſignes to vnderſtand, lying groueling with their faces vpon the ground, and making a noiſe downeward, that they worſhip the deuill vnder them.

Inchanters.

They haue great ſtoze of Deere, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and innumerable numbers of ſundry ſorts of wild foule, as Seawewes, Gulls, Wilnotes, Ducks, &c. wherof our men killed in one day fifteene hundred.

The beaſts
and foules of
the Countrey.

They haue alſo ſtoze of haukes, as Falkons, Taffels, &c. whereof two alighted vpon one of our ſhips at their returne, and were brought into England, which ſome thinke wil proue very good.

There are alſo great ſtoze of rauens, larkes, and partridges, wherof the Countrey people feed.

All theſe foules are farre thicker clothed with downe and feathers, and haue thicker ſkinnes then any in England haue: for as that countrey is colder, ſo nature hath prouided a remedie therein.

Our men haue eaten of their Beares, Hares, Partridges, Larkes, and of their wild foule, and find them reaſonable good meat, but not ſo delectable as ours.

Their wild foule muſt be all ſleine, their ſkins are ſo thicke: and they taſt beſt fryed in pannes.

The Countrey ſeemeth to be much ſubiect to Earthquakes.

The ayre is very ſubtile, piercing and ſearching, ſo that if any corrupted or infected body, eſpecially with the diſeaſe called Morbus Gallicus come there, it will preſently breake forth and ſhew it ſelfe, and cannot there by any kind of ſalue or medicine be cured.

Their longeſt Sommer day is of great length, without any darke night, ſo that in July at the night long, we might perfectly and eaſily write and reade whatſoever had pleaſed vs, which lightſome nights were very beneficiall vnto vs, being ſo diſtreſſed with abundance of yce as we were.

The Sunne ſeteth to them in the Evening at a quarter of an houre after tenne of the clocke, and riſeth againe in the morning at three quarters of an houre after one of the clocke, ſo that in Sommer their Sunne ſhineth to them twenty houres and a halfe, and in the night is abſent three houres and a halfe. And although the Sunne bee abſent theſe 3. houres and a halfe, yet it is not darke

The length of
their day.

A full revolution
of the
Moone about
their Horizon.

darke that time, for that the Sunne is neuer above three or foure degrees vnder the edge of their Horizon: the cause is, that the Tropicke of Cancer doth cut their Horizon at very vneuen and oblique Angles. But the Moone at any time of the yeere being in Cancer, hauing North latitude, doth make a full revolution about their Horizon, so that sometime they see the Moone about 24. houres together. Some of our company of the more ignorant sort, thought we might continually haue seene the Sunne and the Moone, had it not bene for two or three high mountaines.

The people are now become so warie, and so circumspect, by reason of their former losses, that by no meanes we can apprehend any of them, although wee attempted often in this last voyage. But to say trueth, wee could not bestow any great time in pursuing them, because of our great businesse in lading, and other things.

The Letters patents of the Queenes Maiestie, granted to Master
Adrian Gylbert and others, for the search and discouery of the North-
west Passage to *China*.



ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all, to whome these presents shall come, greeting: Forasmuch as our trustie and welbeloued subiect *Adrian Gylbert* of Sandridge in the Countie of Deuon, Gentleman, to his great costes and charges, hath greatly and earnestly trauelled and sought, and yet doth trauell and seeke, and by diuers meanes indeuoureth and labourerth, that the Passage vnto *China* and the Isles of the Moluccas, by the North westward, North eastward, or Northward, vnto which part or partes of the world, none of our loyall Subjects haue hitherto had any traffique or trade, may be discouered, knowen, and frequented by the Subiectes of this our Realme: Knowe wee therefore that for the considerations aforesayd and for diuers other good considerations vs thereunto specially mouing, We of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and grant free libertie, power, and full authoritie to the sayd *Adrian Gylbert*, and to any other person by him or his heires to be assigned, and to those his associates and assistants, whole names are written in a Scedule hereunto annexed, and to their heires, and to one assignee of each of them, and each of their heires at all times, and at any time or times after the date of these presents, vnder our Banners and Ensignes freely, without let, interruption, or restraint, of vs, our heires or successors, any law, statute, proclamation, patent, charter, or prouiso to the contrary notwithstanding, to saile, make voyage, and by any maner of meanes to passe and to depart out of this our Realme of England, or any our Realmes, Dominions, or Territories into all or any Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, Creekes, armes of the Sea, and all Hauens, and all maner of other places whatsoeuer, that by the sayde North westward, North eastward, or Northward, is to be by him, his associates or assignes discouered, and for and in the sayde sayling, voyage, and passage, to haue and vse so many shippes, Barkes, Pinnesses, or other vessels of any quantitie or burthen, with all the furniture of men, victuals, and all maner of necessary prouision, armour, weapons, ordinance, targets, and appurtinances whatsoeuer, as to such a voyage shall or may be requisite, conuenient or commodious, any lawe, statute, ordinance or prouiso to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And also we doe giue and grant to the sayde *Adrian Gylbert*, and his sayde associates, and to such assignee of him, and his heires, and to the heires and one assignee of euery of his sayde associates for euer, full power and absolute authoritie to trade and make their reliance in any of the sayde Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, and Hauens, and all maner of other places whatsoeuer with all commodities, profites, and emoluments in the sayde places or any of them, growing and arising, with all maner of priuiledges, prerogatiues, iurisdiccions and royalties both by sea and land whatsoeuer, yeelding and paying therefore vnto vs, our heires and successors, the tenth part of all such golde and siluer oare, pearles, iewels, and precious stones, or the value thereof, as the sayd *Adrian Gylbert* and his sayd associates, their heires and assignes, seruants, factors, or workemen, and euery or any of them shall finde, the sayd tenth to bee deliuered duely to our Customes, or other officers by vs, our heires or successors thereunto assigned, in the Portes of London, Dartmouth, or Plimmouth, at which three places onely the sayde *Adrian Gylbert*, and his sayde associates, their sayde heires and assignes, shall lade, charge, arriue, and discharge all maner of wares, goods, and merchandizes whatsoeuer to the sayde voyage, and newe trade belonging or appertaining. And mozeouer, wee haue giuen, granted, and authorized, and

and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe giue, graunt, and authorize the sayd Adrian Gilbert, and his sayd associats for euer, their heires and their said assignes & euery of them, that if the aforesayd Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes, or Hauens, or any other of the premisses by the sayd Adrian Gylbert or his associats, their heires and their said assignes or any of them, to be found by them, discovered and traffiqued vnto by any trade as aforesayd, shall be by any other our subiects visited, frequented, haunted, traded vnto or inhabited by the wayes aforesayd, without the special licence in writing of the said Adrian Gylbert and his associats, and their heires and assignes for euer, or by the most part of them, so that the sayd Adrian Gilbert, his heires or assignes be one of them, that then aswell their ship, or ships in any such voyage or voyages vled, as all and singuler their goods, wares, and marchandizes, or any other things whatsoever, from or to any of the places aforesayd transported, that so shall presume to visit, frequent, haunt, trade vnto, or inhabite, shall be forfeited and confiscated, ipso facto, the onehalfe of the same goods and marchandizes, or other things whatsoever, or the value thereof to be to the vse of vs, our heires or successors, and the other moytie thereof to be to the vse of the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associats, their heires and assignes for euer: and vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associats, their heires and assignes wee impose, giue, assigne, create and confirme this name peculiar to be named by, to sue and to be sued by, that is to wit, by the name of the Colleagues of the fellowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, and them for vs, our heires and successors by that name doe incorporate, and doe erect and create as one body corporate to haue continuance for euer. Moreouer vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his said associats, and vnto their heires and their sayd assignes for euer, by name of the Colleagues of the fellowship, for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, we haue giuen, graunted, and confirmed, and doe by these presents giue, grant, and confirme full power and authoritie from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to make order, decree and enact, constitute and ordeine, and appoynt all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes, and actes, as the sayd new corporation or body politique, Colleagues of the fellowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, shall thinke meete, necessary, and conuenient, so that they or any of them be not contrary to the lawes of this realme, and of this our present graunt.

The colleagues of the fellowship for the discouery of the Northwest passage.

And we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulnesse of our authority, of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge and meere motion, do establish, confirme & ratifie all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes and actes to be in so full and great power and authority, as we, our heires or successors may or can in any such case graunt, confirme, or ratifie. And further for the better incouragement of our louing subiects in this discouerie, we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulnesse of authority for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue, graunt, establish, confirme, ordeine, ratifie and allow by these presents, to the sayd Adrian Gylbert and to his associates, and to the heires and assignes of them and euery of them for euer, and to all other person or persons of our louing subiects whatsoever that shall hereafter trauaile, sayle, discover, or make voyage as aforesayd to any the Isles, Mainlands, Countreys or Territories whatsoever, by vertue of this our graunt to be discovered, that the heires and assignes of them and euery of them being borne within any of the Isles, Mainlands and Countreys, or Territories whatsoever before mentioned, shall haue and enjoy all the priuileges of free Denizens, as persons natiue borne within this our Realme of England, or within our allegiance for euer, in such like ample manner and forme, as if they were or had bene borne and personally resiant within our sayd Realme, any law, statute, proclamation, custome or vsage to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

Free Denization granted.

Moreouer, for the consideration aforesayd by vertue hereof, we giue and graunt vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert, his heires and assignes for euer, free libertie, licence and priuilege, that during the space of five yeeres next and immediately ensuing the date hereof, it shall not be lawfull for any person or persons whatsoever, to visit, haunt, frequent, trade, or make voyage to any Isles, Mainlands, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes, and Hauens, nor to any other Hauens or places whatsoever hitherto not yet discovered by any of our subiects by vertue of this graunt to be traded vnto, without the special consent and good liking of the said Adrian Gylbert, his heires or assignes first had in writing. And if any person or persons of the associats of the sayd Adrian, his heires or assignes, or any other person or persons whatsoever, free of this discouery, shall do any act or actes contrary to the tenour and true meaning hereof, during the space of the sayd five yeeres, that then the partie and parties so offending, they and their heires for euer shall loose (ipso facto) the benefite and priuilege of this our graunt, and shall stand and remaine to all intents and purposes as persons exempted out of this graunt.

This Patent remained in force five yeeres.

Mutinous
to p[re]cede at
Sea against
mutiners.

1583.

And further by vertue hereof wee giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and successours at all times during the space of five yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, libertie and licence, and full authority to the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his heires and assignes, that if it shall happen any one or moe in any ship or ships sayling on their sayd voyage, to become mutinous, seditious, disordered, or any way vniuerty to the p[re]iudice or hinderance of the hope for the successe in the attempt or prosecuting of this discouerie or trade intended, to vse or execute vpon him or them so offending, such punishment, correction, or execution, as the cause shall be found in iustice to require by the verdict of twelue of the companie sworne thereunto, as in such a case apperteineth: That expresse mention of the certaintie of the p[re]misses, or of other gifts or graunts by vs to the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his associates before this time made is not mentioned in these presents, or any other lawe, act, statute, p[ro]viso, graunt, or proclamation heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof we haue made these our Letters to bee made patens: Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the sixt day of Februarie, in the sixe and twenty yeere of our reigne.

The first voyage of *M. Iohn Davis*, vndertaken in Iune 1585. for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, Written by *M. Iohn Ianes Marchant*, sometimes seruant to the worshipfull Master *William Sanderfon*.



Certaine Honourable personages and worthy Gentlemen of the Court & Countrey, with diuers worshipful Marchants of London and of the West Countrey, mooued with desire to aduance Gods glory and to seeke the good of their native Countrey, consulting together of the likelyhood of the Discouerie of the Northwest passage, which heretofore had bene attempted, but unhappily giuen ouer by accidents vnllooked for, which turned the enterprisers from their principall purpose, resolved after good deliberation, to put downe their aduentures to p[ro]uide for necessarie shipping, and a fit man to be chiefe Conductour of this so hard an enterprise. The setting forth of this Action was committed by the aduenturers, especially to the care of *M. William Sanderfon* Marchant of London, who was so forward therein, that besides his trauaile which was not small, hee became the greatest aduenturer with his purse, and commended vnto the rest of the companie one *M. Iohn Davis*, a man very well grounded in the principles of the Arte of Nauigation, for Captaine and chiefe Pilot of this exployt.

Mutians.

Thus therefore all things being put in a readines, wee departed from Dartmouth the seuenth of Iune, towards the discouerie of the aforesayd Northwest passage, with two Barks, the one being of 50. tunnes, named the Sunnesshine of London, and the other being 35. tunnes, named the Mooneshine of Dartmouth. In the Sunnesshine we had 23. persons, whose names are these following, *M. Iohn Davis* Captaine, *William Eston* Master, *Richard Pope* Masters mate, *Iohn Iane* Marchant, *Henry Daue* gunner, *William Crosse* boatswayne, *Iohn Bagge*, *Walter Archur*, *Luke Adams*, *Robert Coxworthie*, *Iohn Ellis*, *Iohn Kelley*, *Edward Helman*, *William Dicke*, *Andrew Maddocke*, *Thomas Hill*, *Robert Wats* Carpenter, *William Russell*, *Christopher Gorney* boy: *James Cole*, *Francis Ridley*, *Iohn Russell*, *Robert Cornish* Musicians.

The Mooneshine had 19. persons, *William Bruton* Captaine, *Iohn Ellis* Master, the rest Mariners.

The 7. of Iune the Captaine and the Master drew out a proportion for the continuance of our victuals.

The 8. day the wind being at Southwest and West southwest, we put in for Falmouth, where we remained until the 13.

The 13. the wind blew at North, and being faire weather we departed.

The 14. with contrary wind we were forced to put into Silley.

The 15. wee departed thence, hauing the wind North and by East moderate and faire weather.

The 16. wee were driuen backe againe, and were constrained to arrive at newe Grymby in Silley: here the winde remained contrary 12. dayes, and in that space the Captaine, the Master and I went about all the Islands, and the Captaine did plat out and describe the situation of all the Islands, rocks and harbours to the exact vse of Nauigation, with lines and scale thereunto conuenient.

They depart
from Silley.
Iulij.

The 28. in Gods name we departed the wind being Easterly, but calme.

The first of Iulij wee sawe great store of Popples; The Master called for an harping p[ro]u, and shot twice or thise: sometimes he missed, and at last shot one and strooke him in the side, and wound

wound him into the ship: when we had him aboard, the Master sayd it was a Darlie head.

The 2. we had some of the fish sodden, and it did eat as sweete as any mutton.

The 3. wee had more in sight, and the Master went to shoote at them, but they were so great, that they burst our pions, and we lost both fish, pions, pastime and all: yet neuertheless the Master shot at them with a pike, and had welnigh gotten one, but he was so strong that he burst off the barres of the pike and went away: then he tooke the boat-hooke, and hit one with that, but all would not preuaile: so at length we let them alone.

The 6. we saw a very great Whale, and euery day we saw whales continually.

The 16. 17. and 18. we saw great store of Whales.

Great store of
whales.

The 19. of July we fell into a great whirling and brussling of a tyde, setting to the Northwards: and sayling about halfe a league wee came into a very calme Sea, which bent to the Southsouthwest. Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the Sea, as if it had bene the breach of some shoare, the ayre being so foggie and full of thicke mist, that we could not see the one ship from the other, being a very small distance asunder: so the Captaine and the Master being in distrust how the tyde might set them, caused the Mooneshine to hoyle out her boate and to sound, but they could not finde ground in 300. fathoms and better. Then the Captaine, Master, and I went towards the breach, to see what it should be, giuing charge to our gunners that at euery glasse they should shoote off a musket-shot, to the intent we might keepe our selues from loosing them. Then comming nere to the breach, we met many Islands of yce floating, which had quickly compassed vs about: then we went vpon some of them, and did perceiue that all the roaring which we heard, was caused onely by the rowling of this yce together: Our companie seeing vs not to returne according to our appoyntment, left off shooting muskets, and began to shoote falkonets, for they feared some mishap had befallen vs, but before night we came aboard againe with our boat laden with yce, which made very good fresh water. Then wee bent our course toward the North, hoping by that meanes to double the land.

The rowling of
the yce toge-
ther made a
great roaring.

Yce turned into
water.

The 20. as we sayled along the coast the fogge brake vp, and we discovered the land, which was the most deformed rockie and mountainous land that euer we saw: The first sight whereof did shew as if it had bene in forme of a sugar-loafe, standing to our sight above the cloudes, for that it did shew ouer the fogge like a white list in the skie, the tops altogether couered with snow, and the shoare beset with yce a league off into the Sea, making such ykesome noyse as that it seemed to be the true patterne of desolation, and after the same our Captaine named it, The land of Desolation.

The land of
Desolation.

The 21. the winde came Northerly and querblew, so that we were constrained to bend our course South againe, for we perceined that we were runne into a very deepe Bay, where wee were almost compassed with yce, for we saw very much toward the Northnortheast, West, and Southwest: and this day and this night wee cleared our selues of the yce, running Southsouthwest along the shoare.

Upon Thursday being the 22. of this moneth, about thre of the clocke in the morning, wee hoysed out our boate, and the Captaine with sixe saylers went towards the shoare, thinking to find a landing place, for the night before we did perceiue the coast to be voyde of yce to our iudgement, and the same night wee were all perswaded that we had seene a Canoe rowing along the shoare, but afterwards we fell in some doubt of it, but we had no great reason so to doe. The Captaine rowing towards the shoare, willed the Master to beare in with the land after him, and before he came neere the shoare by the space of a league, or about two miles, hee found so much yce, that hee could not get to land by any meanes. Here our mariners put to their lines to see if they could get any fish, because there were so many seales vpon the coast, and the birds did beate vpon the water, but all was in vaine: The water about this place was very blacke and thicke like to a filthy standing poole, we sounded and had ground in 120. fathoms. While the Captaine was rowing to the shoare, our men sawe woods vpon the rocks like to the rocks of Newfoundland, but I could not discern them, yet it might be so very well: for we had wood floating vpon the coast euery day, and the Mooneshine tooke vp a tree at Sea not farre from the coast being sixtie foote of length and foureteene handfuls about, hauing the roote vpon it: After this the Captaine came aboard, the weather being very calme and faire we bent our course toward the South, with intent to double the land.

Very blacke
water.

Floting wood

The 23. we coasted the land which did lie Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest.

The 24. the winde being very faire at East, we coasted the land which did lie East and West, not being able to come neere the shoare by reason of the great quantitie of yce. At this place, because the weather was somewhat colde by reason of the yce, and the better to encourage our men,

Colde by rea-
son of yce.

their

their allowance was increased: the captaine and the master tooke order that euery melle, being five persons, should haue halfe a pound of bread and a kan of beere euery morning to breakfast. The weather was not very colde, but the aire was moderate like to our April-weather in England: when the winde came from the land, or the ice, it was somewhat colde, but when it came off the sea it was very hote.

They saile
Northwest-
ward about
four dayes.

Land in 64 de-
grees 15 min.

The sound
where our
ships did ride
was called
Gilberts sound.

Musicians.

The people of
the countrey
came and con-
ferred with
our men.

Thirty seven
Canoas.

Their muske.

Great famili-
arity with the
Savages.

The 25 of this moneth we departed from sight of this land at five of the clocke in the morning, directing our course to the Northwestward, hoping in Gods mercy to finde our desired passage, and so continued about four dayes.

The 29 of July we discovered land in 64 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, bearing North-east from vs. The winde being contrary to goe to the Northwestwards, we bare in with this land to take some view of it, being utterly void of the pestle of yce and very temperate. Comming neere the coast, we found many faire sounds and good roads for shipping, and many great inlets into the land, whereby we iudged this land to be a great number of Islands standing together. Deere hauing moored our barke in good order, we went on shoare vpon a small Island to seeke for water and wood. Upon this Island we did perceiue that there had bene people: for we found a small shoo and pieces of leather sowed with sinewes, and a piece of furre, and wooll like to Beuer. Then we went vpon another Island on the other side of our shippes: and the Captaine, the Master, and I, being got vp to the top of an high rocke, the people of the countrey hauing espied vs, made a lamentable noise, as we thought, with great outcries and skreechings: we hearing them, thought it had bene the howling of wolues. At last I halloed againe, and they likewise cried. Then we perceiuing where they stood, some on the shoare, and one rowing in a Canoa about a small Island fast by them, we made a great noise, partly to allure them to vs, and partly to warne our company of them. Whereupon P. Bruton and the Master of his shippe, with others of their company, made great haste towards vs, and brought our Musicians with them from our shippe, purposing either by force to rescue vs, if need should so require, or with courtesie to allure the people. When they came vnto vs, we caused our Musicians to play, our selues dancing, and making many signes of friendship. At length there came tenne Canoas from the other Islands, and two of them came so neere the shoare where we were, that they talked with vs, the other being in their boats a pretty way off. Their pronounciation was very holow thozow the throat, and their speech such as we could not vnderstand: onely we allured them by friendly imbracings and signes of curtesie. At length one of them pointing vp to the Sunne with his hand, would presently strike his breast so hard that we might heare the blow. This hee did many times before he would any way trust vs. Then Iohn Ellis the Master of the Mooneshine was appointed to vse his best policie to gaine their friendship; who strooke his breast, and pointed to the Sunne after their order: which when he had diuers times done, they beganne to trust him, and one of them came on shoare, to whom we threwe our cappes, stockings and gloues, and such other things as then we had about vs, playing with our musicke, and making signes of ioy, and dauncing. So the night comming, we bade them farewell, and went aboard our barks.

The next morning being the 30 of July there came 37 Canoas rowing by our ships, calling to vs to come on shoare: we not making any great haste vnto them, one of them went vp to the toppe of the rocke, and leapt and daunced as they had done the day before, shewing vs a seales skinne, and another thing made like a tumbrell, which he did beat vpon with a stick, making a noise like a small drumme. Whereupon we manned our boats and came to them, they all staying in their Canoas; we came to the water side where they were: and after we had sworne by the Sunne after their fashion, they did trust vs. So I thooke hands with one of them, and he kissed my hand, and we were very familiar with them. We were in so great credit with them vpon this single acquaintance, that we could haue any thing they had. We bought five Canoas of them: we bought their clothes from their backs, which were all made of seales skinnes & birds skinnes; their buskins, their hose, their gloues, all being commonly sowed and well dressed: so that we were fully perswaded that they haue diuers artificers among them. We had a paire of buskins of them full of fine wooll like beuer. Their apparell for heat was made of birds skinnes with their feathers on them. We saw among them leather dressed like Glouers leather, and thicke rhongs like white leather of a good length. We had of their darts and oares, and found in them that they would by no meanes displease vs, but would giue vs whatsoeuer we asked of them, and would be satisfied with whatsoeuer we gaue them. They tooke great care one of another: for when we had bought their boats, then two other would come and cary him away betweene them that had solde vs his. They are very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, and easie to

to be brought to any civility or good order: but we iudge them to be idolaters and to worship the Sunne.

During the time of our abode among these Islands we found reasonable quantity of wood, both firre, spruce and juniper; which whether it came floating any great distance to these places where we found it, or whether it grew in some great Islands neere the same place by vs not yet discovered, we know not; but we iudge that it groweth there further into the land then we were, because the people had great store of darts and oares which they made none account of, but gave them to vs for small trifles, as points and pieces of paper. We saw about this coast marvellous great abundance of seales skulking together like skuls of small fish. We found no fresh water among these Islands, but onely snow water, whereof we found great pooles. The cliffes were all of such oare as M. Frobisher brought from Meta incognita. We had diuers shewes of Study or Huscoup glasse shining not altogether unlike to Christall. We found an herbe growing upon the rocks, whose fruit was sweet, full of red iuice, and the ripe ones were like corinths. We found also birch and willow growing like shrubbes low to the ground. These people haue great store of fures as we iudge. They made shewes unto vs the 30 of this present, which was the second time of our being with them, after they perceiued we would haue skinnes and fures, that they would go into the countrey and come againe the next day with such things as they had: but this night the winde comming faire, the captaine and the matter would by no meanes detract the purpose of our discovery. And so the last of this moneth about foure of the clocke in the morning in Gods name we set saile, and were all that day becalmed vpon the coast.

Diuers sorts of wood.

They may make much traine, if they had meanes how to vse it. Huscoup glasse. A fruit like corinths.

The first of August we had a faire winde, and so proceeded towards the Northwest for our discovery.

August.

The first of August we discovered land in 66 degrees 40 minuts of latitude, altogether void from the pester of ice: we ankered in a very faire rode vnder a braue mount, the cliffes whereof were as opient as golde. This mount was named Mount Raleigh. The rode where our ships lay at anker was called Toines rode. The sound which did compasse the mount was named Exeter sound. The sozeland towards the North was called Diers cape. The sozeland towards the South was named Cape Walsingham. So soone as we were come to an anker in Toines rode vnder Mount Raleigh, we espied foure white beares at the foot of the mount: we supposing them to be goats or wolues, manned our boats and went towards them: but when we came neere the shore, we found them to be white beares of a monstrous bignesse: we being desirous of fresh victuall and the sport, began to assault them, and I being on land, one of them came downe the hill right against me: my piece was charged with hailshot & a bullet: I discharged my piece and shot him in the necke; he roared a litle, and tooke the water straight, making small account of his hurt. Then we followed him with our boat, and killed him with boare-speares, & two more that night. We found nothing in their mawes; but we iudged by their dung that they fed vpon grasse, because it appeared in all respects like the dung of an horse, wherein we might very plainly see the very strawes.

Land in 66 degrees 40 min.

Foure white beares.

20 huge white beare.

The 7 we went on shore to another beare which lay all night vpon the top of an Island vnder Mount Raleigh, and when we came vp to him he lay fast asleep. I leuelled at his head, and the stone of my piece gaue no fire: with that he looked vp, and layed downe his head againe: then I shot being charged with two bullets, and strooke him in the head: he being but amazed fell backwards: whereupon we ran all vpon him with boare-speares, and thrust him in the body: yet for all that he gript away our boare-speares, and went towards the water; and as he was going downe, he came backe againe. Then our Matter shot his boare-speare, and strooke him in the head, and made him to take the water, and swimme into a coue fast by, where we killed him, and brought him aboard. The breadth of his soze foot from one side to the other was foureteene inches ouer. They were very fat, so as we were constrained to cast the fat away. We saw a rauen vpon Mount Raleigh. We found withies also growing like low shrubs & flowers like Primroses in the layd place. The coast is very mountainous, altogether without wood, grasse, or earth, and is onely huge mountaines of stone; but the brauest stone that euer we saw. The aire was very moderate in this countrey.

The 8 we departed from Mount Raleigh, coasting along the shoare, which lieth Southsouth-west, and Eastnortheast.

The 9 our men fell in dislike of their allowance, because it was too small as they thought: whereupon we made a new proportion; euery melle being due to a melle should haue foure pound of bread a day, twelue wine quarts of beere, six Newland fishes; and the flesh dayes a gill of pease more: so we restrained them from their butter and cheese.

The 11 we came to the most Southerly cape of this land, which we named The Cape of Gods mercy, as being the place of our first entrance for the discovery. The weather being very foggy we coasted this North land; at length when it brake up, we perceiued that we were shot into a very faire entrance or passage, being in some places twenty leagues broad, and in some thirty, altogether void of any pester of ice, the weather very tolerable, and the water of the very colour, nature and quality of the maine ocean, which gaue vs the greater hope of our passage. Having sailed North-west sixty leagues in this entrance we discovered certaine Islands standing in the midst thereof, hauing open passage on both sides. Whereupon our ships diuided themselves, the one sailing on the North side, the other on the South side of the sayd Isles, where we stayed five dayes, hauing the winde at Southeast, very foggy and foule weather.

The 14 we went on shoare and found signes of people, for we found stones layed by together like a wall, and saw the skull of a man or a woman.

The 15 we heard dogs howle on the shoare, which we thought had bene wolues, and therefore we went on shoare to kill them. When we came on land the dogges came presently to our boat very gently, yet we thought they came to pray vpon vs, and therefore we shot at them, and killed two: and about the necke of one of them we found a leatherne collar, whereupon we thought them to be tame dogs. There were twenty dogs like mastines with prickt eares and long bushy tailes: we found a bone in the pizels of their dogs. Then we went farther, and found two sleads made like ours in England: the one was made of firre, spruce and oken boozds sawen like inch boozds: the other was made all of whale bone, & there hung on the tops of the sleads three heads of beasts which they had killed. We saw here larks, rauens, and partridges.

The 17 we went on shoare, and in a litle thing made like an ouen with stones I found many small trifles, as a small canoa made of wood, a piece of wood made like an image, a bird made of bone, beads hauing small holes in one end of them to hang about their necks, & other small things. The coast was very barren without wood or grasse: the rocks were very faire like marble, full of vaines of diuers colours. We found a seale which was killed not long before, being fleane, and hid vnder stones.

Our Captaine and Master searched still for probabilities of the passage, and first found, that this place was all Islands, with great sounds passing betwene them.

Secondly, the water remained of one colour with the maine ocean without altering.

Thirdly, we saw to the West of those Isles three or foure whales in a kull, which they iudged to come from a Westerly sea, because to the Eastward we saw not any whale.

Also as we were rowing into a very great sound lying Southwest, from whence these whales came, vpon the sudden there came a violent counter-checke of a tide from the Southwest against the flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was maintained.

Fiftly, in sailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance we had sounding in 90 fadoms, faire gray osie sand, and the further we ran into the Westwards the deeper was the water; so that hard aboord the shoare among these Isles we could not haue ground in 330 fadoms.

Lastly, it did ebbe and flow six or seuen fadome by and downe, the flood comming from diuers parts, so as we could not perceiue the chiefe maintenance thereof.

The 18 and 19 our Captaine and Master determined what was best to doe, both for the safeguard of their credits, and satisfiing of the aduenturers, and resolved, if the weather brake up, to make further search.

The 20 the winde came directly against vs: so they altered their purpose, and reasoned both for proceeding and returning.

The 21 the winde being North-west, we departed from these Islands; and as we coasted the South shoare we saw many faire sounds, whereby we were perswaded that it was no firme land but Islands.

The 23 of this moneth the wind came Southeast, with very stormy and foule weather: so we were constrained to seeke harborow vpon the South coast of this entrance, where we fell into a very faire sound, & ankered in 25 fadoms Greene osie sand. Here we went on shoare, where we had manifest signes of people where they had made their fire, and layed stones like a wall. In this place we saw foure very faire faulcons; and M. Bruton tooke from one of them his prey, which we iudged by the wings and legs to be a snite, for the head was eaten off.

The 24 in the afternoone, the winde comming somewhat faire, we departed from this road, purposing by Gods grace to returne for England.

The 26 we departed from sight of the North land of this entrance, directing our course homeward vntill the tenth of the next moneth,

Timber
sawen.

Fowle.

An image.

Probabilities
for the passage.

Wee neuer
came into any
bay before or
after, but the
waters colour
was altered
very blackish.

Faulcons.

Their returne.

The

The 10. of September wee fell with The land of desolation, thinking to goe on shoare, but we could get neuer a good harborough. That night wee put to sea againe thinking to search it the next day: but this night arose a very great storme, and separated our ships, so that we lost the sight of the Mooneshine.

The 13. about noone (having tried all the night before with a goose wing) we set saile, & within two houres after we had sight of the Mooneshine againe: this day we departed from this land.

The 27. of this moneth we fell with sight of England. This night we had a marvellous storme and lost the Mooneshine.

The 30. of September wee came into Dartmouth, where wee found the Mooneshine being come in not two houres before.

The second voyage attempted by M. Iohn Davis with others, for the discovery of the Northwest passage, in Anno 1586.



The 7. day of May, I departed from the port of Dartmouth for the discovery of the Northwest passage, with a ship of an hundred and twentie tunnes named the Mermayd, a barke of 60. tunnes named the Sunneshine, a barke of 35. tunnes named the Mooneshine, and a pinnesse of tenne tunnes named the North Starre.

And the 15. of June I discovered land in the latitude of 60. degrees, and in longitude from the Meridian of London Westward 47. degrees, mightily pestered with yce and snow, so that there was no hope of landing: the yce lay in some places tenne leagues, in some 20. and in some 50. leagues off the shoare, so that wee were constrained to beare into 57. degrees to double the same, and to recover a free Sea, which through Gods favourable mercy we at length obtained.

The 29. of June after many tempestuous storms we againe discovered land, in longitude from the Meridian of London 58. degr. 30. min. and in latitude 64. being East from vs: into which course sith it pleased God by contrary winds to force vs, I thought it very necessary to beare in with it, & there to set by our pinnesse, provided in the Mermayd to be our scout for this discovery, and so much the rather because the yere before I had bene in the same place, and found it very convenient for such a purpose, wel stored with stote wood, & possessed by a people of tractable conversation: so that the 29. of this moneth we arrived within the Isles which lay before this land, lying North north west, and South south east, we know not how farre. This land is very high & mountainous, having before it on the West side a mighty company of Isles full of faire sounds, and harboroughs. This land was very litle troubled with snow, and the sea altogether voyd of yce.

The ships being within the sounds wee sent our boates to search for shole water, where wee might anker, which in this place is very hard to finde: and as the boat went sounding and searching, the people of the countrey having espied them, came in their Canoas towards them with many shoutes and cries: but after they had espied in the boat some of our company that were the peere before here with vs, they presently rowed to the boate, and tooke hold on the oare, and hung about the boate with such comfortable joy, as would require a long discourse to be uttered: they came with the boates to our ships, making signes that they knewe all those that the peere before had bene with them. After I perceived their joy and small feare of vs, my selfe with the Merchants & others of the company went a shoare, bearing with me twentie knives: I had no sooner landed, but they lept out of their Canoas and came running to mee and the rest, and embraced vs with many signes of heartie welcome: at this present there were eightene of them, and to each of them I gaue a knife: they offered skinnies to me for reward, but I made signes that they were not solde, but giuen them of courtesie: and so dismissed them for that time, with signes that they should returne againe after certaine houres.

The next day with all possible speede the pinnesse was landed vpon an Isle there to be finished to serue our purpose for the discovery, which Isle was so convenient for that purpose, as that we were very wel able to defend our selues against many enemies. During the time that the pinnesse was there setting by, the people came continually vnto vs sometime an hundred Canoas at a time, sometime fourtie, fiftie, more and lesse, as occasion serued. They brought with them seale skinnies, Ragge skinnies, white hares, Seale fish, samon peale, smal cod, dry caplin, with other fish, and birds such as the countrey did yeeld.

My selfe still desirous to haue a further search of this place, sent one of the shipboates to one part of the lande, and my selfe went to another part to search for the habitation of this people,

September.

The saile from The land of desolation to England in 14. dayes.

Land discovered in 60. degrees.

Gentle and louing Sauiages.

In 100 Canoas with diuers commodities.

with straight commandement that there should be no iniurie offered to any of the people, neither any gunne shot.

Images, crane
oyle, and Seale
skins in tan-
tubs.

A plaine
champion
countrey.
A goodly
riuier.

The boates that went from me found the tents of the people made with seale skinnies set vpon timber; wherein they found great store of dried Caplin, being a litle fish no bigger then a pilchard: they found bags of Crane oyle, many litle images cut in wood, Seale skinnies in tan-tubs, with many other such trifles, whereof they diminished nothing.

They also found tenne miles within the snowy mountaines a plaine champion countrey, with earth and grasse, such as our moory and waste grounds of England are: they went by into a riuer (which in the narrowest place is two leagues broad) about ten leagues, finding it still to continue they knewe not howe farre: but I with my company tooke another riuer, which although at the first it offered a large inlet, yet it proued but a deepe bay, the ende whereof in foure houres I attained, and there leaning the boat well manned, went with the rest of my company three or foure miles into the countrey, but found nothing, nor saw any thing, saue onely gripes, rauens, and small birds, as larkes and linnets.

The third of Iuly I manned my boat, and went with fifty Canoas attending vpon me by into another sound where the people by signes willed mee to goe, hoping to finde their habitation: at length they made signes that I should goe into a warme place to sleepe, at which place I went on shore, and ascended the toppes of an high hill to see into the countrey, but perceiuing my labor vaine, I returned againe to my boat, the people still following me, and my company very diligent to attend vs, and to helpe vs up the rockes, and like wise downe: at length I was desirous to haue our men leape with them, which was done, but our men did ouerleape them: from leaping they went to wrestling, we found them strong and nimble, and to haue skil in wrestling, for they cast some of our men that were good wrestlers.

A graue with
a crosse laid
ouer.
The Tartars
and people of
Iapon are also
small eyed.

The fourth of Iuly we landed our pinnelle, and had soztie of the people to helpe vs, which they did very willingly: at this time our men againe wrestled with them, and found them as before, strong and skilfull. This fourth of Iuly the Master of the Mermaid went to certaine Islands to stoze himselfe with wood, where he found a graue with diuers buried in it, only couered with seale skinnies, hauing a crosse laid ouer them. The people are of good stature, wel in body proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, with broad visages, and smal eyes, wide mouthes, the most part unbearded, great lips, and close toothed. Their custome is as often as they goe from vs, still at their returne to make a newe truce, in this sort, holding his hand vp to the Sun with a lowd voice he crieth Yyaoure, and striketh his brest with like signes, being promised safety, he giueth credit. These people are much giuen to bleed, and therefore stop their noses with deers haire, or the haire of an elan. They are idolaters and haue images geat store, which they weare about them, and in their boats, which we suppose they worship. They are witches, and haue many kinds of enchantments, which they often vset, but to small purpose, thanks be to God.

Their maner
of kindling fire
like to theirs
in America.
A fire made of
turkes.

Being among them at thore the fourth of Iuly, one of them making a long oration, beganne to kindle a fire in this maner: he tooke a peece of a board wherein was a hole halfe thorow: into that hole he puts the end of a round stick like vnto a bedstaffe, wetting the end thereof in Crane, and in fashion of a turner with a peece of lether, by his violent motion doeth very speedily produce fire: which done, with turkes he made a fire, into which with many wordes and strange gestures, he put diuers things, which wee supposed to be a sacrifice: my selfe and diuers of my company standing by, they were desirous to haue me goe into the smoke, I willed them likewise to stand in the smoke, which they by no meanes would do. I then tooke one of them, and thrust him into the smoke, and willed one of my company to tread out the fire, & to spurne it into the sea, which was done to shew them that we did contemne their forcery. These people are very simple in all their conuersation, but marvellous theewit, especially for iron, which they haue in great accost. They began through our lenitie to shew their vile nature: they began to cut our cables: they cut away the Moonelights boat from her sterne, they cut our cloth where it lay to aye, though we did carefully looke vnto it, they stole our oares, a caliner, a boare speare, a sword, with diuers other things, wherat the company and Masters being grieved, for our better securitie, desired me to dissolve this new friendship, and to leaue the company of these theewit miscreants: whereupon there was a caliner shot among them, and immediately vpon the same a faulcon, which strange noice did soze amaze them, so that with speed they departed: notwithstanding their simplicitie is such, that within ten houres after they came againe to vs to intreat peace: which being promised, we againe fell into a great league. They brought vs Seale skinnies, & sammon peale, but seeing iron, they could in no wise forbear stealing: which when I perceiued, it did but minister vnto mee an occasion of laughter, to see their simplicitie, and I willed that in no case they should see any more hardly vset, but that our owne company

Great theewit

company should be the more vigilant to keepe their things, supposing it to be very hard in so short time to make them know their evils. They eate all their meat raw, they live most upon fish, they drinke salt water, and eate grasse and ice with delight: they are neuer out of the water, but live in the nature of fishes, saue only when dead sleepe taketh them, and then vnder a warme rocke laying his boat vpon the land, hee lyeth downe to sleepe. Their weapons are all darts, but some of them haue bow and arrowes and slings. They make nets to take their fish of the sinne of a whale: they do all their things very artificially: and it should seeme that these simple the euish Islanders haue warre with those of the maine, for many of them are sore wounded, which wounds they receiued vpon the maine land, as by signes they gaue vs to vnderstand. We had among them copper oare, blacke copper, and red copper: they pronounce their language very hollow, and deepe in the throat: these wordes following we learned from them.

Their rude
diet.

Their weas-
pons.
Strange nets.
These Islan-
ders warre
with the peo-
ple of the
maine.
Copper oare.

Their lan-
guage.

Kesinyoh, Eate some.
Madlycoyte, Pusicke.
Aginyoh, Go fetch.
Yliaoute, I meane no harme.
Ponamieg, A boat.
Paaoryck, An oare.
Asanock, A dart.
Sawymeg, A knife.
Vderah, A nose.
Aoh, Iron.
Blete, An eye.
Vnuicke, Giue it.
Tuckloak, A stagge or ellan.
Panygmah, A needle.
Aob, The Sea.
Mysacoah, Wash it.
Lethicklaneg, A seale skinne.
Canyglow, Kisse me.
Vgenera, My sonne.
Acu, Shot.

Conah, Leape.
Maatuke, Fish.
Sambah, Below.
Maconmeg, Will you haue this.
Cocah, Go to him.
Aba, Fallen downe.
Icune, Come hither.
Awennye, Vnder.
Nugo, No.
Tucktodo, A fagge.
Lechiklah, A skinne.
Maccoah, A dart.
Sugnacoon, A coat.
Gounah, Come downe.
Sasobneg, A bracelet.
Vgnake, A tongue.
Ataneg, A seale.
Macuah, A beard.
Pignagogah, A threed.
Quoylah, Giue it to me.

Whistles.
A strange
whirlwinde.

Great Is-
lands.

Slings.

The 7. of July being very desirous to search the habitation of this countrey, I went my selfe with our new pinnelle into the body of the land, thinking it to be a firme continent, and passing by a very large riuer, a great flaw of winde tooke me, whereby wee were constrained to seeke succour for that night, which being had, I landed with the most part of my company, and went to the top of a high mountaine, hoping from thence to see into the countrey: but the mountaines were so many and so mighty as that my purpose preuailed not: whereupon I againe returned to my pinnelle, and willing diuers of my company to gather muscles for my supper, whereof in this place there was great store, my selfe hauing espied a very strange sight, especially to me that neuer before saw the like, which was a mighty whirlwinde taking by the water in very great quantitie, furiously mounting it into the aire, which whirlwinde, was not for a puffe or blast, but continual, for the space of thre houres, with very little intermission, which sith it was in the course that I should passe, we were constrained that night to take by our lodging vnder the rocks.

The next morning the storme being broken by, we went forward in our attempt, and sailed into a mighty great riuer directly into the body of the land, and in briefe, found it to be no firme land, but huge, waste, and desert Isles with mighty sounds, and inlets passing betweene Sea and Sea. Thereupon we returned towards our shippes, and landing to stoppe a floud, wee found the burial of these miscreants: we found of their fish in bagges, plaices, and caplin dried, of which wee tooke onely one bagge and departed. The ninth of this moneth we came to our ships, where wee found the people desirous in their fashion, of friendship and barter: our Partners complained heavily against the people, and said that my lenitie and friendly vsing of them gaue them stomacke to mischief: for they haue stolen an anker from vs, they haue cut our cable very dangerously, they haue cut our boats from our sterne, and now since your departure, with slings they spare vs not with stones of halfe a pound weight: and wil you stil indure these iniuries? It is a shame to beare them, I desired them to be content, and said, I doubted not but al should be wel. The 10. of this moneth I went to the shore, the people following mee in their Canoas: I tolled them on shore, and vled them with much courtesie, and then departed aboord, they following me, and my company. I gaue some of them bracelets, & caused seuen or eight of them to come aboord, which they did willingly, and

and some of them went into the top of the ship: and thus curteously vsing them, I let them depart: the Sunne was no sooner downe, but they began to practise their deuillish nature, and with slings theyew stones very fiercely into the Moonelight, and strake one of her men then boatswaine, that he ouerthrew withall: whereat being moued, I changed my curtesie, and grew to hatred, my self in my owne boate well manned with shot, and the barks boat like wise pursued them, and gaue them diuers shot, but to small purpose, by reason of their swift rowing: so finally content we returned.

The 11. of this moneth there came five of them to make a new cruce: the master of the Admirall came to me to shew me of their comming, and desired to haue them taken and kept as prisoners vntill we had his anker againe: but when he sawe that the chiefe ringleader and master of mischiefe was one of the five, he then was vehement to execute his purpose, so it was determined to take him: he came crying Yliaout, and striking his brest offered a paire of gloues to sell, the master offered him a knife for them: so two of the came to vs, the one was not touched, but the other was soone captiue among vs: then we pointed to him and his fellowes for our anker, which being had, we made signes that he should be set at libertie: within one houre after he came aboard the winde came saue, whereupon we weped and set saile, and so brought the fellow with vs: one of his fellowes still following our ship close aboard, talked with him and made a kinde of lamentation, we still vsing him wel with Yliaout, which was the common course of curtesie. At length this fellow aboard vs spake foure or five words vnto the other and clapped his two hands vpon his face, whereupon the other doing the like, departed as we suppose with heauie chere. We iudged the couering of his face with his hands and bowing of his body downe, signified his death. At length he became a pleasant companion among vs. I gaue him a new sute of frize after the English fashion, because I saw he could not indure the colde, of which he was very fopfull, he trimmed vp his darts, and all his fishing tooles, and would make okam, and set his hand to a ropes end vpon occasion. He liued with the dy Caplin that I tooke when I was searching in the pinnis, and did eate dy Newland fish.

All this while, God be thanked, our people were in very good health, onely one young man excepted, who dyed at sea the fourteenth of this moneth, and the fifteenth, according to the order of the sea, with praise giuen to God by seruice, was cast ouerboard.

The 17 of this moneth being in the latitude of 63. degrees 8. minuts, we fell vpon a most mighty and strange quantitie of yce in one intire masse, so bigge as that we knew not the limits thereof, and being withall so very high in forme of a land, with bayes and capes and like high cliffe land, as that we supposed it to be land, and therefore sent our pinnesse off to discouer it: but at her returne we were certainly informed that it was onely yce, which bred great admiration to vs all considering the huge quantitie thereof, incredible to be reported in trueth as it was, and therefore I omit to speake any further thereof. This onely I thinke, that the like before was neuer scene: and in this place we had very stickle and strong currents.

We coasted this mightie masse of yce vntill the 30 of July, finding it a mightie barre to our purpose: the ayre in this time was so contagious and the sea so pestered with yce, as that all hope was banished of proceeding: for the 24 of July all our throwds, ropes and sailes were so frozen, and compassed with yce, onely by a grosse fogge, as seemed to me more then strange, such the last yeere I found this sea free and nauigable, without impediments.

Our men though this extremity began to grow sicke and feeble, and withall hopelesse of good successe: whereupon very orderly, with good discretion they intreated me to regard the state of this busines, and withall aduised me, that in conscience I ought to regard the saltie of mine owne life with the preservation of theirs, and that I should not through my ouerboldnes leaue their widowes and fatherlesse children to giue me bitter curses. This matter in conscience did greatly moue me to regard their estates: yet considering the excellencie of the businesse if it might be attained, the great hope of certaintie by the last yeeres discouery, and that there was yet a third way not put in practise, I thought it would growe to my great disgrace, if this action by my negligence should grow into discredite: whereupon seeking helpe from God, the fountaine of all mercies, it pleased his diuine maiestie to moue my heart to prosecute that which I hope shal be to his glory, and to the contentation of euery Christian minde. Whereupon falling into consideration that the Mermaid, albeit a very strong & sufficient ship, yet by reason of her burthen was not so conuenient and nimble as a smaller bark, especially in such desperate hazzards: further hauing in account her great charge to the aduenturers being at 100. li. the moneth, and that in doubtfull seruice: all the premisses considered with diuers other things, I determined to furnish the Moonelight with reuictualling and sufficient men, and to proceede in this action as God should direct me. Whereupon I altered our course from the yce, and bare Eastsoutheast to recouer the next shore where this thing might be performed: so with fauourable winde it pleased God that the first of August we discouered the land

One of the people taken which after dyed.

A huge quantitie of yce in 63. degrees of latitude.

The nature of fogges.

land in Latitude 66. degrees, 33. min. and in longitude from the Meridian of London 70. degrees boyd of trouble without snow or ice.

The second of August wee harboured our selues in a very excellent good road, where with all speed we graued the Moonelight, and reititualed her: wee searched this countrey with our pinnesse while the barke was trimming, which William Ekton did: he found all this land to be onely Islands, with a Sea on the East, a Sea on the West, and a Sea on the North. In this place wee found it very hot, and wee were very much troubled with a flie which is called Muskyto, for they did sting grievously. The people of this place at our first comming in caught a Seale, and with bladders fast tied to him sent him vnto vs with the floud, so as hee came right with our shippes, which we tooke as a friendly present from them.

Great heat.

66. degrees 19. minutes.

Great hope of a passage.

64. degr. 20. min.

A great current to the West.

Islands.

They runne 8. dayes Southward from 67 to 57. degrees upon the coast.

A harbouough in 56. degrees.

Faire woods.

Store of cods.

The fift of August I went with the two Masters and others to the toppe of a hill, and by the way William Ekton espied three Canoas lying vnder a rocke, and went vnto them: there were in them skinnies, darts, with diuers superstitious toys, whereof wee diminished nothing, but left vpon euery boat a silke point, a bullet of lead, and a pinne. The next day being the first of August, the people came vnto vs without feare, and did barter with vs for skinnies, as the other people did: they differ not from the other, neither in their Canoas nor apparel, yet is their pronuntiation more plaine then the others, and nothing hollow in the throat. Our Sauage aboord vs kept himselfe close, and made shew that he would faine haue another companion. Thus being provided, I departed from this lande the twelfth of August at sixe of the clocke in the morning, where I left the Mermaid at an anker: the foureteenth sailing West about fiftie leagues, we discouered land, being in latitude 66. degrees 19. minuts: this land is 70. leagues from the other from whence we came. This fourteenth day from nine a clocke at night till thre a clocke in the morning, wee ankered by an Island of yce, twelue leagues off the shore, being moored to the yce.

The fifteenth day at thre a clocke in the morning we departed from this land to the South, and the eighteenth of August we discouered land Northwest from vs in the morning, being a very faire promontory, in latitude 65. degrees, hauing no land on the South. Here wee had great hope of a thorough passage.

This day at thre a clocke in the afternoone wee againe discouered lande Southwest and by South from vs, where at night wee were becalmed. The nineteenth of this moneth at noone, by obseruation, we were in 64. degrees 20. minuts. If from the eighteenth day at noone vnto the nineteenth at noone, by precise ordinary care, wee had sailed 15. leagues South and by West, yet by art and more exact obseruation, we found our course to be Southwest, so that we plainly perceived a great current striking to the West.

This land is nothing in sight but Iles; which increaseth our hope. This nineteenth of August at sixe a clocke in the afternoone, it began to snow, and so continued all night with foule weather, and much winde, so that we were constrained to lie at hull all night fure leagues off the shore: In the morning being the twentieth of August, the fogge and storme breaking vp, we bare in with the lande, and at nine a clocke in the morning wee ankered in a very faire and safe road and locke for all weathers. At tenne of the clocke I went on shore to the toppe of a very high hill, where I perceived that this land was Islands: at foure of the clocke in the afternoone wee weyed anker, hauing a faire North northeast winde, with very faire weather: at six of the clocke we were cleare without the land, and so shaped our course to the South, to discouer the coast, where by the passage may be through Gods mercy found.

We coasted this land till the eight and twentieth of August, finding it still to continue towards the South, from the latitude of 67. to 57. degrees: we found marueilous great store of birds, gulls and mewes, incredible to be reported, whereupon being calme weather, we lay one glasse vpon the lee, to proue for fish, in which space we caught 100. of cod, although we were but badly provided for fishing, not being our purpose. This eight and twentieth hauing great distrust of the weather, we arriued in a very faire harbour in the latitude of 56. degrees, and sailed 10. leagues into the same, being two leagues broad, with very faire woods on both sides: in this place wee continued vntil the first of September, in which time we had two very great stormes. I landed, & went five miles by ghesse into the countrey, and found that the woods were firre, pineapple, alder, yew, withy, and birch: here wee saw a blacke beare: this place yeeldeth great store of birds, as fezzant, partridge, Barbary hennies or the like, wilde geese, ducks, blacke birdes, ieyes, thrushes, with other kinds of small birds. Of the partridge and fezzant we killed great store with bow and arrowes: in this place at the harbouough mouth we found great store of cod.

The first of September at tenne a clocke wee set saile, and coasted the shore with very faire weather. The thirde day being calme, at noone we strooke saile, and let fall a cadge anker, to proue whether

whether we could take any fish, being in latitude 54. degrees 30. minutes, in which place we found great abundance of cod, so that the hooke was no sooner ouerboord, but presently a fish was taken. It was the largest and the best fed fish that euer I sawe, and diuers fisher men that were with me sayd that they neuer saw a more suauile or better skull of fish in their liues: yet had they seene great abundance.

A perfect hope
of the passage
about 54. de-
grees and an
halfe.

The fourth of September at fve a clocke in the afternoone we ankered in a very good road among great store of Isles, the countrey low land, pleasant and very full of fayre woods. To the North of this place eight leagues, we had a perfect hope of the passage, finding a mightie great sea passing betweene two lands West. The South land to our iudgement being nothing but Isles: we greatly desired to goe into this sea, but the winde was directly against vs. We ankered in foure fathome fine sand. In this place is foule and fish mightie store.

Two of our
men slaine by
the Sauiages.

The first of September hauing a faire Northnorthwest winde, hauing trimmed our Barke we purposed to depart, and sent fve of our sailers yong men a shope to an Island, to fetch certaine fish which we purposed to weather, and therefore left it al night couered vpon the Isle: the brutish people of this countrey lay secretly lurking in the wood, and vpon the sudden assaulted our men: which when we perceiued, we presently let slip our cables vpon the halfe, and vnder our foresaile bare in to the shoare, and with all expedition discharged a double musket vpon them twise, at the noyse whereof they fled: notwithstanding to our very great grieffe, two of our men were slaine with their arrowes, and two grievously wounded, of whom at this present we stand in very great doubt, one ly one escaped by swimming, with an arrow shot thorow his arme. These wicked miscreants neuer offered parly or speech, but presently executed their cursed fury.

This present euening it pleased God further to increase our sorowes with a mighty tempestuous storme, the winde being Northnortheast, which lasted vnto the tenth of this moneth very extreme. We vnriggered our ship, and purposed to cut downe our masts, the cable of our shut-anker brake, so that we onely expected to be driuen on shoare among these Canibals for their pray. Yet in this deepe distresse the mightie mercie of God, when hope was past, gaue vs succour, and sent vs a faire lee, so as we recouered our anker againe and newe moored our ship: where we saw that God manifestly deliuered vs: for the straines of one of our cables were broken, and we only roade by an olde iunke. Thus being freshly moored a new storme arose, the winde being Westnorthwest, very forcible, which lasted vnto the tenth day at night.

The eleuenth day with a faire Westnorthwest winde we departed with trust in Gods mercie, shaping our course for England, and arriued in the West countrey in the beginning of October.

Master Davis being arriued, wrote his letter to M. William Sander-son of London, concerning his voyage, as followeth.



Ir, the Sunnes shine came into Dartmouth the fourth of this moneth: the hath bene at Island, and from thence to Groenland, and so to Estoriland, from thence to Desolation, and to our Marchants, where she made trade with the people, staying in the countrey twentie dayes. They haue brought home fve hundred seale skimes, and an hundred and fortie halfe skimes and pieces of skimes. I stand in great doubt of the pinnesse, God be mercifull vnto the poore men, and preserve them, if it be his blessed will.

I haue now experience of much of the Northwest part of the world, & haue brought the passage to that likelihood, as that I am assured it must bee in one of foure places, or els not at all. And further I can assure you vpon the perill of my life, that this voyage may be performed without further charge, nay with certaine profite to the aduenturers, if I may haue but your fauour in the action. I hope I shall finde fauour with you to see your Card. I pray God it be so true as the Card shal be which I will bring you: and I hope in God, that your skill in Nauigation shall be gaineful vnto you, although at the first it hath not proued so. And thus with my humble commendations I commit you to God, desiring no longer to liue, then I shall be yours most faithfullly to command. Exon this fourteenth of October. 1586.

Yours to command

IOHN DAVIS.

The

The relation of the course which the *Sunshine* a barke of fiftie runnes, and the *Northstarre* a small pinnesse, being two vessels of the flecte of M. Iohn Davis, helde after hee had sent them from him to discover the passage betweene *Groneland* and *Island*, written by Henry Morgan seruant to M. William Sander-son of London.



The seventh day of May 1586. wee departed out of Dartmouth haven foure sailes, to wit, the *Mermaid*, the *Sunshine*, the *Mooneshine*, & the *Northstarre*. In the *Sunshine* were sixteene men, whose names were these: Richard Pope Master, Marke Carter Masters mate, Henry Morgan Purser, George Draward, Iohn Mandie, Hugh Broken, Philip Iane, Hugh Hempson, Richard Borden, Iohn Philpe, Andrew Madock, William Wolcome, Robert Wag carpenter, Iohn Bruskome, William Ashe, Simon Ellis.

Our course was Westnorthwest the seventh and eight dayes: and the ninth day in the morning we were on head of the Carrole of Silley. Thus coasting along the South part of Ireland the 11. day, we were on head of the Dories: and our course was Southsouthwest untill sixe of the clocke the 12. day. The 13. day our course was Northwest. We remained in the company of the *Mermaid* and the *Mooneshine* untill we came to the latitude of 60. degrees: and there it seemed best to our Generall M. Davis to diuide his flecte, himselfe sayling to the Northwest, and to direct the *Sunshine*, wherein I was, and the pinnesse called the *Northstarre*, to seeke a passage Northward betweene *Groneland* and *Island* to the latitude of 80. degrees, if land did not let vs. So the seuenth day of June wee departed from them: and the ninth of the same we came to a firme land of yce, which we coasted along the ninth, the tenth, and the eleventh dayes of June: and the eleventh day at sixe of the clocke at night we saw land which was very high, which after ward we knew to be *Island*: and the twelfth day we harboured there, and found many people: the land lyeth East and

and by North in 66. degrees. Their commodities were greene fish, and *Island* lings, and stockfish, and a fish which is called *Scatefish*: of all which they had great store. They had also kine, sheep, and hoxles, and hay for their cattell, and for their hoxles. Wee saw also of their dogs. Their dwelling houles were made on both sides with stones, and wood layd crosse ouer them, which was couered ouer with turles of earth, and they are flat on the tops, and many of these stood hard by the shore. Their boates were made with wood and yron all along the keele like our English boates: and they had nayles for to nalle them w ithall, and fish-hookes and other things for to catch fish as we haue here in England. They had also brasen kettles, and girdles and purses made of leather, and knoppes on them of copper, and hatchets, and other small tooles as necessary as we haue. They dye their fish in the Sun, and when they are dry, they packe them up in the top of their houles. If we would goe thither to fishing more then we doe, we should make it a very good voyage: for wee got an hundred greene fish in one morning. Wee found heere two English men with a shippe, which came out of England about Easter day of this present yeere 1586, and one of them came aboard of vs, and brought vs two lambs. The English mans name was M. Iohn Roydon of Ipswich marchant: hee was bound for London with his ship. And this is the summe of that which I obserued in *Island*. We departed from *Island* the sixteenth day of June in the morning, and our course was Northwest, and we saw on the coast two small barkes going to an harborough: we went not to them, but saw them a farre off. Thus we continued our course vnto the end of this moneth.

The third day of July we were in betweene two firme lands of yce, and passed in betweene them all that day untill it was night: and then the Master turned backe againe, and so away we went towards *Groneland*. And the seventh day of July we did see *Groneland*, and it was very high, and it looked very blew: we could not come to harborough into the land, because we were hindered by a firme land as it were of yce, which was along the shoares side: but we were within three leagues of the land, coasting the same diuers dayes together. The seuenteenth day of July wee saw the place which our Captaine M. Iohn Davis the yeere before had named The land of Desolation, where we could not goe on shore for yce. The eighteenth day we were likewise troubled with yce, and went in amongst it at three of the clocke in the morning. After wee had cleared our selues thereof, wee ranged all along the coast of Desolation untill the ende of the aforesayd moneth.

The third of day August we came in sight of Gilberts sound in the latitude of 64. deg. 15. min. which was the place where wee were appoynted to meete our Generall and the rest of our flecte. Here we came to an harborough at 6. of the clocke at night.

May.

M. Davis in the latitude of 60. deg. diuideth his flecte into 2. parts. The 7. of June

Island described.

66. degrees.

Their commodities.

Their dwellings.

Their boates.

M. Iohn Roydon of Ipswich. They departed from *Island* Northwest.

Groneland discovered.

The land of Desolation.

Groneland coasted from the 7. till the last of July.

August.

The houses of
Gronland.

The 4. day in the morning the Hatter went on shore with 10. of his men, and they brought vs foure of the people rowing in their boats aboord of the ship. And in the afternoone I went on shore with 6. of our men, and there came to vs seven of them when we were on land. We found on shore three dead people, and two of them had their staues lying by them, and their olde skimmes wrapped about them, and the other had nothing lying by, wherefore we thought it was a woman. We also saw their houses neere the Sea side, which were made with pieces of wood on both sides, and crossed ouer with poles and then couered ouer with earth: we found Foxes running vpon the hills: as for the place it is broken land all the way that we went, and full of broken Islands.

Our men play
at football
with the Sa-
uages.

The 21. of August the Hatter sent the boate on shore for wood with sixe of his men, and there were one and thirtie of the people of the countrey which went on shore to them, & they went about to kill them as we thought, for they shot their dartes towards them, and we that were aboord the ship did see them goe on shore to our men: whereupon the Hatter sent the pinnelle after them, and when they saw the pinnelle comming towards them, they turned backe, and the Hatter of the pinnelle did shoote off a caliuier to them the same time, but hurt none of them, for his meaning was onely to put them in feare. Diuers times they did waue vs on shore to play with them at the football, and some of our company went on shore to play with them, and our men did cast them downe as soone as they did come to strike the ball. And thus much of that which we did see and do in that harborough where we arrived first.

Sweete wood
found.

The 23. day wee departed from the Merchants Isle, where wee had beene first, and our course from thence was South & by West, and the wind was Northeast, and we ran that day and night about 5. or 6. leagues, untill we came to another harborough.

The 24. about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone wee entred into the aforesayd new harborow, and as wee came in, we did see dogs running vpon the Islands. When we were come in, there came to vs foure of the people which were with vs before in the other harborough, and where we rode, we had sandie ground. We saw no wood growing, but found small pieces of wood vpon the Islands, & some small pieces of sweete wood among the same. We found great Harts hornes, but could see none of the Stagges where we went, but we found their footings. As for the bones which we receiued of the Sauages I cannot tell of what beasts they be.

A skirmish be-
tween the Sa-
uages and
our men.

The stones that we found in the countrey were black, and some white, as I thinke they be of no value, neuerthelesse I haue brought examples of them to you.

The 30. of August we departed from this harborough towards England, & the wind tooke vs contrary, so that we were faine to go to another harborough the same day at 11. of the clocke. And there came to vs 39. of the people, and brought vs 13. Seal skins, and after we receiued these skins of them, the Hatter sent the carpenter to change one of our boates which wee had bought of them before, and they would haue taken the boate from him perforce, and when they sawe they could not take it from vs, they shot with their dartes at vs, and stroke one of our men with one of their dartes, and Iohn Filpe shot one of them into the brest with an arrow. And they came to vs againe, and foure of our men went into the shipboate, and they shot with their dartes at our men: but our men tooke one of their people in his boate into the shipboate, and he hurt one of them with his knife, but we killed three of them in their boates: two of them were hurt with arrowes in the brests, and he that was aboord our boat, was shot in with an arrow, and hurt with a sword, and beaten with staues, whome our men cast ouerboord, but the people caught him and carried him on shore vpon their boates, and the other two also, and so departed from vs. And three of them went on shore hard by vs, where they had their dogs, and those three came away from their dogs, and presently one of their dogs came swimming towards vs hard aboord the ship, whereupon our Hatter caused the Gunner to shoote off one of the great pieces towards the people, and so the dog turned backe to land, and within an houre after there came of the people hard aboord the ship, but they would not come to vs as they did come before.

September.

The pinnelle
neuer return-
ed home.

The 31. of August we departed from Gylberts Sound for England, and when we came out of the harborough there came after vs 17. of the people looking which way we went.

The 2. of September we lost sight of the land at 12. of the clocke at noone.

The third day at night we lost sight of the Northstarre our pinnelle in a very great storme, and lay a hull tarying for them the 4. day, but could heare no more of them. Thus we shaped our course the 5. day Southsoutheast, and sayling untill the 27. of the sayd moneth, we came in sight of Cape Clere in Ireland.

The 30. day we entred into our owne chanell.

The 2. of October we had sight of the Isle of Wight.

The 3. we coasted all along the shore, and the 4. and 5.

The

The 6. of the sayd moneth of October wee came into the river of Thames as high as Ratcliffe in safetie God be thanked.

The third voyage Northwestward, made by M. John Davis Gentleman, as chiefe Captaine & Pilot generall, for the discovery of a passage to the Isles of the *Moluccas*, or the coast of China, in the yeere 1587. Written by M. John Ianes.

May.



The 19. of this present moneth about midnight wee weped our ankers, set sayle, and departed from Dartmouth with two Barkes and a Clincher, the one named the Elizabeth of Dartmouth, the other the Sunnesshine of London, and the Clincher called the Helene of Londō: thus in Gods name we set forwards with the wind at Northeast a good fresh gale. About 3. houres after our departure, the night being somewhat thicke with darknesse, we had lost the pinnelle: the Captaine imagining that the men had runne away with her, willed the Master of the Sunnesshine to stand to Seawards, and see if we could descry them, we bearing in with the shore for Plymouth. At length we descried her, bare with her, and demanded what the cause was: they answered that the tiller of their helme was burst. So shaping our course Westsouthwest, we went forward, hoping that a hard beginning would make a good ending, yet some of vs were doubtfull of it, falling in reckoning that she was a Clincher; neuertheless we put our trust in God.

The 21. we met with the Red Lion of London, which came from the coast of Spaine, which was afrayd that we had bene men of warre, but we hailed them, and after a little conference, we desired the Master to carie our letters for London directed to my vncle Sanderson, who promised vs a safe deliuerie. And after wee had heaued them a lead and a line, whereunto wee had made fast our letters, before they could get them into the ship, they fell into the Sea, and so all our labour and theirs also was lost; notwithstanding they promised to certifie our departure at London, and so we departed, and the same day we had sight of Silley. The 22. the wind was at Northeast by East with faire weather, and so the 23. and 24. the like. The 25. we layd our ships on the Lee for the Sunnesshine, who was a romaging for a leake, they had 500. strokes at the pumpe in a watch, the wind at Northwest.

The 26. and 27. wee had faire weather, but this 27. the pinnelles foremast was blowen ouerboord. The 28. the Elizabeth towed the pinnelle, which was so much braggd of by the owners report before we came out of England, but at Sea she was like a cart drawen with oxen. Sometimes we towed her because she could not saile for scant wind.

The 31. day our Captaine asked if the pinnelle were stanch, Peerson answered that she was as sound and stanch as a cup. This made vs something glad, when we sawe she would brooke the Sea, and was not leake.

June.

The first 6. dayes wee had faire weather: after that for 5. dayes wee had fogge and raine, the winde being South. The 12. wee had cleare weather. The Mariners in the Sunnesshine and the Master could not agree: the Mariners would goe on their voyage a fishing, because the yeere began to waste: the Master would not depart till hee had the companie of the Elizabeth, whereupon the Master told our Captaine that hee was afrayd his men would shape some contrary course while he was asleepe, and so he should lose vs. At length after much talke and many threatnings, they were content to bring vs to the land which we looked for daily.

The 14. day we discovered land at five of the clocke in the morning, being very great and high mountaines, the tops of the hills being couered with snow. Here the wind was variable, sometimes Northeast, Eastnortheast, and East by North: but we imagined our selues to be 16. or 17. leagues off from the shore.

The 16. we came to an anker about 4. or 5. of the clocke after nonne, the people came presently to vs after the old maner, with crying Ilyoute, and shewing vs Seales skinnes. The 17. we began to set vp the pinnelle that Peerson framed at Dartmouth, with the boords which hee brought from London.

The 18. Peerson and the Carpenters of the ships began to set on the plaukes. The 19. as we went about an Island, were found blacke Pumise stones, and salt kernald on the rockes very white and glistering. This day also the Master of the Sunnesshine tooke of the people a very strong lusty poong fellow.

Land descried.

Salt kernald on the rockes.

The 20. about two of the clocke in the morning, the Sauages came to the Island where our pinnace was built readie to bee launched, and toze the two upper strakes, and carried them away onely for the loue of the yron in the boords. While they were about this practise, we manned the Elizabeths boate to goe a shore to them: our men being either afrayd or amazed, were so long before they came to shore, that our Captaine willed them to stay, and made the Gunner giue fire to a Saker, and layd the piece leuell with the boate which the Sauages had turned on the one side because wee should not hurt them with our arrowes, and made the boate their bulwarke against the arrowes which we shot at them. Our Gunner hauing made all things readie, gaue fire to the piece, and fearing to hurt any of the people, and regarding the owners profite, thought belike hee would saue a Sakers shot, doubting wee should haue occasion to fight with men of warre, and so shot off the Saker without a bullet: we looking stil when the Sauages that were hurt should run away without legs, at length wee could perceiue neuer a man hurt, but all hauing their legges could carrie away their bodies: wee had no sooner shot off the piece, but the Master of the Sunne-shine manned his boate, and came rowing toward the Island, the very sight of whom made each of them take that hee had gotten, and flee away as fast as they could to another Island about two miles off, where they tooke the nayles out of the timber, and left the wood on the Isle. When we came on shore, and saw how they had spoiled the boat, after much debating of the matter, we agreed that the Elizabeth should haue her to fish withall: whereupon she was presently carped aboard, and stowed.

Now after this trouble, being resolved to depart with the first wind, there fell out another matter worse then all the rest, and that was in this maner. John Churchyard one whom our Captaine had appoynted as Pilot in the pinnace, came to our Captaine, and master Bruton, and told them that the good ship which we must all hazard our liues in, had three hundred strokes at one time as she rode in the harbour: This disquieted vs all greatly, and many doubted to goe in her. At length our Captaine by whom we were all to be gouerned, determined rather to end his life with credite, then to returne with infamie and disgrace, and so being all agreed, wee purposed to liue and die together, and committed our selues to the ship. Now the 21. hauing brought all our things aboard, about 11. or 12. of the clocke at night, we set saile and departed from those Isles, which lie in 64. degrees of latitude, our ships being all now at Sea, and wee shaping our course to goe, coasting the land to the Northwards vpon the Easterne shore, which we called the shore of our Marchants, because there we met with people which traffiqued with vs, but here wee were not without doubt of our ship.

The 24. being in 67. degrees, and 40. minutes, wee had great store of Whales, and a kinde of sea birds which the Mariners call Cortinous. This day about sixe of the clocke at night, we espied two of the countrey people at Sea, thinking at the first they had bene two great Seales, untill wee sawe their oares glittering with the Sunne: they came rowing towardes vs, as fast as they could, and when they came within hearing, they held vp their oares, and cryed Ilyaoute, making many signes: and at last they came to vs, giuing vs birdes for bracelets, and of them I had a dart with a bone in it, or a piece of Unicorns horne, as I did iudge. This dart he made store of, but when he saw a knife he let it go, being more desirous of the knife then of his dart: these people continued rowing after our ship the space of 3. howres.

The 25. in the morning at 7. of the clocke we descried 30. Sauages rowing after vs, being by iudgement 10. leagues off from the shore: they brought vs Salmon Peales, Birdes, and Caplin, and we gaue them pinnes, needles, bracelets, nailles, knives, bels, looking glasses, and other small trifles, and for a knife, a naille or a bracelet, which they call Ponigmah, they would sell their boate, coates, or any thing they had, although they were farre from the shore. Wee had but few skimmes of them, about 20. but they made signes to vs that if wee would goe to the shore, wee should haue more store of Chichsaneg: they stayed with vs till 11. of the clocke, at which time wee went to prayer, and they departed from vs.

The 28. and 29. were foggie with cloudes, the 30. day wee tooke the heighth, and found our selues in 72. degrees and 12. minutes of latitude both at noone and at night, the Sunne being 5. degrees above the Horizon. At midnight the compasse set to the variation of 28. degrees to the Westward. Now hauing coasted the land, which wee called London coast, from the 21. of this present, till the 30. the Sea open all to the Westwards and Northwards, the land on starboord side East from vs, the winde shifted to the North, whereupon we left that shore, naming the same Hope Sanderson, and shaped our course West, and ranne 40. leagues and better without the sight of any land.

July.

Isles in 64. degrees.

Store of Whales in 67. degrees.

72. deg. 12. min.
The great variation of the compasse.
London coast.

Betweene Gronland & the North of America about 40. leagues.

July.

The second of July wee fell with a mightie banke of yce West from vs, lying North and South, which banke wee would gladly haue doubled out to the Northwards, but the winde would not suffer vs, so that we were faine to coast it to the Southwards, hoping to double it out, that wee might haue run so farre West till wee had found land, or els to haue bene thorowly resolved of our pretended purpose.

The 3. wee fell with the yce againe, and putting off from it, we sought to the Northwards, but the wind crossed vs.

The 4. was foggie: so was the 5. also with much wind at the North.

The 6. being very cleare, we put our barke with oares through a gap in the yce, seeing the Sea free on the West side, as we thought, which falling out otherwise, caused vs to returne after we had stayed there betweene the yce. The 7. and the 8. about midnight, by Gods helpe we recovered the open Sea, the weather being faire and calme, and so was the 9. The 10. we coasted the yce. The 11. was foggie, but calme.

The 12. we coasted againe the yce, hauing the wind at Northnorthwest. The 13. bearing off from the yce, we determined to goe with the shoare and come to an anker, and to stay 5. or 6. dayes for the dissolving of the yce, hoping that the Sea continually beating it, and the Sunne with the extreme force of heat which it had alwayes shining vpon it, would make a quicke dispatch, that we might haue a further search vpon the Westerne shoare. Now when we were come to the Easterne coast, the water something deepe, and some of our companie fearefull withall, we durst not come to an anker, but bare off into the Sea againe. The poore people seeing vs goe away againe, came rowing after vs into the Sea, the waues being somewhat loftie. We truckt with them for a few skinnes and darters, and gaue them beads, nailes, pinnes, needles and cardes, they poynting to the shoare, as though they would shew vs some great friendship: but we little regarding their curtesie, gaue them the gentle farewell, and so departed.

The 14. wee had the wind at South. The 15. there was some fault either in the barke, or the set of some current, for wee were driuen five points beyond our course West. The 16. wee fell with the banke of yce West from vs. The 17. and 18. were foggie. The 19. at one a clocke after noone, wee had sight of the land which we called Mount Raleigh, and at 12. of the clocke at night, we were thwart the streights which we discovered the first yeere. The 20. wee trauesed in the mouth of the streight, the wind being at West, with faire and cleare weather. The 21. and 22. wee coasted the Northerne coast of the streights. The 23. hauing sayled threescore leagues Northwest into the streights, at two a clocke after noone wee ankered among many Isles in the bottome of the gulfe, naming the same The Earle of Cumberlands Isles, where riding at anker, a Whale passed by our ship and went West in among the Isles. Here the compasse set at thirtie degrees Westward variation. The 23. wee departed, shaping our course Southeast to recover the Sea. The 25. wee were becalmed in the bottome of the gulfe, the ayre being extreme hot. Master Bruton and some of the Partners went on shoare to coule dogs, where they found many Graues and Crane spilt on the ground, the dogs being so fat that they were scant able to run.

The 26. wee had a pretty storme, the winde being at Southeast. The 27. and 28. were faire. The 29. we were cleare out of the streights, hauing coasted the South shoare, and this day at noone we were in 62. degrees of latitude. The 30. in the afternoone wee coasted a banke of yce, which lay on the shoare, and passed by a great banke or Inlet, which lay between 63. and 62. degrees of latitude, which we called Lumleys Inlet. We had oftentimes as, we sailed alongst the coast, great ruttles, the water as it were whirling and ouerfalling, as if it were the fall of some great water through a bridge.

The 31. as we sayled by a Headland, which we named Warwicks Foreland, we fell into one of those ouersals with a fresh gale of wind, and bearing all our sailes, wee looking vpon an Island of yce betweene vs and the shoare, had thought that our barke did make no way, which caused vs to take markes on the shoare: at length wee perceiued our selues to goe very fast, and the Island of yce which we saw before, was carried very forcibly with the set of the current faster then our ship went. This day and night we passed by a very great gulfe, the water whirling and roaring as it were the meetings of tydes.

A mightie
banke of yce
lying North
and South.

Extreme heat
of the Sunne.

They were di-
uised West five
points out of
their course in
67. degrees,
45. minutes.
Mount Raleigh.

The Earle of
Cumberlands
Isles.
The variation
of the compasse
30. deg. West-
ward.

The land tren-
deth from this
place South-
west and by
South.
By Iord Lum-
leys Inlet.

Warwicks Fore-
land.

A very forcible
current West-
ward.

K 3

August.

August.

Chidley's cape.

The Iord Darcies Island.

The fishing place betwene 54 and 55 degrees of latitude.

Abundance of whales in 52 degrees.

They arrive at Dartmouth the 15 of September.

The first of August having coasted a banke of ice which was driven out at the mouth of this gulfe, we fell with the Southermost cape of the gulfe, which we named Chidley's cape, which lay in 61 degrees and 10 minutes of latitude. The 2 and 3 were calme and foggie, so were the 4, 5, and 6. The 7 was faire and calme: so was the 8, with a litle gale in the morning. The 9 was faire, and we had a litle gale at night. The 10 we had a frisking gale at Westnorth-west. The 11 faire, The 12 we saw five deere on the top of an Island, called by vs Darcies Island. And we hoised out our boat, and went ashore to them, thinking to have killed some of them. But when we came on shore, and had coursed them twice about the Island, theyooke the sea and swamme to wards Islands distant from that three leagues. When we perceiued that they had taken the sea we gaue them ouer because our boat was so small that it could not carrie vs, and rowe after them, they swamme so fast: but one of them was as bigge as a good pretty Cow, and very fat, their feet as bigge as Dre feet. Here vpon this Island I killed with my piece a graphare.

The 13 in the morning we saw three or foure white beares, but durst not go on shore to them for lacke of a good boat. This day we stroke a rocke seeking for an harborow, and receiued a leake: and this day we were in 54 degrees of latitude.

The 14 we stopt our leake in a storme not very outrageous, at noone.

The 15 being almost in 52 degrees of latitude, and not finding our ships, nor (according to their promise) any kinde of marke, token, or beacon, which we willed them to set vp, and they protested to do so vpon euery head land, Island or cape, within twenty leagues euery way off from their fishing place, which our captaine appointed to be betweene 54 and 55 degrees: This 15 I say we shaped our course home wards for England, hauing in our ship but litle wood, and halfe a hogthead of fresh water. Our men were very willing to depart, and no man moze forward then Peerson, for he feared to be put out of his office of Stewardship: but because euery man was so willing to depart, we consented to returne for our owne countrey: and so we had the 16 faire weather, with the winde at Southwest.

The 17 we met a ship at sea, and as farre as we could iudge it was a Viskaine: we thought she went a fishing for whales; for in 52 degrees or thereabout we saw very many.

The 18 was faire, with a good gale at West.

The 19 faire also, with much winde at West and by South.

And thus after much variable weather and change of winds we arriued the 15 of September in Dartmouth anno 1587, giuing thanks to God for our safe arriual.

A letter of the sayd M. Iohn Davis written to M. Sander son of London concerning his forewritten voyage.



God M. Sander son, with Gods great mercy I haue made my safe returne in health, with all my company, and haue sailed threescore leagues further then my determination at my departure. I haue bene in 73 degrees, finding the sea all open, and forty leagues betweene land and land. The passage is most practicable, the execution easie, as at my comming you shall fully know.

Yesterday the 15 of September I landed all weary; therefore I pray you pardon my shortnesse.

Sandridge this 16 of September anno 1587.

Yours equall as mine owne, which

by triall you shall best know,

JOHN DAVIS.

A trauersc-booke

A TRAVERSE-BOOKE MADE BY M. IOHN
DAVIS in his third voyage for the discouerie of the
Northwest passage. Anno 1587.

Moneth.	Days.	Hours.	Course.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole. Deg.	Min.	The wind.	
May.	19		W. S. W. westerly		50	20	N. E.	This day we departed from Dartmouth at two of the clocke at night.
	20							
	21	25	W. S. W. westerly	50	50		N. E.	This day we descried Silly R. W. by W. from us.
	22	15	W. N. W.	14			N. E. by E.	This day at noone we departed from Silly.
	22	6	W. N. W.	6			N. E. by E.	
	22	2	W. N. W.	2				
	23	15	W. N. W. by W.	18			N. E.	
	23	29	W. N. W.	26	50	40		The true course, distance, and latitude.
	3		W. N. W.	2			N. N. E.	
	6		W. N. W. by W.	5			N. E. by N.	
	3		W. N. W.	3			N. N. E.	
	12		W. N. W.	12			N. E.	
Noone the 24	24		W. N. W. northerly	25	51	16		The true course, distance and latitude.
	3		W. N. W.	3			N. N. E.	
	3		W. N. W.	2			N. by E.	
	6		W. by N.	5			N.	
	6		W. by N.	5			N.	
	2		S.				N.	Now we lay upon the lee for the Sunshine, which had taken a leake of 500 strokes in a watch.
Noone the 25	24		W. by N.	20	51	20		The true course, distance, and latitude.
	3		W.	3			N. N. W.	
	3		W. S. W.	2			N. W.	
	1		S. W.	1			W. N. W.	
	2		W. N. W.	1			N.	
	3		W. N. W.	1			N.	
	2						Calm.	
	4		W. N. W.	4			S. S. E.	
	5		W.	6			S. S. E.	
Noone the 26	24		W. by N. westerly	23	51	40		The true course, distance, &c.
	11		W.	16			S. S. E.	
	6		W. N. W.	2			S. S. E.	We lay at hull with much winde. raine. and fog.
	7		W.	5			S. E.	
Noone the 27	24		W. northerly	22				The common course supposed.
Noone the 28	24		W.	20	52	12	E. S. E.	We towed the pinnesse 18 houres of this day.
Noone the 28	28		W. by N. northerly	43	52	13		The true course, distance, &c.
Noone the 29	24		N. W.	30			S. by E.	
	6		N. W.	10			S.	
	3		N. by W.	2			W. by N.	
	3		W. by N.	3			W. by S.	
	12		N. W.	12			S. S. W.	
Noone the 30	48		N. W. by N.	65	54	50		The true course, &c.
	9		N. W.	12			S. W.	

Moneth	Days	Hours	Com'se	Leagues	Elevation of the pole, Deg	Min	The wind	THE DISCOVERSE
May								
	9	12	N.W. by W.	12			S.S.W.	
	2		W. N.W.	2			N.N.E.	
	3		W. by N.	4			N.	
	30	24	W. n. to Northw.	27	55	30		The true course, &c.
June	1	12	W.	10			N.N.W.	
	9		N.W.	8			E.N.E.	
	2		N.W.	2			E.N.E.	
	1	24	W. n. to Westw.	17	55	45		The true course, &c.
	12		N.W.	16			E.S.E.	
	6		N.W.	7			S.	
	6		N.W.	8			S.S.W.	
Noone the	2	24	N.W. Northw.	22	56	55		The true course, &c.
Noone the	5	72	W. by S. Southw.	45	56	20		The true course, &c. drawn from diuers trauesies.
Noone the	6	24	S.W.	16			W. N.W.	
	7		S.W. by W.	6			W. by N.	
	5						Calme.	
	3		W. N.W.	1			S.	
Noone the	7	9	W. N.W.	12			S.	
	12		W. N.W.	20			S.	
	3		W. N.W.	4			S.	
Noone the	8	9	W. N.W.	7			S.	
	12		W. N.W.	5			S.	
Noone the	9	12	W. N.W.	13			S.E.	
Noone the	9	96	W. by N. Northw.	86	57	30		The true course, distance, & latitude for 96 houres.
	2		W. N.W.	4			S.E.	
	2		W. N.W.	2			S.E.	
	6		W. N.W.	1			Calme.	
Noone the	10	12	W. N.W.	16			E.	
	7		W. N.W.	12			E.	
	2		N.W.	2			E.	
Noone the	11	15	N.W.	18			E.N.E.	
	12		N.W.	12			E.N.E.	
	12		N.W.	13			E. by S.	
Noone the	12	72	N. to W. Northw.	78	59	50		The true course, &c. for 72 houres.
Noone the	13	24	N. n. to Westw.	26	60	58	E. by N.	
Noone the	14	24	N. N.W.	32	62	20	N.E.	
	9		W. N.W.	7			N.	
	2		N.W.	2			N.N.E.	
	2		N.W. by N.	2			N.E. by N.	
	15	9	N. N.W.	8			N.E.	
Noone the	15	24	N. N. Northw.	22	62	20		The true course, &c.
Noone the	16	24	N. N. E. Easterly	14	64			
	17							
	20							
* At midnight	21	8	W. N.W.	7			S.E.	
Noone the	22	4	N.W.	6			S.E.	
	13		N.W.	18			S.E.	
	11		N.	13			S.E.	
Noone the	23	36	N.W. by N.	42	65	40		The true course, &c.

This day in the morning at five of the clocke we discovered land being distant from vs at the nearest place sixteen leagues. This land in generall Northw. and to the Westwards, being very mountainous. The wind at this day variable, and the aire sometime foggie, and sometime cleere. The foresaid land bare from vs (so neere as we could iudge) North, Northw. and Southeast.

The true course, &c. This 16 of June at 5 of the clocke in the afternoon being in the latitude of 64 degrees, through Gods helpe we came to an an among many low islands which lay before the high land. This 17 of June set by our pinnelle. The 20 she was spoiled by the Sauesages. At midn. the 21 of June we departed from this coast, our two barks for their fish voyage, and my selfe in the pinnelle for the discovery. From midnight the we shaped our course as followeth.

At this time we saw great store of whales.

THE DISCOVRSE.

Moneth. ne.	Days.	Howes.	Cowse.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole. Deg Min.	The wind.	
Moone the 24	24	N. by E. Northw.	41	67	40	S. S. E.	The true course, &c. Here the weather was very hot. This 24 of June at 6 of the clocke at night we met two sauaiges at sea in their small canoes, unto whom we gave bracelets, and nailes, for skins & birds. At 9 of the clocke they departed from vs. The next day at 7 of the clocke in the morning, there came unto vs 30 sauaiges 20 leagues off the shore, intreating vs to goe to the shore. We had of them fish, birds, skinned, darts, and their coats from their backs, for bracelets, nailes, knives &c. They remained with vs foure houres, and departed.
Moone the 25	25					S.	
Moone the 26	26	N.				S. W.	
	27	N. N. E.	10			S.	
	28	N.	8			S. W.	
	29	N. N. W.	5			S. E.	
Moone the 27	27	N. W. Westerly.	52	70	4		The true course, &c. for 72 houres.
Moone the 28	28	N.	42	72	12		The true course, &c. Since the 21 of this moneth I haue continually coasted the shore of Gronland, hauing the sea all open towards the West, and the land on y ^e Starboard side East from me. For these last 4 dayes the weather hath bene extreame hot and very calme, the Sun being 5 degrees above the horizon at midnight. The compasse in this place varieth 28 degrees toward y ^e West.
Moone the 29	29	N. by S. Westerly	44	71	26	N. W. by N.	The true course, &c. This day at noone wee coasted a mighty banke of ice West from vs.
Moone the 30	30	S. E.	12	71	9		
Moone the 31	31	N. N. W.	11	71	40	N.	This day we fell againe with the ice, seeking to double it out by the North.
Moone the 1	1	S. S. E.	26	70		N.	The true course, &c.
Moone the 2	2	S. S. W.	22	69		Variable.	The true course, &c. This 6 of July we put our barke thorow the ice, seeing the sea free on the West side: and hauing sailed 5 leagues West, we fell with another mighty barre, which we could not passe: and therefore returning againe, we freed our selues the 8 of this moneth at midnight, and so recovered the sea through Gods fauour, by faire winds, the weather being very calme.
Moone the 3	3	E. S. E.	7	68	50	Calme.	The true course, &c.
Moone the 4	4	S. E. by S.	8	68	30	E. by N.	The true course, &c. This day we coasted the ice.
Moone the 5	5	E. N. E.	11	68	45	Variable.	The true course, &c.
Moone the 6	6	S. S. E.	16	68		N. N. W.	The true course, &c.
Moone the 7	7	E. by S.	20			S.	This day the people came to vs off the shore, and bartered with vs. Being within the isles, & not finding good anchorage, we bare off againe into the sea.
Moone the 8	8						
Moone the 9	9	N. by N.	11	67	50	S.	The true course, &c.
Moone the 10	10	N. S. W.	5	67	45	E.	The true course, &c. This day a great current set vs West 6 points from our course.
Moone the 11	11	S. by W. Westerly	22	67	10	S.	The true course, &c. This day we fell to a mighty banke of ice West of vs.
Moone the 12	12	S. by N.	20	65	22	N. fog.	The true course, &c. Collected by diuers experiments.
Moone the 13	13	N. Southerly.	12	65	20	S. fog.	The true course, &c. This 19 of July at one a clocke in the afternoon we had sight of the land of Mount Raleigh, and by 12. of the clocke at night wee were thwart the Streights, which (by Gods helpe) I discovered the first yere.
Moone the 14	14						The 20 day wee trauesled in the mouth of the sayd Streights with a contrary winde, being West, and faire weather.
Moone the 15	15						
Moone the 16	16						This 22 day at 2 of the clocke in the afternoon, hauing sailed 60 leagues Northw. we ankered among an huge number of isles lying in the bottome of the sayd supposed passage, at which place the water riseth 4 fadome high. Here as we rode at anker, a great tushale passed by vs, and swam West in among the isles. In this place a S. W. by N. moone maketh a full sea. Here the compasse varied 30 degrees.
Moone the 17	17						The 24 day at 5 of the clocke in the morning we set saile, departing from this place, and shaying our course S. E. to recouer the maine Ocean againe.
Moone the 18	18						This 25 we were becalmed almost in the bottome of the Streights, & had the weather maruellous extreame hot.
Moone the 19	19					S. E.	This day being in the Streights, we had a very quicke storme.
Moone the 20	20					S.	Being still in the Streight, we had this day faire weather.
Moone the 21	21						At this present we got cleere of the Streights, hauing coasted the South shore, the land trending from hence S. W. by S.
Moone the 22	22	S. S. W.	22	63			This day we coasted the shore, a banke of ice lying thereupon. Also this 30 of July in the afternoon we crossed ouer the entrance or mouth of a great in-let or passage, being 20 leagues broad, and situate betwene 62 & 63 degrees. In which place we had 8 or 9 great eales, currents or overfalls, lookt like crabs, like the rage of the waters under London bridge, and bending their course into the sayd gulfe.

Moneth	Dayes.	Hours.	Course.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole. Deg.	Min.	The wind.	THE DISCOVERSE
July.	31	24	S. by W.	27	62		N.W.	This 31 at noon, coming close by a foze land of great cape, we fell in mightie rate, where an island of ice was carried by the force of the current fast as our barke could sail with him wind, all sails heaving. This cape it was the most southerly limit of the gulfe which we passed over the 30 of this moneth, so was it the North promontory of first beginning of another very great inlet, whose South limit at this present wee saw not. Which is of gulfe this afternoon, and in the night, we passed over: where to our admiration we saw the sea falling down into the gulfe with a mightie onset and roaring, and with divers circular motions like whirle pooles, in such sort forcible streames passe thorow the arches of hindges.
August								
Noone the	1	24	S. E. by S.	16	61	10	W. S. W.	The true course, &c. This first of August we fell with the promontory the sayd gulfe of second passage, having coasted by divers courses for our regard, a great banke of the ice driven out of that gulfe.
Noone the	2	48	S. S. E.	16	60	26	Variable.	
Noone the	6	72	S. E. southerly.	22	59	35	Variable to calme.	The true course, &c.
	7	24	S. S. E.	22	58	40	W. S. W.	The true course, &c.
	8	24	S. E.	13	58	12	W. fog.	The true course, &c.
	9	24	S. by W.	13	57	30	Variable & calme.	The true course &c.
	10	24	S. S. E.	17	56	40	S. W. by W.	The true course, &c.
	11	24	S. E. easterly.	40	55	13	W. N. W.	The true course, &c.
	12	24	S. E. easterly.	20	54	22	W. S. W.	The true course &c.
	13	24	S. S. E.	4	54		N. W.	This day seeking for our ships that went to fish, we strooke on a rocke, between many les, and had a great leake.
Noone the	14	24	S. S. E.	28	52	40	N. W.	This day we stopped our leake in a shoale. The 15 of August at noon, being in the latitude of 52 degrees 12. min. and 16 leagues from the Hoze, we then our course for England, in Gods name, as followeth.
* Noone the	15				52	12	S. S. W.	The true latitude.
	16	20	E. S. E. halfe point E.	50	51		S. W.	The true course, &c.
	17	24	E. by S.	30	50	40	S.	The true course, &c. This day upon the Banke we met a Biscaine boat, which for the Grand bay of for the passage. He chased us.
	18	24	E. by N. northerly.	49	51	18	W.	The true course, &c.
	19	24	E. halfe point north.	51	51	35	Variable W. & S.	The true course, &c.
	20	24	E. S. E.	31	50	50	S. W.	The true course, &c.
Noone the	22	48	E. by N.	68	51	20	S. S. W.	The true course, &c.
	23	24	E. by N. northerly.	33	51	52	S.	The true course, &c.
	24	24	E. by N.	31	52	10	Variable.	The true course, &c. This 24 of August observing the variation, I found the compass to vary towards the East, from the true Meridian, one degree.
Noone the	27	72	E. northerly.	40	52	22	Variable & calme.	The true course, &c. for 72 houres.
Noone the	29	48	E. S. E.	47	51	28	Variable W. & N.	The true course, &c.
Noone the	31	48	S. E. by E. easterly.	14	51	0	Variable.	The true course, &c.
September	2	48	E. southerly.	65	51		N. W.	The true course, &c.
	3	24	E. by S. easterly.	24	50	50	W. N. W.	The true course, &c.
	4	24	S. E. by E.	20	50	21	N. N. E.	The true course, &c.
	5	24	S. E. by E.	18	49	48	N. N. E.	The true course, &c. Now we supposed our selves to be 55 leagues from Sill.
	6	24	E. by S.	15	49	40	N.	The true course, &c.
	7	24	E. S. E.	20	49	15	N. N. W.	The true course, &c.
	8	24	N. E.	18	49	40		
	9	24	W. S. W.	7	49	42		
	10	24	S. E. by E.	8	49	28	Variable.	
	11	24	N. E. by E.	10	49	45	Variable.	
	12	24	N. W. by W.	6	50		N. E.	
	13	24	E. by S. southerly.	15	40	47	N. E.	
	15							This 15 of September 1587 we arrived at Dartmouth.

Under the title of the *houres*, where any number exceedeth 24, it is the summe or casting vp of so many other dayes and parts of dayes going next before, as containe the foresayd summe.

A report of Master John Davis of his three Voyages made for the
discoverie of the Northwest passage, taken out of a Treatise of his, Intituled
The worlds Hydrographicall description.



Now there onely resteth the North parts of America, upon which coast my selfe haue had most experience of any in our age: for thise I was that waye imployed for the discoverie of this notable passage, by the honourable care and some charge of Syr Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretary to her Maiestie, with whom diuers noble men and worshipfull marchants of London ioynded in purse and willingness for the furtherance of that attempt, but when his honour dyed the voyage was friendlesse, and mens mindes alienated from aduenturing therein.

In my first voyage not experienced of the nature of those climates, and hauing no direction either by Chace, Globe, or other certaine relation in what altitude that passage was to be searched, I shaped a Northerly course and so sought the same toward the South, and in that my Northerly course I fell upon the shore which in ancient time was called Groenland, five hundred leagues distant from the Durleys Westnorthwest Northerly, the land being very high and full of mightie mountaines all couered with snow, no viewe of wood, grasse or earth to be seene, and the shore two leagues off into the sea so full of yce as that no shipping could by any meanes come neere the same. The lothsome view of the shore, and irksome noyse of the yce was such, as that it bred strange conceites among vs, so that we supposed the place to be wast and voyd of any sensible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the same Desolation: so coasting this shore towards the South in the latitude of sixtie degrees, I found it to trend towards the West, I still followed the leading ther of in the same height, and after fifty or sixtie leagues it fayled and lay directly North, which I still followed, and in thirtie leagues sayling upon the West side of this coast by me named Desolation, we were past al the yce and found many greene & pleasant Isles bordering upon the shore, but the hills of the maine were still couered with great quantities of snow, I brought my ship among those Isles and there moored to refresh our selues in our weary trauell, in the latitude of sixtie foure degrees or there about. The people of the countrey hauing espyed our shippes came downe vnto vs in their Canoas, & holding by their right hand to the Sunne and crying Yliaout, would strike their breasts: we doing the like the people came aboard our shippes, men of good stature, unbear- ded, small eyed and of tractable conditions, by whome as signes would permit, we understood that towards the North and West there was a great sea, and vsing the people with kindenes in gi- uing them nayles and knives which of all things they most desired, we departed, and finding the sea free from yce supposing our selues to be past al daunger we shaped our course Westnorthwest thinking thereby to passe for China, but in the latitude of sixtie five degrees we fell with another shore, and there found another passage of twenty leagues broad directly West into the same, which we supposed to be our hoped straight, we entered into the same thirty or forty leagues, finding it neither to wyden nor streighten, then considering that the peere was spent (for this was the fine of August) not knowing the length of the straight and dangers thereof, we tooke it our best course to returne with notice of our good successe for this small time of search. And so returning in a sharpe fret of Westely windes the 29. of September we ariued at Dartmouth. And acquainting ma- ster Secretary Walsingham with the rest of the honourable and worshipfull aduenturers of all our proceedings, I was appointed againe the second yere to search the bottome of this straight, be- cause by all likelihood it was the place and passage by vs laboured for. In this second attempt the marchants of Exeter, and other places of the West became aduenturers in the action, so that being sufficiently furnished for sixe moneths, and hauing direction to search these straights, untill we found the same to fall into another sea upon the West side of this part of America, we should a- gaine returne: for then it was not to be doubted, but shipping with trade might safely be conueied to China and the parts of Asia. We departed from Dartmouth, and arriuing upon the South part of the coast of Desolation coasted the same upon his West shore to the latitude of sixtie five degrees, and there ancozed among the Isles bordering upon the same, where we refreshed our selues, the people of this place came likewise vnto vs, by whom I understood through their signes that towards the North the sea was large. At this place the chiefe ship whereupon I trusted, cal- led the Mermayd of Dartmouth, found many occasions of discontentment, and being unwilling to proceed, shee there forsook me. Then considering how I had given my faith and most constant promise to my worshipfull good friend master William Sanderfon, who of all men was the great- est aduenturer in that action, and tooke such care for the performance thereof, that he hath to my knowledge

The 1. voyage.

The 2. voyage.

The North
parts of Ame-
rica, all
Islands.

The 3. voyage.

knowledge at one time disbursed as much money as any five others whatsoeuer out of his owne purse, when some of the companie haue bene slacke in giuing in their aduenture: And also knowing that I should loose the fauor of *H. Secretary Wallingham*, if I should shrink from his direction; in one small barke of 30 Tunnes, whereof *H. Sanderson* was owner, alone without farther company I proceeded on my voyage, and arriuing at these straights followed the same 80 leagues, vntill I came among many Islands, where the water did ebbe and flow like sadome upright, and where there had bene great trade of people to make traine. But by such things as there we found, wee knew that they were not Christians of Europe that had vled that trade: in fine by searching with our boat, we found small hope to passe any farther that way, and therefore recovered the sea and coasted the shore towards the South, and in so doing (for it was too late to search towards the North) we found another great inlet neere 40 leagues broad, where the water entred in with violent swift-nesse, this we also thought might be a passage: for no doubt the North partes of America are all Islands by ought that I could perceiue therein: but because I was alone in a small barke of thirtie tunnes, and the yeere spent, I entred not into the same, for it was now the seventh of September, but coasting the shore towards the South wee saw an incredible number of birds: hauing diuers fishermen aboard our barke they all concluded that there was a great skull of fish, we being improuided of fishing furniture with a long spike nayle made a hooke, and fastened the same to one of our sounding lines, before the bait was changed we tooke more then fortie great Codds, the fish swimming so abundantly thicke about our barke as is incredible to bee reported, of which with a small portion of salt that we had, we preserved some thirtie couple, or thereabouts, and so returned for England. And hauing reported to *H. Secretarie Wallingham* the whole successe of this attempt, he commanded me to present vnto the most honourable Lord high Treasurour of England, some part of that fish: which when his Lordship saw, & heard at large the relation of this second attempt, I receiued fauourable countenance from his honour, aduising me to prosecute the action, of which his Lordship conceiued a very good opinion. The next yeere, although diuers of the aduenturers fell from the Action, as all the Westerne marchants, and most of those in London: yet some of the aduenturers both honorable & worshipfull continued their willing fauor and charge, so that by this meanes the next yeere two shippes were appointed for the fishing and one pinnesse for the discouerie.

Departing from Dartmouth, through Gods mercifull fauour, I arriued at the place of fishing, and there according to my direction I left the two shippes to follow that busines, taking their faithfull promise not to depart vntill my returne vnto them, which should be in the fine of August, and so in the barke I proceeded for the discouerie: but after my departure, in sixteene dayes the two shippes had finished their voyage, and so presently departed for England, without regard of their promise: my selfe not distrusting any such hard measure proceeded for the discouerie, and followed my course in the free and open sea betweene North and North-west to the latitude of 67 degrees, and there I might see America West from me, and Gronland, which I called Desolation, East: then when I saw the land of both sides I began to distrust it would prooue but a gulfe: notwithstanding desires to know the full certainty I proceeded, and in 68 degrees the passage enlarged, so that I could not see the Westerne shore: thus I continued to the latitude of 73 degrees, in a great sea, free from yce, coasting the Westerne shore of Desolation: the people came continually rowing out vnto me in their Canoas, twenty, forty, and one hundred at a time, and would giue me fishes dyed, Salmon, Salmon peale, Cod, Caplin, Lumpe, Stone-basse and such like, besides diuers kinds of birds, as Partridge, Felant, Gulls, Sea birds and other kindes of flesh: I still laboured by signes to know from them what they knew of any sea toward the North, they still made signes of a great sea as we vnderstood them, the I departed from that coast, thinking to discouer the North partes of America: & after I had sailed towards the West 40 leagues, I fel vpon a great banke of yce: the winde being North and blew much, I was constrained to coast the same toward the South, not seeing any shore West from me, neither was there any yce towards the North, but a great sea, free, large very salt and blew, & of an vnsearchable depth: So coasting towards the South I came to the place where I left the shippes to fish, but found them not. Then being forsaken & left in this distresse referring my selfe to the mercifull prouidence of God, I shaped my course for England, & vnhoped for of any, God alone releeuing me, I arriued at Dartmouth. By this last discouery it seemed most manifest that the passage was free & without impediment toward the North: but by reason of the Spanisch fleet & vnfortunate time of *H. Secretaries* death, the voyage was omitted & neuer sithens attempted. The cause why I vse this particuliar relation of all my proceedings for this discouery, is to stay this objection, why hath not Davis discouered this passage being thise that wayes imploied? How far I proceeded & in what forme this discouery lieth, doth appeare vpon the Globe which *H. Sanderson* to his very great charge hath published, for the which he deserueth great fauor & commendations.

The

The discouerie of the Isles of *Frisland, Iseland, Engroneland, Estotiland, Drogeo and Icaria*: made by two brethren, namely *M. Nicholas Zeno*, and *M. Antonio* his brother: Gathered out of their letters by *M. Francisco Marcolino*.

In the yere of our Lord 1200 there was in the Citie of Venice a famous Gentleman, named *Pesser Marino Zeno*, who for his great vertue and singular wisdom, was called and elected gouernour in certaine commonwealths of Italy: in the administration whereof he bore himselfe so discretly, that he was beloued of all men, and his name greatly reuerenced of those that neuer knew or saw his person. And amongst sundry his worthy workes, this is recorded of him, that he pacified certaine grievous ciuile dissentions that arose among the citizens of Verona: whereas otherwise, if by his graue aduise and great diligence they had not bene preuented, the matter was likely to breake out into hot broyles of warre. He was the first Podesta, or Ruler, that the Common wealth of Venice appointed in Constantinople in the yere 1205 when our state had rule thereof with the French Barons. This Gentleman had a sonne named *Pesser Pietro*, who was the father of the Duke *Rinieri*, which Duke dying without issue, made his heire *P. Andrea*, the sonne of *P. Marco* his brother. This *P. Andrea* was Captaine Generall and Procurator, a man of great reputation for many rare partes, that were in in him. He had a sonne *P. Rinieri*, a worthy Senatour and prudent Counsellour: of whom descended *P. Pietro* Captaine Generall of the league of the Christians against the Turkes, who was called *Dragon*, for that in his shield, in stead of a Manfrone which was his armes at the first, he bare a Dragon. He was father to *P. Carlo II* grande the famous Procurator and Captaine generall against the Genowayes in those cruell warres, when almost all the cheiffe Princes of Europe did oppugne and seeke to ouerthrow our Empire and libertie, wherein by his great valiancie and prowesse, as *Furius Camillus* deliuered Rome, so he deliuered his countrey from the present perill it was in, being ready to become a pray and spoile vnto the enemy: wherefore he was afterwarde surnamed the *Lyon*, and for an eternall remembrance of his fortitude and valiant exploits he gaue the *Lyon* in his armes. *P. Carlo* had two brethren, *P. Nicolo*, the knight and *P. Antonio*, the father of *P. Dragon*, of whom issued *P. Caterino*, the father *P. Pietro da i Crocicchieri*. This *P. Pietro* had sonnes *P. Caterino*, that died the last yere, being brother vnto *P. Francisco*, *P. Carlo*, *P. Battista*, and *P. Vincenzo*: Which *P. Caterino* was father to *P. Nicolo*, that is yet liuing.

Now *P. Nicolo*, the knight, being a man of great courage, after this aforesaid Genouan warre of *Chioggia* that troubled so our predecessours, entred into a great desire and fanisie to see the fashions of the worlde and to trauell and acquaint himselfe with the maners of sundry nations and learne their languages, whereby afterwards vpon occasions he might be the better able to doe seruice to his countrey, and purchase to himselfe credite and honour. Wherefore he caused a ship to be made, and hauing furnished her at his proper charges (as he was very wealthy) he departed out of our seas and passing the straites of *Gibraltar*, he sailed for certaine dayes vpon the Ocean, keeping his course still to the Northwards, with intent to see *England* and *Flanders*. Where being assailed in those Seas by a terrible tempest, he was so tossed for the space of many dayes with the sea and winde, that he knew not where he was, till at length he discouered land, and not being able any longer to susteine the violence of the tempest the ship was cast away vpon the Isle of *Frisland*. The men were saued, and most part of the goods that were in the ship. And this was in the yere 1380. The inhabitants of the Island came running in great multitudes with weapons to set vpon *P. Nicolo* and his men, who being sore weather-beaten and ouer-laboured at sea, and not knowing in what part of the worlde they were, were not able to make any resistance at all, much lesse to defend themselves couragiously, as it behooued them in such a dangerous case. And they should haue bene doubtlesse very discourteously intreated and cruelly handled, if by good hap there had not bene hard by the place a prince with armed people. Who vnderstanding that there was euen at that present a great ship cast away vpon the Island, came running at the noyle and outcries that they made against our poore Mariners, and dying away the inhabitants, spake in Latine and asked them what they were and from whence they came, and perceiuing that they came from Italy and that they were men of the said Countrey, he was surprised with maruelous great ioy. Wherefore promising them all, that they should receiue no discourtesie, and that they were come into a place where they should be well used and very welcome, he tooke them into his protection vpon his faith. This was a great Lord, and possessed certaine Islands called *Porland*, lying on the South side of *Frisland*, being the richest and most populous of all those parts, his name was *Zichmni*: and beside the said little Islands, he was Duke of *Sorani*, lying ouer against *Scotland*.

The ship of *P. N. Zeno* cast away vpon *Frisland* in Aug 1380.

A foraine prince hapning to be in *Frisland* with armed men, when *P. Zeno* suffered shipwacke there came vnto him and spake Latine.

Zichmni prince of *Porland* or Duke of *Zorani*.

Frisland the
king of Nor-
wayes.

Of these North parts I thought good to draw the copie of a Sea carde, which amongst other antiquities I haue in my house, which although it be rotten through many yeeres, yet it falleth out indifferent well: and to those that are delighted in these things, it may serue for some light to the vnderstanding of that, which without it cannot so easily be conceiued. Zichinni being Lord of those Sygnoies (as is said) was a very warlike and valiant man and aboue all things famous in Sea causes. And hauing the yere before giuen the ouerthrow to the king of Norway, who was Lord of the Island, being desirous to winne fame by feates of armes, hee was come on land with his men to giue the attempt for the winning of Frisland, which is an Island much bigger then Ireland. Wherefore seeing that M. Nicolo was a man of iudgement & discretion, and very expert both in sea matters and martiall affaires, hee gaue him commission to goe aboard his Navy with all his men, charging the captaine to honour him and in all things to vie his counsaile.

This Navy of Zichinni was of thirteene vessels, whereof two onely were rowed with oares, the rest small barkes and one ship, with the which they sayled to the Westwards and with little paines wonne Ledouo and Ilose and diuers other small Islands: and turning into a bay called Sudero, in the haue of the towne named Sanestol, they tooke certaine small barks laden with fish. And here they found Zichinni, who came by land with his armie conquering all the countrey as he went: they stayed here but a while, and led on their course to the Westwards till they came to the other Cape of the gulf or bay, then turning againe, they found certaine Islandes and broken lands which they reduced al vnto the Signorie & possession of Zichinni. These seas, for as much as they sailed, were in manner nothing but sholes & rocks, in so much that if M. Nicolo and the Venetian mariners had not bene their Pilots, the whole fleet in iudgement of all that were in it, had bene cast away, so small was the skill of Zichinnis men, in respect of ours, who had bene trained vp in the arte and practise of Nauigation all the dayes of their life. Now the fleet hauing done such things as are declared, the Captaine, by the counsaile of M. Nicolo, determined to goe a land, at a towne called Bondendon, to vnderstand what successe Zichinni had in his warres: where they heard to their great content, that he had fought a great battell and put to flight the armie of his enemy: by reason of which victorie, they sent Embassadors from all parts of the Island to yeeld the countrey vp into his handes, taking downe their ensignes in euery towne and castle: they thought good to stay in that place for his comming, it being reported for certaine that hee would be there very shortly. At his comming there was great congratulation and many signes of gladnesse shewed, as well for the victorie by land, as for that by sea: for the which the Venetians were honoured and extolled of all men, in such sort that there was no talke but of them, and of the great valour of M. Nicolo. Wherefore the prince, who was a great fauourer of valiant men and especially of those that could behaue themselves well at sea, caused M. Nicolo to be brought before him, and after hauing commended him with many honourable speeches, and praysed his great industrie and dexteritie of wit, by the which two things he acknowledged himselfe to haue receiued an inestimable benefite, as the sauing of his fleet and the winning of many places without any great trouble, he made him knight, and rewarded his men with many rich & bountifull gifts. Then departing from thence they went in triumphing maner toward Frisland, the chiefe cite of that Island, situate on the Southeast side of the Isle, within a gulf, as there are many in that Island. In this gulf or bay there is such great abundance of fish taken, that many ships are laden therewith to serue Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmarke, and by this trade they gather great wealth.

And thus much is taken out of a letter, that M. Nicolo sent to M. Antonio his brother, requesting that he would seeke some meanes to come to him. Wherefore he who had as great desire to trauaile as his brother, bought a ship, and directed his course that way: & after he had sailed a great while and escaped many dangers, he arrived at length in safetie with M. Nicolo, who receiued him very ioyfully, for that he was his brother not onely in flesh and blood, but also in valour and good qualities. M. Antonio remained in Frisland and dwelt there for the space of 14 yeres, 4 yeres with M. Nicolo, and 10 yeres alone. Where they came in such grace and fauour with the Prince, that he made M. Nicolo Captaine of his Navy, and with great preparation of warre they were sent forth for the enterprise of Eskland, which lyeth vpon the coast betwene Frisland and Norway, where they did many dammages: but hearing that the king of Norway was coming towardes them with a great fleet, they departed with such a terrible flaw of winde, that they were driuen vpon certaine sholes: were a great part of their ships were cast away, the rest were saued vpon Grisland, a great Island but dishabited. The king of Norway his fleet being taken with the same storme, did vterly perish in those seas: Whereof Zichinni hauing notice, by a ship of his enemies that was cast by chance vpon Grisland, hauing repayred his fleet, and perceiuing himselfe rather neere vnto the Islands, determined to set vpon Island, which together with the rest, was subiect

N. Zeno, made
knight by
Zichinni.
Ships laden
with fish at
Frisland, for
Flanders, Britain,
England, Scot-
land, Norway
and Denmarke.
But not to be
proued that e-
uer any came
thence.
A letter sent
by M. N. Zeno,
from Frisland
to his brother
M. Antonio in
Venice.
The end of the
first letter.

to the king of Norway: but he found the countrey so well fortified and defended, that his fleete being so small, and very ill appointed both of weapons and men, he was glad to retire. And so he left that enterpryse without performing any thing at all: and in the same chanel he assaulted the other Isles called Islande, which are seven, Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Dambere, and Bres: and hauing spoyled them all, hee built a fort in Bres, where he left M. Nicolo, with certaine small barkes and men and munition. And now thinking he had done wel for this voyage, with those few ships which were left he returned safe into Frisland, M. Nicolo remaining now in Bres, determined in the spring to go forth and discouer land: wherefore arming out three small barkes in the moneth of July, he sayled to the Northwards, and arrived in Engroneland. Where he found a Monasterie of Fryers, of the order of the Predicators, and a Church dedicated to Saint Thomas, hard by a hill that casteth forth fire, like Vesuuus and Etna.

Engroneland,
Breaching
Fryers of
Saint Thomas,

There is a fountaine of hot burning water with the which they heate the Church of the Monasterie and the Fryers chambers, it commeth also into the kitchen so boyling hot, that they vse no other fire to dresse their meate: and putting their breade into brasle pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot ouen. They haue also smal gardens couered ouer in the winter time, which being watered with this water, are defended from the force of the snow and colde, which in those partes being situate farre vnder the pole, is very extreme, and by this meanes they produce flowers and fruites and herbes of sundry sorts, euen as in other temperate countries in their seasons, in such sort that the rude and sauage people of those partes seeing these supernaturall effects, doe take those Fryers for Gods, and bring them many presents, as chickens, flesh, and diuers other things, and haue them all in great reuerence as Lords. When the frost and snowe is great, they heate their houses in maner before said, and wil by letting in the water or opening the windowes, at an instant temper the heate and cold at their pleasure. In the buildings of the Monasterie they vse no other matter but that which is ministred vnto them by the fire: for they take the burning stones that are cast out as it were sparkles or cinders at the ficrie mouth of the hill, and when they are most enflamed, cast water vpon them, whereby they are dissolued and become excellent white lime and so tough that being contriued in building it lasteth for euer. And the very sparkles after the fire is out of them doe serue in stead of stones to make walles and vaultes: for being once colde they wil neuer dissolue or breake, except they be cut with some iron toole, and the vaultes that are made of them are so light that they need no sustentacle or prop to holde them vp, and they will endure continually very faire and whole. By reason of these great commodities, the Fryers haue made there so many buildings and walles that it is a wonder to see. The couerts or roofes of their houses for the most part are made in maner following: first they rayse vp the wall vp to his full height, then they make it enclining or bowing in by litle and litle in fourme of a vault. But they are not greatly troubled with raine in those partes, because the climate (as I haue said) is extreme colde: for the first snow being fallen, it thaweth no more for the space of nine moneths, for so long dureth their winter. They feede of the flesh of wilde foule and of fish: for whereas the warme water falleth into the sea, there is a large and wide hauen, which by reason of the heate of the water, doeth neuer freeze all the winter, by meanes whereof there is such concourse and flocks of sea foule and such abundance of fish, that they take thereof infinite multitudes, whereby they maintaine a great number of people round about, which they kepe in continuall worke, both in building and taking of fowles and fish, and in a thousand other necessarie affaires and busines about the Monasterie.

Winter of 9
moneths.

Their houses are built about the hill on euery side, in forme round, and 25 foote broad, and in mounting vpwards they goe narrower and narrower, leauing at the top a litle hole, whereat the aire commeth in to giue light to the house, and the floze of the house is so hot, that being within they feele no cold at all. Whither in the Summer time come many barkes from the Islands their about, and from the cape about Norway, and from Trondon, and bring to the Fryers al maner of things that may be desired, taking in change thereof fish, which they dry in the sunne or in the cold, & skins of diuers kindes of beasts. For the which they haue wood to burne and timber very artificially carued, and cozne, and cloth to make them apparell. For in change of the two aforesaid commodities all the nations bordering round about them couet to trafficke with them, and so they without any trauell or expences haue that which they desire. To this Monasterie resort Fryers of Norway, of Sueria and of other countreys, but the most part are of Islande. There are continually in that part many barks, which are kept in there by reason of the sea being frozen, waiting for the spring of the yere to dissolue the yce. The fishers boates are made like vnto a weauers shuttle: taking the skins of fishes, they fashion them with the bones of the same fishes, and sowing them together in many doubles they make them so sure and substantiall, that it is miraculous to see, howe in tempests they will shut themselves close within and let the sea and winde earp them they care not whether,

Trade in sum-
mer time from
Trondon to S.
Thomas Fryers
in Groneland.
Resort of Fry-
ers from Nor-
way and Sueden,
to the Mona-
sterie in En-
groneland,
called S. Tho.

M. Froisher
thought these
kinde of boats
from these
parts into
England.

ther without any feare either of breaking or drowning. And if they chance to be driven vpon any rocks, they remaine sound without the least bruse in the world: & they haue as it were a sleeue in the bottome, which is tyed fast in the middle, and when there cometh any water into the boat, they put it into the one halfe of the sleeue, then fastening the ende thereof with two pieces of wood and loosing the band beneath, they conuey the water forth of the boat: and this they doe as often as they haue occasion, without any perill or impediment at all.

Moreouer, the water of the Monastery, being of sulphurous or hyminstomie nature, is conueyed into the lodgings of the principall Fryers by certaine vesselles of brasse, tinn, or stone, so hot that it heateth the place as it were a stoue, not carying with it any stinke or other noysome smell.

Besides this they haue another conueyance to bring hot water with a wall vnder the ground, to the end it should not freeze, vnto the middle of the court, where it falleth into a great vessel of brasse that standeth in the middle of a boyling fountaine, and this is to heat their water to drinke & to water their gardens, & thus they haue from the hill the greatest commodities that may be wished: and so these Fryers employ al their trauaile and studie for the most part in trimming their gardens and in making faire and beautifull buildings, but especially handsome and commodious: neyther are they destitute of ingenious and painefull artificers for the purpose, for they giue very large payment, and to them that bring them fruits and seedes they are very bountifull, and giue they care not what. So that there is great resort of workemen and masters in diuers faculties, by reason of the good gaires and large allowance that is there.

In the Monastery of Saint Thomas most of them spake the Latine tongue. The end of the 2. letter.

The most of them speake the Latine tongue, and specially the superiours and principals of the Monastery. And this is as much as is knowen of Engloneland, which is all by the relation of M. Nicolo, who maketh also particular description of a riuer that he discovered, as is to be scene in the carde that I drew. And in the end M. Nicolo, not being vled & acquainted with these cruell coldes, fel sicke, and a litle while after returned into Frisland, where he dyed. He left behind him in Venice, two sonnes, M. Giouanni and M. Toma, who had two sonnes, M. Nicolo the father of the famous Cardinal Zeno, and M. Pietro of whom descended the other Zenos, that are liuing at this day.

N. Zeno dyed in Frisland.

Now M. Nicolo being dead, M. Antonio succeeded him both in his goods, and in his dignities and honour: and albeit he attempted diuers wayes, and made great supplication, he could neuer obtaine licence to returne into his countrey. For Zichmni, being a man of great courage and valour, had determined to make himself Lord of the sea. Wherefore vsing alwayes the counsaile and seruice of M. Antonio, he determined to send him with certaine barks to the Westwards, for that towards those parts, some of his fishermen had discouered certaine Islands very rich and populous: which discouery M. Antonio, in a letter to his brother M. Carlo, recounteth from point to point in this maner, sauing that we haue changed some old words, leauing the matter entire as it was.

The discouery of Estotiland Westward. Sixe fishermen taken.

Sixe and twentie yeeres agoe there departed foure fisher boats, the which, a mightie tempest arising, were tossed for the space of many dayes very desperately vpon the Sea, when at length, the tempest ceasing, and the wether waxing faire, they discovered an Island called Estotiland, lying to the Westwards about 1000 Miles from Frisland, vpon the which one of the boats was cast away, and sixe men that were in it were taken of the inhabitants and brought into a faire and populous citie, where the king of the place sent for many interpreters, but there was none could be found that vnderstood the language of the fishermen, except one that spake Latine, who was also cast by chance vpon the same Island, who in the behalfe of the king asked them what countrey men they were: and so vnderstanding their case, rehearsed it vnto the king, who willed that they should tary in the countrey: wherefore they obeying his commandement, for that they could not otherwise doe, dwelt sixe yeeres in the Island, & learned the language, and one of them was in diuers partes of the Island, and reporteth that it is a very rich countrey, abounding with all the commodities of the world, and that it is litle lesse then Island, but farre more fruitfull, hauing in the middle thereof a very high mountain, from the which there spring foure riuers that passe through the whole countrey.

Fishermen of Frisland speake Latine.

Sixe were sixe yeeres in Estotiland. One of the fishermen of Frisland, reporteth of Estotiland, that it is a very rich, abounding with all the commodities of the world. Abundance of golde. Trade from Estotiland, to Engloneland: Skins, brimstone, and pitch: golde, corne, and beere, of ale. Many cities and castles.

The inhabitants are very wittie people, and haue all artes and faculties, as we haue: and it is credible that in time past they haue had trafficke with our men, for he saith, that he saw Latin bookes in the kings Librarie, which they at this present do not vnderstand: they haue a peculiar language, and letters or characters to themselves. They haue mines of all maner of mettals, but especial they abound with gold. They haue their trade in Engloneland, from whence they bring furs, brimstone & pitch: and he saith, that to the Southwards, there is a great populous countrey very rich of gold. They sow corne, and make beere and ale, which is a kinde of drinke that North people do vse as we do wine. They haue mighty great woods, they make their buildings with wals, & there are many cities and castles. They build small barks and haue sayling, but they haue not the load stone, nor know not the vse of the compasse. Wherefore these fishers were had in great estimation, inso-

much

much that the king sent them with twelue barks to the Southwards to a countrey which they call Drogio: but in their voyage they had such contrary weather, that they thought to haue perished in the sea: but escaping that cruell death, they fell into another more cruell: for they were taken in the countrey and the most part of them eaten by the Sauage people, which fed vpon mans flesh, as the sweetest meat in their iudgements that is.

But that fisher with his fellowes shewing them the manner of taking fish with nets, saued their liues: and would goe euery day a fishing to the sea and in fresh riuers, and take great abundance of fish and giue it to the chiefe men of the countrey, whereby he gate himselfe so great fauour, that he was very well beloued and honoured of euery one.

The fame of this man being spread abroad in the countrey, there was a Lord there by, that was very desirous to haue him with him, and to see how he vsed his miraculous arte of catching fish, in so much that he made warre with the other Lord with whom he was before, and in the end preuailling, for that he was more mightie and a better warriour, the fisherman was sent vnto him with the rest of his company. And for the space of thirteene yeres that he dwelt in those parts, he saith, that he was sent in this order to more then 25 Lords, for they had continuall war amongst themselves, this Lord with that Lord, and he with another, onely to haue him to dwell with them: so that wandering by and downe the countrey without any certaine abode in one place, he knew almost all those parts. He saith, that it is a very great countrey & as it were a new world: the people are very rude and voide of all goodnesse, they goe all naked so that they are miserably vexed with colde, neither haue they the wit to couer their bodies with beasts skins which they take in hunting, they haue no kinde of mettall, they liue by hunting, they cary certaine lances of wood made sharpe at the point, they haue bowes, & strings wherof are made of beasts skins: they are very fierce people, they make cruell warres one with another, and eate one another, they haue gouernours & certaine lawes very diuers among themselves. But the farther to the Southwestwards, the more ciuillie there is, the ayre being somewhat temperate, so that there they haue cities and temples to idols, wherein they sacrifice men and afterwards eate them, they haue there some knowledge and vse of gold and silver.

Now this fisherman hauing dwelt so many yeres in those countreys purposed, if it were possible, to returne home into his countrey, but his companions despairing euer to see it againe, let him goe in Gods name, and they kept themselves where they were. Wherefore he bidding them farewell, fled through the woods towards Drogio, and was very well receiued of the Lord that dwelt next to that place, who knew him and was a great enemy of the other Lord: and so running from one Lord to another, being those by whom he had passed before, after long time & many trauels he came at length to Drogio, where he dwelt three yeres. When as by good fortune he heard by the inhabitants, that there were certaine boates arriued vpon the coast; wherefore entring into good hope to accomplish his intent, he went to the sea side, and asking them of what countrey they were, they answered of Estoriland, whereto he was exceeding glad, and requested that they would take him in to them, which they did very willingly, and for that he had the language of the countrey, and there was none that could speake it, they vsed him for their interpreter.

And afterward he frequented that trade with them in such sort, that he became very rich, and so furnishing out a barke of his owne, he returned into Frislande, where he made reporte vnto this Lord of that wealthy countrey.

And he is thoroughly credited because of the mariners, who approue many strange things, that he reporteth to be true. Wherefore this Lord is resolu'd to send me forth with a fleet towards those parts, and there are so many that desire to go in the voyage, for the noueltie and strangenesse of the thing, that I thinke we shall be very strongly appointed, without any publike expence at all. And this is the tenor of the letter before mentioned, which I haue here set downe to giue intelligence of another voyage that D. Antonio made, being set out with many barkes, and men, notwithstanding he was not captaine, as he had thought at the first he should: for Zichmni went in his owne person: and concerning that matter I haue a letter in forme following.

One great preparation for the voyage of Estoriland was begun in an vnlucky houre: for three dayes before our departure the fisherman died that should haue bene our guide: notwithstanding this Lord would not giue ouer the enterprize, but instead of the fisherman tooke certaine mariners that returned out of the Island with him: and so making our nauigation to the Westwards, we discovered certaine Islands subiect to Frisland, and hauing passed certaine shelles we stayed at Ledouo for the space of 7 dayes to refresh our selues, and to furnish the fleet with necessarie provision. Departing from thence we arriued the first of Iuly at the Isle of Ilose: and for that the wind made for vs, we stayed not there, but passed forth, and being vpon the maine sea, there arose immediately a cruel tempest, wherewith for eight dayes space we were miserably vexed, not knowing where we

A countrey called Drogio.

The 6 fishermen of Frisland onely saued, by shewing the manner to take fish.

The chiefe of the 6 fishers, specified before and his companions.

In the space of 13 yeres he serued 25 lords of Drogio.

He returned from Estoriland to Frisland, Zichmni minded to send D. Antonio Zeno, with a fleet towards those parts of Estoriland.

The 4 letter. The fisherman dyed that should haue bene interpreter. Certaine mariners taken in his neede, which came with him from Estoriland, Isle Ilose.

Zichmni his
discouerie of
the Island
Icaria.

An Island man
in Icaria.

The kings of
of Icaria called
Icari after the
name of the
first king of
that place,
who as they
report, was
sonne to Deda-
lus king of
Scots.
Icarian Sea.

The people
of Icaria best
rouns of the
Italian
tongue.
Ten men of
ten sundry
nations.

Infinite mul-
titudes of ar-
med men in
Icaria.

Zichmni depar-
ted from Icaria
Westwards.

100 men sent
to discerie the
countrey.

were & a great part of the barks were cast away, afterward the weather waxing faire, we gathered by the broken peices of the barks that were lost, and sayling with a prosperous winde we discouered land at West. Wherefore keeping our course directly vpon it, we arrived in a good and safe harborough, where we saw an infinit companie of people ready in armes, come running very furiously to the water side, as it were for defence of the Island. Wherefore Zichmni causing his men to make signes of peace vnto them, they sent 10 men vnto vs that could speake ten languages, but we could vnderstand none of them, except one that was of Island. He being brought before our prince and asked, what was the name of the Island, and what people inhabited it, & who gouerned it, answered, that the Island was called Icaria, and that all the kings that reigned there, were called Icari, after the name of the first king of that place, which as they say was the sonne of Dedalus king of Scotland, who conquered that Island, left his sonne there for king, and left them those lawes that they retaine to this present, and after this, he desiring to sayle further, in a great tempest that arose, was drowned, wherefore for a memoriall of his death, they call those seas yet, the Icarian Sea, and the kings of the Island Icari, and for that they were contented with that state, which God had giuen them, neither would they alter one iote of their lawes and customes, they would not receiue any stranger: wherefore they requested our prince, that hee would not seeke to violate their lawes, which they had receiued from that king of worthy memory and obserued very duly to that present: which if he did attempt, it would rebound to his manifest destruction, they being all resolutely bent rather to leaue their life, then to loose in any respect the vse of their lawes. Notwithstanding, that we should not thinke they did altogether refuse conuersation and traffick with other men, they tolde vs for conclusion that they would willingly receiue one of our men, & preferre him to be one of the chiefe amongst them, onely to learne my language the Italian tongue, and to be informed of our manners and customes, as they had already receiued those other ten of ten sundry nations, that came into their Island. To these things our prince answered nothing at all, but causing his men to seke some good harborough, he made signes as though he would depart, and sayling round about the Island, he espied at length a harborough on the East side of the Island, where hee put in with all his Fleet: the mariners went on land to take in wood and water, which they did with as great speede as they could, doubting least they should be assaulted by the inhabitants, as it fell out in deed, for those that dwelt therabouts, making signes vnto the other with fire and smoke, put themselves presently in armes and the other comming to them, they came all running downe to the sea side vpon our men, with bowes and arrowes, and other weapons, so that many were slaine and diuers sore wounded. And we made signes of peace vnto them, but it was to no purpose, for their rage increased more and more, as though they had fought for land and liuing. Wherefore we were forced to depart, and to sayle along in a great circuite about the Islande, being alwayes accompanied vpon the hill tops & the sea coasts with an infinite number of armed men: and so doubling the Cape of the Island towards the North, we found many great holdes, amongst the which for the space of ten dayes we were in continuall danger of loosing our whole fleet, but that it pleased God all that while to send vs faire weather. Wherefore proceeding on till we came to the East cape, we saw the inhabitants still on the hill tops and by the sea coast keepe with vs, and in making great outcries and shooting at vs a farre off, they vttered their old spitefull affection towards vs. Wherefore wee determined to stay in some safe harborough, and see if wee might speake once againe with the Islander, but our determination was frustrate: for the people more like vnto beasts then men stood continually in armes with intent to beat vs back, if we should come on land. Wherefore Zichmni seeing he could not preuaile, and thinking if he should haue perseuered and followed obstinately his purpose, their victuals would haue failed them, he departed with a fayre wind and sailed fixe dayes to the Westwards, but the winde changing to the Southwell, and the sea waxing rough, wee sayling 4 dayes with the wind the poeple, and at length discouering land, were afraid to approach nere vnto it, the sea being growen, and we not knowing what land it was: but God so prouided for vs, that the winde ceasing there came a great calme. Wherefore some of our company rowing to land with oares, returned & brought vs newes to our great comfort, that they had found a very good countrey and a better harborough: vpon which newes we towed our ships and smal barks to land, and being entred into the harborough, we saw a farre off a great mountain, that cast forth smoke, which gaue vs good hope that we should finde some inhabitants in the Island, neither would Zichmni rest, although it were a great way off, but sent 100 souldiers to search the countrey and bring report what people they were that inhabited it & in the meane time they tooke in wood and water for the prouision of the fleet, and catcht great store of fish and sea soule and found such aboundance of birds egges, that our men that were halfe famished, were filled therewithall. Whiles we were riding here, began the moneth of June, at which time the aire in the Island was

so temperate and pleasant as is impossible to expresse; but when we could see no people at all, we suspected greatly that this pleasant place was desolate and dishabited. We gaue name to the heauen calling it Trin, and the point that stretched out into the sea, we called Capo de Trin. The 100 soldiers that were sent forth, 8 dayes after returned, and brought word that they had bene through the Island and at the mountaine, and that the smoke was a naturall thing proceeding from a great fire that was in the bottome of the hill, and that there was a spring from which issued a certaine water like pitch which ran into the sea, and that thereabouts dwelt great multitudes of people halfe wilde, hiding themselves in caues of the ground, of small stature, and very fearefull; for as soone as they saw them they fled into their holes, and that there was a great riuer and a very good and safe harborough, Zichmni being thus informed, and seeing that it had a wholesome and pure aire, and a very fruitfull soyle and faire riuers, with sundry commodities, fell into such liking of the place, that he determined to inhabite it, and built there a citie. But his people being weary and faint with long and tedious trauell began to murmure, saying that they would returne into their countrey, for that the winter was at hand, and if they entred into the harborough, they should not be able to come out againe before the next Summer. Wherefore he retaining onely the barks with Dares and such as were willing to stay with him, sent all the rest with the shippes backe againe, and willed that J, (though unwilling) should be their captaine. I therefore departing, because I could not otherwise chuse, sayled for the space of twenty dayes to the Eastwards without sight of any land; then turning my course towards the Southeast, in 5. dayes I discovered land, and found my selfe vpon the Isle of Neome, and knowing the countrey, I perceiued I was past Island: wherefore taking in some fresh victuals of the inhabitants being subiect to Zichmni, I sayled with a faire winde in three dayes to Frisland, where the people, who thought they had lost their prince, because of his long absence, in this our voyage receiued vs very ioyfully.

The 100 soldiers returned which had bene through the Island, report what they saw and found.

Sp. Antonio Zeni, made chiefe captaine of those shippes which went back to Frisland,

What followed after this letter I know not but by coniecture, which I gather out of a piece of another letter, which I will set downe here vnderneath: That Zichmni built a towne in the port of the Island that he discovered, and that he searched the countrey very diligently and discovered it all, and also the riuers on both sides of Engroneland, for that I see it particularly described in the sea card, but the discourse or narration is lost. The beginning of the letter is thus.

The 5 letter,

Concerning those things that you desire to know of me, as of the men and their maners and customes, of the beasts, and of the countries adioynning, I haue made therof a particuler booke, which by Gods help I will bring with me: wherein I haue described the countrey, the monstrous fishes, the customes and lawes of Frisland, Island, Estland, the kingdome of Norway, Estoriland, Drogio, and in the end the life of Sp. Nicolo, the knight our brother, with the discovery which he made, and the state of Groneland. I haue also written the life and acts of Zichmni, a prince as worthy of immortall memory, as any that euer liued, for his great valiance and singular humanitie, wherein I haue described the discovery of Engroneland on both sides, and the citie that he builded. Therefore I will speake no further hereof in this letter, hoping to be with you very shortly, and to satisfie you in sundry other things by word of mouth.

All these letters were written by Sp. Antonio to Messer Carlo his brother: and it grieueth me, that the booke and diuers other writings concerning these purposes, are miserably lost: for being but a child when they came to my hands, and not knowing what they were, (as the maner of children is) I tore them, and rent them in pieces, which now I cannot cal to remembrance but to my exceeding great griefe. Notwithstanding, that the memory of so many good things should not bee lost: whatsoeuer I could get of this matter, I haue disposed and put in order in the former discourse, to the ende that this age might be partly satisfied, to the which we are more beholding for the great discoveries made in those partes, then to any other of the time past, being most studious of the newe relations and discoveries of strange counteries, made by the great mindes, and industrie of our ancestors.

For the more credite and confirmation of the former Historie of Messer Nicolas and Messer Antonio Zeni (which for some fewe respects may perhaps bee called in question) I haue heere annexed the iudgement of that famous Cosmographer Abraham Ortelius, or rather the yealding and submitting of his iudgement thereunto: who in his *Theatrum Orbis*, fol. 6. next before the map of *Mar del Zur*, boroweth prooffe and authoritie out of this relation, to shew that the Northeast parte of *America* called *Estoriland*, and in the original alwayes affirmed to bee an Islande, was about the yeere 1390 discovered by the aforesayd Venetian Gentleman Messer Antonio Zeno, about 100 yeeres before euer Christopher Columbus set saile for those Westerne Regions; and that the Northren Seas were euen then sayled by our European Pilots through the helpe of the loadstone: with diuers other particulars concerning

the customes, religion and wealth of the Southern *Americans*, which are most evidently confirmed by all the late and moderne Spanish Histories of *Nueva España* and *Peru*.

Estotiland first
discovered.

The second
discovery
thereof.

And here I shall not (as I suppose) commit any great inconvenience, or absurditie, in adding unto this History of the new world, certaine particulars as touching the first discovery thereof, not commonly known. Which discovery al the writers of our time ascribe (& that not unworthily) unto Christopher Columbus. For by him it was in a maner first discovered, made known, and profitably communicated unto the Christian world, in the yeere of our Lord 1492. Howbeit I finde that the North part thereof called Estotiland, which most of all extendeth toward our Europe and the Islands of the same, namely, Groneland, Island, and Frisland, was long ago found out by certaine fishers of the Isle of Frisland, driven by tempest vpon the shore thereof: and was afterward about the yeere 1390 discovered anew, by one Antonio Zeno a gentleman of Venice; which sayled thither vnder the conduct of Zichmni king of the saide Isle of Frisland, a prince in those parts of great valour, and renowned for his martiall exploits and victories. Of which expedition of Zichmni there are extant in Italian certaine collections or abridgements gathered by Francisco Marcolino out of the letters of S. Nicolo and Antonio Zeni two gentlemen of Venice which liued in those partes. Out of which collections I doe adde concerning the description of Estotiland aforesaid these particulars following.

Drogio.

Estotiland (saith he) aboundeth with all things necessary for mankind. In the mids thereof standeth an exceeding high mountaine, from which issue foure riuers that moisten all the countrie. The inhabitants are wittie and most expert in all Mechanicall arts. They haue a kinde of peculiar language and letters. Howbeit in this Kings Librarie are preserved certaine latine bookes, which they vnderstand not, being perhaps left there not many yeeres before by some Europeans, which trafficked thither. They haue all kinde of mettals; but especially golde, wherewith they mightily abound. They trafficke with the people of Groneland; from whence they fetch skimmes, pitch and brimstone. The inhabitants report that towardes the South, there are regions abounding with gold, and very populous: they haue many and huge woods, from whence they take timber for the building of ships and cities, whereof and of castles there are great store. The vse of the loadstone for Nauigation is vnknown vnto them. They make relation also of a certaine region toward the South, called Drogio, which is inhabited by Canibals, vnto whom mans flesh is delicate meat: wherof being destitute they liue by fishing, which they vse very much. Beyond this are large regions, and as it were a newe world: but the people are barbarous and goe naked: howbeit against the colde they cloath themselves in beastes skimmes. These haue no kinde of metall: and they liue by hunting. Their weapons are certaine long staues with sharpe points, and bowes. They wage warres one against another. They haue gouernours, and obey certaine lawes. But from hence more towardes the South the climate is much more temperate: and there are cities; and temples of idoles, vnto whom they sacrifice liuing men, whose flesh they afterwards deuoure. These nations haue the vse of siluer and gold.

Thus much of this tract of landes out of the aforesaid collections or abridgements. Wherein this also is worthy the obseruation, that euen then our European Pilots sayled those seas by the helpe of the loadstone. For concerning the vse thereof in Nauigation, I suppose there is not to be found a more ancient testimonie. And these things I haue annexed the rather vnto this table of Mar del Zur; considering that none of those Authours which haue written the Histories of the Newe world, haue in any part of their writings, mentioned one word thereof. Hitherto Ortelius.

THE

THE VOYAGES OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO NEWFOUNDLAND, TO

the Isles of *Ramea*, and the Isles of *Assumption* otherwise

called *Natiscotec*, situate at the mouth of the Riuer of *Canada*,

and to the Coastes of *Cape Briton*, and *Arambec*, corruptly

called *Norumbega*, with the Patents, letters, and

aduertisements thereunto belonging.

The voyage of the two ships, whereof the one was called the *Dominus vobiscum*, set out the 20 day of May in the 19 yere of king *Henry* the eight, and in the yere of our Lord God 1527. for the discouerie of the North partes.



After Robert Thorne of Bristoll, a notable member and ornament of his country, as wel for his learning, as great charity to the poore, in a letter of his to king *Henry* the 8 and a large discourse to doctor *Leigh*, his Ambassadour to *Charles* the Emperour, (which both are to be seene almost in the beginning of the first volume of this my work) exhorted the aforesaid king with very waightry and substantial reasons, to set forth a discouery euen to the North Pole. And that it may be knowne that this his motion tooke present effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonies of two of our Chroniclers. *M. Hall*, and *M. Grafton*, who both write in this sort. This same moneth (say they) king *Henry* the 8 sent 2 faire ships wel manned & victualled, hauing in them diuers cunning men to seek strange regions, & so they set forth out of the *Thames* the 20 day of May in the 19 yeere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lord, 1527.

And whereas master *Hal*, and master *Grafton* say, that in those ships there were diuers cunning men, I haue made great enquire of such as by their yeeres and delight in Nauigation, might giue me any light to know who those cunning men should be, which were the directers in the aforesaid voyage. And it hath bene tolde me by *Mr. Martine Frobisher*, and *Mr. Richard Allen*, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of *Saint Paul* in *London*, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealch, did much aduance the action, and went therein himselfe in person, but what his name was I cannot learne of any. And further they told me that one of the ships was called *The Dominus vobiscum*, which is a name likely to be giuen by a religious man of those dayes: and that sayling very farre Northwestward, one of the ships was call away as it entred into a dangerous gulph, about the great opening, betweene the North partes of *Newfoundland*, and the countrey lately called by her *Maestie*, *Meta Incognita*. Whereupon the other ship shaping her course towards *Cape Briton*, and the coastes of *Arambec*, and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of those unknowen regions, returned home about the beginning of *October*, of the yere aforesayd. And thus much (by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should haue vsed more care in preseruing of the memories of the worthy actes of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or finde out of this voyage.

The voyage of *M. Hore* and diuers other gentlemen, to *Newfoundland*, and *Cape Briton*, in the yere 1536 and in the 28 yere of king *Henry* the 8.



Mr. Hore of *London*, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and giuen to the studie of Cosmographie, in the 28 yere of king *Henry* the 8 and in the yere of our Lord 1536 encouraged diuers Gentlemen and others, being assisted by the kings fauour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of discouerie vpon the Northwest partes of *America*: wherein his perswasions tooke such effect, that within short space many gentlemen of the *Tymes* of court, and of the *Chancerie*, and diuers others of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entred into the action with him, some of whose names were as followeth: *M. Weekes* a gentleman of the West countrey of five hundred markes by the yeere liuing, *M. Tucke* a gentleman of *Kent*, *M. Tuckfield*, *M. Thomas Bues* the sonne of *Sir William Bues* knight, of *Norfolke*, which was lately liuing, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation. *M. Hardie*, *M. Biron*, *M. Carter*, *M. Wright*, *M. Rastall* Sericant *Rastals* brother, *M. Ridley*, and diuers other, which all were in the Admirall called the *Trinitie*, a ship of seven score tunnes, wherein *M. Hore* himselfe was imbarked. In the other ship whose name was the *Minion*,

M. Armigil Wade.

went a very learned and vertuous gentleman one *M. Armigil Wade*. Afterwardes Clerke of the Countsailes of king Henry the 8 and king Edward the sixth, father to the worshipfull *M. William Wade* now Clerke of the priuie Counsell, *M. Oliuer Dawbeney* marchant of London, *M. Ioy* afterward gentleman of the Kings Chappel, with diuers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall ships aforesaid, to wit, the *Trinitie* and the *Minion*, were about sixe score persons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which all we mustered in warlike manner at *Graues-end*, and after the receiuing of the Sacrament, they embarked themselves in the ende of *April*. 1536.

Cape Briton. The Island of Penguin flatts hath about the latitude of 30. degrees.

From the time of their setting out from *Grauesend*, they were very long at sea, to witte, aboue two moneths, and neuer touched any land untill they came to part of the *West Indies* about *Cape Briton*, shaping their course thence *North-eastwardes*, untill they came to the *Island of Penguin*, which is very full of rockes and stones, whereon they went and found it full of great fowles white and gray, as big as geese, and they saw infinite numbers of their egges. They draue a great number of the fowles into their boates vpon their sayles, and tooke vp many of their egges, the fowles they slead and their skimes were very like hony combes full of holes being slead off: they dressed and ate them and found them to be very good and nourishing meat. They saw also store of beates both blacke and white, of whome they killed some, and tooke them for no bad foode.

M. Dawbeney report to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Temple.

M. Oliuer Dawbeney, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this boyage, and in the *Minion*, told *M. Richard Hakluyt* of the middle Temple these things following: to wit, That after their arriual in *Newfoundland*, and hauing bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not hauing perceene any of the naturall people of the countrey, the same *Dawbeney* walking one day on the hatches, spied a boate with *Sauages* of those parts, rowing downe the Bay toward them, to gaze vpon the ship and our people, and taking vewe of their conning aloofe, hee called to such as were vnder the hatches, and willed them to come vp if they would see the natural people of the countrey, that they had so long and so much desired to see: whereupon they came vp, and tooke vewe of the *Sauages* rowing toward them and their ship, and vpon the vewe they manured out a ship-boate to meet them and to take them. But they spying our ship-boate making towards them, returned with maine force and fled into an *Island* that lay by in the Bay or riuer there, and our men pursued them into the *Island*, and the *Sauages* fledde and escaped: but our men found a fire, and the side of a beare on a wooden spit left at the same by the *Sauages* that were fled.

They beheld the Sauages of Newfoundland.

There in the same place they found a boote of leather garnished on the outward side of the calfe with certaine braue trades, as it were of rawe silke, and also found a certaine great warme mitten: And these carped with them, they returned to their shippe, not finding the *Sauages*, nor seeing any thing else besides the fowle, and the things growing in the same, which chiesly were store of firre and pine trees.

Extreme famine.

And further, the said *M. Dawbeney* told him, that lying there they grew into great want of victuals, and that there they found small reliefe, moze then that they had from the nest of an *Osprey*, that brought hourly to her yong great plentie of diuers sorts of fishes. But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seeke to relieue themselves of raw herbes and rootes that they sought on the maine: but the famine increasing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpose to satisfie their insatiable hunger, in the fieldes and deserts here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while he stooped to take by a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his bodie whom he had murdered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily deuoured them.

Our men ate one another for famine.

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers knew not what was become of them; And it fortuned that one of the company driuen with hunger to seeke abroad for reliefe found out in the fieldes the saueur of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that he would suffer him and his fellowes to sterue, enioying plentie as he thought: and this matter growing to cruell speeches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these wordes: If thou wouldst needes know, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of such a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing, & was perswaded that some of them were neither deuoured with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed with *Sauages*: And hereupon hee stood vp and made a notable Oration, containing, Howe much these dealings offended the Almighty, and vouched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called vpon him, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then no lesse then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleased God to haue helpen them in that distresse, that it had bene better to haue perished in body, and to haue liued euell lastingly then to haue relieved for a poore time their mortal bodies, and to bee condemned euell lastingly both body and soule to the vnquenchable fire of hell. And thus hauing ended to that effect, he began to exhort

The Captaines Oration.

to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke vpon their miserable present state, and for his owne mercie to relieue the same. The famine increasing, and the inconuenience of the men that were missing being found, they agreed amongst themselves rather then all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed: And such was the mercie of God, that the same night there arriued a French ship in that port, well furnished with vittaille, and such was the policie of the English, that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and vittailing them, they set saile to come into England.

The English
surprised a
French ship,
wherem they
returned
home.

In their iourney they were so farre Northwards, that they sawe mighty Islands of yce in the sommer season, on which were haukes and other fowles to rest themselves being weary of flying ouer farre from the maine. They sawe also certaine great white fowles with red bills and red legs, somewhat bigger then Herons, which they supposed to be Storpes. They arriued at S. Iues in Cornuwall about the ende of October. From thence they departed vnto a certaine castle belonging to sir Iohn Luttrell, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Rastall and other Gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly entertained: after that they came to the Earle of Barthe at Barthe, and thence to Bristol, so to London. M. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that sir William his father and my Lady his mother knew him not to be their sonne, vntill they found a secret marke which was a wart vpon one of his knees, as hee told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himselfe, to whom I rode 200. miles onely to learne the whole truerth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the onely man now aliuie that was in this discoverie.

Haukes and
other fowles,
Fowles sup-
posed to be
Storpes.

Certaine moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subjects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so moued with pitie, that he punished not his subjects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompence vnto the French.

The French
royally recom-
penced by king
Henry the 8.

In this distresse of famine, the English did somewhat relieue their vitall spirits, by drincking at the springes the fresh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua composita before.

An act against the exaction of money or any other thing by any officer for licence to traffique into *Iseland & Newfoundland*, made in An. 2. Edwardi sexti.



As much as within these few yeeres now last past, there haue bene leuied, perceiued & taken by certaine of the officers of the Admiraltie, of such Marchants, and fishermen as haue vsed and practised the adventures and iourneys into *Iseland, Newfoundland, Ireland*, and other places commodious for fishing, and the getting of fish, in and vpon the Seas or otherwise, by way of Marchants in those parties, diuers great exactions, as summes of money, doles or shares of fish, and such other like things, to the great discouragement & hinderance of the same Marchants and fishermen, and to no little damage of the whole common wealth, and thereof also great complaints haue bene made, & informations also verely to the kings Maiesties most honourable counsell: for reformation whereof, and to the intent also that the sayd Marchants and fishermen may haue occasion the rather to practise & vse the same trade of marchandizing, & fishing freely without any such charges and exactions, as are before limited, wherby it is to be thought that more plentie of fish shall come into this Realme, and thereby to haue the same at more reasonable prices: Be it therfore enacted by the king our soueraigne Lord, and the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that neither the Admiral, nor any officer, or minister, officers or ministers of the Admiraltie for the time being, shall in any wise hereafter exact, receiue, or take by himselfe, his seruant, deputie, seruants, or deputies of any such Marchant or fisherman, any summe or summes of money, doles or shares of fish, or any other reward, benefite or aduantage whatsoeuer it be, for any licence to passe this Realme to the sayd voyages or any of them, nor vpon any respect concerning the said voyages, nor any of them, vpon paine to forfeit for the first offence treble the summe, or treble the value of the reward, benefite or aduantage, that any such officer or minister shall hereafter haue or take of any such Marchants or fishermen. If or the which forfeiture the party g. leued, and euery other person or persons whatsoeuer he or they be, shall and may sue for the same by information, bill, plaint, or action of debt in any of the kings courts of recorde: The king to haue the one moitie, and the party complaining the other moitie: in which suite no essaigne protection, or wager of law shall be allowed. And for the second offence the party so offending, not only to lose and forfeite his or their office or offices in the Admiraltie, but also to make fine and rancome at the kings will and pleasure.

By

By this acte it appeareth, that the trade out of England to Newfound land was common and frequented about the beginning of the raigine of Edward the 6. namely in the peere 1548. and it is much to be maruelled, that by the negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better searched.

A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, containing a report of the true state and commodities of *Newfoundland*, by M. *Anthony Parkhurst* Gentleman, 1578.

M After Hakluyt, after most heartie commendations, with like thankes for your manifold kindnesse to me shewed, not for any meritis that hitherto haue bene mine, but wholly proceeding, I must needs confesse, of your owne good nature, which is so ready prest to benefit your countrey and all such poore men as haue any sparke in them of good desires, that you do not onely become their friend, but also humble your selfe as a seruauant in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cause your burning zeale to bee knowen to those that haue authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompense your trauellling mind and pen, wherewith you cease not day nor night to labour and trauell to bring your good and godly desires to some passe, though not possibly to that happy ende that you most thirst for: for such is the malice of wicked men the deuils instruments in this our age, that they cannot suffer any thing (or at least few) to proceed and prosper that tendeth to the setting forth of Gods glory, and the amplifying of the Christian faith, wherein hitherto princes haue not bene so diligent as their calling required. Alas, the labourers as yet are few, the harvest great, I trust God hath made you an instrument to increase the number, and to moue men of power, to redeeme the people of Newfoundland and those parts from out of the captiuitie of that spirituall Pharao, the deuill.

English. Now to answer some part of your letter touching the sundry nauies that come to Newfoundland, or Terra noua, for fish: you shal vnderstand that some fish not neere the other by 200. leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not known: and some yeres come many more then other some, as I see the like among vs: who since my first trauell being but 4. yeeres, are increased from 30. saile to 50. which commeth to passe chiefly by the imagination of the Westerne men, who thinke their neighbours haue had greater gaines then in very deed they haue, for that they see me to take such paines peerele to go in proper person: they also suppose that I find some secret commoditie by reason that I doe search the harboris, creekes and haucens, and also the land much more then euer any Englishman hath done. Surely I am glad that it so increaseth, whereof locuer it springeth. But to let this passe, you shal vnderstand that I am informed that there are about 100. saile of Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and do drie it when they come home) besides 20. or 30. more that come from Biskaye to kill Whale for Traine. These be better appoynted for shipping and furniture of munition, then any nation sauing the Englishmen, who commonly are lords of the harboris where they fish, and do vse all strangers helpe in fishing if need require, according to an old custome of the countrey, which thing they do willingly, so that you take nothing from them more then a boat or twaine of salt, in respect of your protection of them against roueris or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbor, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke it may be neere five or fixe thousand tunne. But of Portugals there are not lightly aboue 50. saile, and they make all wet in like sorte, whose tunnage may amount to three thousand tunns, and not bywarde. Of the French nation and Britons, are about one hundred and fiftie sailles, the most of their shipping is very small, not past fortie tunnes, among which some are great and reasonably well appointed, better then the Portugals, and not so well as the Spaniards, and the burden of them may be some 7000. tunne. Their shipping is from all parts of France and Britaine, and the Spaniards from most parts of Spaine, the Portugals from Auiero and Viana, and from 2. or 3. ports more. The trade that our nation hath to Island maketh, that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations.

The fertility of Newfoundland.

Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodnesse of the countrey, you shal vnderstand that I haue in sundry places sown Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Dates, Beanes, Pease and seedes of herbes, kernels, Plumstones, nuts, all which haue prospered as in England. The countrey yeeldeth many good trees of fruit, as Filberds in some places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of Peare-tree meet to graffe on. As for Roses, they are as common as brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raspis, as common as grasse. The timber is most Firre, yet plentie of Wincapple trees: fewe of these two kinds meete to masse a ship of theelcore and ten: but neere Cape Briton, and to the Southward, big and sufficient for any ship. There be also Okes & thornes, there is in all

all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meetest wood for cole, and also Willow, which will serue for many other purposes. As touching the kindes of Fish beside Cod, there are Herrings, Salmones, Thornebacke, Plase, or rather wee should call them Flounders, Dog fish, and another most excellent of taste called of vs a Cat, Disters, and Huskies, in which I haue found pearles aboue 40. in one Huskie, and generally all haue some, great or small. I heard of a Portugall that found one woorth 300. duckets: There are also other kinds of Shel-fish, as limpets, cockles, wilkes, lobsters, and crabs: also a fish like a *Smelt which commeth on shore, and another that hath the like propertie, called a Squid: these be the fishes, which (when I please to bee merie with my old companions) I say, doe come on shore when I commaund them in the name of the 5. ports, and coniuere them by such like words: These also bee the fishes which I may sweepe with broomes on a heape, and neuer wet my foot, onely pronouncing two or three wordes whatsoever they be appoynted by any man, so they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes be small, but the nature of the fish great and strange. For the Squid, whose nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them, I set him a candle to see his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it as doe our fresh water fish, the other commeth also in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would deuoure him, and therefore for feare comming so neere the shore, is driuen drie by the surge of the Sea on the pibble and sands. Of these being as good as a Smelt you may take vp with a shoue-net as plentifully as you do Wheate in a shouell, sufficient in thre or foure houres for a whole Citie. There be also other fishes which I tell those that are destrours of strange netwes, that I take as fast as one would gather vp stones, and them I take with a long pole and hooke. Yea marrie say they, wee beleue so, and that you catch all the rest you bring home in that sort, from Portugals and Frenchmen. No surely, but thus I doe: with thre hookes stretched forth in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Ele speare, with which I picke those Flounders as fast as you would take up fritters with a sharpe pointed sticke, and with that toole I may take vp in lesse then halfe a day Lobsters sufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This pastime ended, I shewe them that for my pleasure I take a great Hastie I haue, and say no more then thus: Goe fetch me this rebellious fish that obeyeth not this Gentleman that commeth from Kent and Christendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of those great Cods by reason of sheluing ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him vp backe to the heape of his fellowes. This doeth cause my friendes to wonder, and at the first hearing to iudge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merrie when they heare the meanes howe each tale is true.

General sortes
of fish.

Called by the
Spaniards
Anchouas,
and by the
Portugals
Capelinas.

I tolde you once I doe remember how in my trauaile into Africa and America, I found trees that bare Disters, which was strange to you, till I tolde you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Disters and Huskies did sticke fast, as their propertie is, to stakes and timber.

Nowe to let these merrie tales passe, and to come to earnest matters againe, you shall vnderstand, that Newfoundland is in a temperate Climate, and not so colde as foolish Farmers doe say, who finde it colde sometimes when plentie of Isles of yce lie neere the shore: but vp in the land they shall finde it hotter then in England in many parts of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidentall meanes, as by the yce that commeth fleeting from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the situation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate. The countrey is full of little small riuers all the yere long proceeding from the mountaines, ingendred both of snow and raine: few springs that euer I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in some places or rather in most places, great lakes with plentie of fish, the countrey most couered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good grasse, and plentie of Beares euery where, so that you may kill of them as oft as you list: their flesh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other if it be powdered but two dayes. Of Disters we may take like store. There are Sea Gulls, Murres, Duckes, wild Geese, and many other kind of birdes store, too long to write, especially at one Island named Penguin, where wee may driue them on a planke into our ship as many as shall lade her. These birdes are also called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of these then in a goose: the Frenchmen that fish neere the grand baie, doe bring small store of flesh with them, but victuall themselves alwayes with these birdes. Nowe againe, for Venison plentie, especially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Plesance: there are many other kinds of beasts, as Luzarnes and other mighty beastes like to Camels in greatnesse, and their feete clouen, I did see them farre off not able to discerne them perfectly, but their steps shewed that their feete were clouen, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I suppose them to bee a kind of Buffes which

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I read to bee in the countreyes adiacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee also to the Northwards, Hares and Foxes in all parts so plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our flesh before our faces within lesse then halfe a paire of butts length, where foure and twentie persons were turning of drie fish, and two dogs in sight, yet stood they not in feare till wee gaue shot and let the dogs vpon them: the Beares also be as bold, which will not spare at midday to take your fish before your face, and I beleue assuredly would not hurt any bodie vntill they be forced.

Nowe to shew you my fancie what places I suppose meetest to inhabite in those parts discovered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand Bay, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chasteaux, and one Island in the very entrie of the streight called Bell Isle, which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are stones and things meete for it throughout all Newfound land) wee shall bee lordes of the whole fishing in small time, if it doe please the Queenes Maiestie, and from thence send wood and cole with all necessaries to Labrador lately discovered: but I am of opinion, and doe most stedfastly beleue that we shall finde as rich Mines in more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fishing then any yet we haue vled, where wee shall haue not farre from thence plentie of salt made by fire vndoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reason I finde salt kernalled on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: these places may bee found for salte in three and fortie. I know more touching these two commodities last remembred then any man of our nation doeth; for that I haue some knowledge in such matters, and haue most desired the finding of them by painefull trauaile, and most diligent inquirie. Now to be short, for I haue bene ouer long by Master Butlers means, who cryed on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde woorthy of remembrance: wherefore this one thing more. I could wish the Island in the mouth of the riuer of Canada should bee inhabited, and the riuer searched, for that there are many things which may rise thereof, as I will shew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make prooffe whether it be true or no that I haue read and heard of Frenchmen and Portugals to bee in that riuer, and about Cape Briton, I had almost forgot to speake of the plentie of wolues, and to shew you that there be foxes, blacke white & gray: other beasts I know none saue those before remembred. I found also certain Mines of yron and copper in S. Johns, and in the Island of Yron, which things might turne to our great benefite, if our men had desire to plant thereabout, for prooffe whereof I haue brought home some of the oare of both sortes. And thus I ende, assuring you on my faith, that if I had not beene deceiued by the vile Portugals descending of the Jewes and Iudas kinde, I had not failed to haue searched this riuer, and all the coast of Cape Briton, what might haue bene found to haue benefited our countrey: but they breaking their hands, and falsifying their faith and promise, disappointed me of the salte they should haue brought me in part of recompense of my good seruice in defending them two yeres against French Routers, that had spoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me lose not onely the searching of the countrey, but also forced mee to come home with great losse about 600. li. For recompence whereof I haue sent my man into Portugall to demand iustice at the Kings hand, if not, I must put by my supplication to the Queenes Maiestie & her honourable counsell, to grant me leaue to stay here so much of their goods as they haue dammified mee, or else that I may take of them in Newfound land, as much fish as shall be woorth 600. li. or as much as the salte might haue made. I pray you aduertise mee what way I were best to take, and what hope there will bee of a recompence if I follow the suite: many there are that doe comfort me, and doe bid me proceede, for that her Maiestie and the counsell doe tender poore fisher men, who with me haue sustained three hundred pound losse in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend shall thinke me a man sufficient and of credite, to seeke the Isle of S. Iohn, or the riuer of Canada, with any part of the firme land of Cape Briton, I shall giue my diligence for the true and perfect discoverie, and leaue some part of mine owne businesse to further the same: and thus I end, committing you to God. From Bristow the 13. of Nouember, 1578.

Yours to vse and command

ANTHONY PARCKHURST.

The

The Letters Patents graunted by her Maiestie to Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in *America*.



LIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace, certaine science and meere motion, we haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue and graunt to our trustie and welbeloued seruauit Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Deuonshire knight, and to his heires and assignes for euer, free libertie and licence from time to time and at all times for euer hereafter, to discouer, finde, search out, and viewe such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heires & assignes, and to euery or any of them, shall seeme good: and the same to haue, hold, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes for euer, with all commodities, iurisdiccions and royalties both by sea and land: and the sayd Sir Humfrey and all such as from time to time by licence of vs, our heires and successours, shall goe and trauell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the discretion of the sayde Sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, the statutes or actes of Parliament made against fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine, or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other acte, statute, lawe, or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And wee doe likewise by these presents, for vs, our heires and successours, giue full authoritie and power to the sayde Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that hee and they, and euery, or any of them, shall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and lead in the same voyages, to trauell thitherward, and to inhabite there with him, and euery or any of them, such and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompanie him and them, and euery or any of them, with sufficient shipping, and furniture for their transportations, so that none of the same persons, nor any of them be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by vs, our heires and successours. And further, that he the said Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them shall haue, hold, occupie & enioy to him, his heires or assignes, and euery of them for euer, all the soyle of all such lands, countries, & territories so to be discouered or possessed as aforesaid, and of all Cities, Castles, Townes and Villages, and places in the same, with the rites, royalties and iurisdiccions, as well marine as oher, within the sayd lands or countreys of the seas therunto adioyning, to be had or vsed with full power to dispose thereof & of euery part thereof in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England, as nere as the same conueniently may be, at his, and their will & pleasure, to any person then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and successours paying vnto vs for all seruices, duties and demands, the fift part of all the oare of gold and siluer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing shall be there gotten: all which lands, countreys and territories, shall for euer bee holden by the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes of vs, our heires and successours by homage, and by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part before reserved onely for all seruices.

And moreover, we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, giue and graunt licence to the sayde Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes, and to euery of them, that hee and they, and euery or any of them shall, and may from time to time, and all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, expulse, repell, and resist, as well by Sea as by land, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all, and euery such person and persons whatsoever, as without the speciall licence and liking of the sayd Sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayd countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundred leagues neere to the place or places within such countreys as aforesaid, if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limites aforesaid, with the subiects of any Christian prince, being in amitie with her Maiesty, where the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their associates or companies, shall within five yeeres next ensuing, make their dwellings and abidings, or that shall enterpryse or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their companies: giuing and graunting by these presents, further power and authoritie to the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter to take and surpise by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and euery person and persons, with their shippes, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayd

sayd sir Humfrey, or his heires or assignes as aforesayd, shall bee found traffiquing into any harborough or harboroughs, creeke or creekes within the limites aforesayde, (the subiects of our Realmes and dominions, and all other persons in amitie with vs, beinge driuen by force of tempest or shipwracke onely excepted) and those persons and euery of them with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and possesse, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and of euery or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amitie of such countreys, landes and territories so to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayde, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better encouragement of men to this enterpryse: wee doe by these presents graunt, and declare, that all such countreys so hereafter to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall bee of the allegiance of vs, our heires, and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and to all and euery of them, and to all and euery other person and persons, beinge of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our courts of Record, within this our Realme of England, and that with the assent of the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, shall nowe in this iourney for discouerie, or in the second iourney for conquest hereafter, trauele to such lands, countreys and territories as aforesaid, and to their and euery of their heires: that they and euery or any of them beinge either boine within our sayd Realmes of England or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countreys and territories, with such licence as aforesayd, shall, and may haue, and enioy all the priuileges of free denizens and persons native of England, and within our allegiance: any law, custome, or vsage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch, as vpon the finding out, discouering and inhabiting of such remote lands, countreys and territories, as aforesayd, it shall be necessarie for the safetie of all men that shall aduenture themselves in those iourneys or voiajes, to determine to liue together in Christian peace and ciuill quietnesse each with other, wherby euery one may with more pleasure and profit enioy that wherunto they shall attaine with great paine and perill: wee for vs, our heires and successours are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue and graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey and his heires and assignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time for euer hereafter within the sayd mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne and rule by their, and euery or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capitall or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all such our subiects and others, as shall from time to time hereafter aduenture themselves in the sayd iourneys or voyages habitative or possessiue, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreys or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within two hundred leagues of any the sayd place or places, where the sayd sir Humfrey or his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associates or companies, shall inhabite within fixe yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall be by him the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, or euery, or any of them deuised or established for the better gouernement of the said people as aforesayd: so alwayes that the sayd statutes, lawes and ordinances may be as neere as conveniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lawes & pollicy of England: and also, that they be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of vs, our heires or successours, as their immediate Soueraignes vnder God. And further we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, giue and graunt full power and authority to our trustie and welbeloued counsellor, sir William Cecill knight, lord Burleigh, our high treasurer of England, and to the lord treasurer of England of vs, for the time being, and to the priue counsell of vs, our heires and successours, or any foure of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure of them, shall, and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or seales by vertue of these presents, authorize and licence the sayd sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him and themselves, or by their or any of their sufficient attornies, deputies officers, ministers, factors and seruants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their associates and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the said lord treasurer or foure of the priue counsell of vs, our heires, or successours for the time being, as aforesayd, shall be from time to time by his or their wise doms or discretions thought meete and conuenient for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them, and his and their, and euery or any of their

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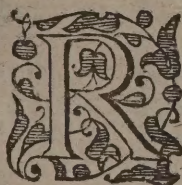
said associates and companies, any act, statute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian Kings, princes and states, that if the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by Sea or by land, or doe any act of uniuersall and unlawfull hostilitie to any of the Subjects of vs, our heires, or successours, or any of the Subjects of any King, prince, ruler, gouernour or state being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires or successours: and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such prince, ruler, gouernour or state, or their subjects, wee our heires or successours shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any other to whom these our Letters patents may extend, shall within the terme to be limited by such proclamations, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such iniuries done, so as both we and the said Princes, or others so complaining, may holde vs and themselves fully contented: And that if the said Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limited: that then it shall bee lawfull to vs, our heires and successours, to put the said Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discovered as is aforesaid, or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection the said Sir Humfrey, and his heires, assignes, adherents and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie as being not our Subjects, nor by vs any way to be aduowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention, &c. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 11. day of June, the twentieth yeere of our raigne. Anno Dom. 1578.

Per ipsam Regiam, &c.

De Nauigatione Illustris & Magnanimi Equitis aurati *Humfredi Gilberti*, ad deducendam in nouum Orbem coloniam susceptâ, Carmen
STEPHANI PARMENII BUDEII.

Ad eundem illustrem equitem auctoris prefatio.



Eddenda est, quam fieri potest breuissimè, in hoc vestibulo, ratio facti mei, & cur ita homo nouus & externus, in tanta literatissimorum hominum copia, quibus Anglia beata est, versandum in hoc argumento mihi putauerim: ita enim tu, fortissime Gilberte, fortum hunc nostrum in lucem exire voluisti. In seruitute & barbarie Turcica, Christianis tamen magno immortalis Dei beneficio, parentibus natus, aliquam etiam aetatis partem educatus; postquam doctissimorum hominum opera, quibus tum Pannoniae nostrae, tum imprimis saluæ adhuc earum reliquiae florescunt, in literis adoleuissimè, more nostrorum hominum, ad inuicendas Christiani orbis Academias ablegatus fui. Qua in peregrinatione, non solum complura Musarum hospitium, sed multas etiam sapienter institutas respublicas, multarum Ecclesiarum probatissimas administrationes introspeximus, iam ferme triennio ea in te posito. Fuerat hæc nostra profectio ita à nobis comparata, ut non tantum mores & urbes gentium videndum, sed in familiaritatem, aut saltem notitiam illustriorum hominum introeundum nobis putarem. Caterum, ut hoc à nobis sine inuidia dici possit, (certè enim taceri absque malicia nullo modo potest) non locus, non natio, non respublica vlla nobis æquè ac tua Britannia complacuit, quamcunque in partem euentum consilij mei considerem. Accedit, quod præter omnem expectationem meam ab omnibus tuis ciuibus, quibuscum aliqua consuetudo mihi contigit, tanta passim humanitate acceptus essem; ut iam (sic hoc salua pietate à me dictum) suauissimæ Anglorum amicitia ferme aboluerint desiderium & Pannoniarum & Bude meæ, quibus patria nomen debeo. Quas ab causis cum sapennumero animus fuisset significationem aliquam nostræ huius voluntatis & existimationis edendi; accidit utique secundum sententiam, ut dum salutandis & cognoscendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatissimus ac doctissimus amicus meus Richardus Hakluytus ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi præclarissimo tuo de deducenda propediem colonia in nouum orbem instituto. Qua dum aguntur, agnoscere potui ego illud corpus & animum tuum sempiterna posteritatis commemoratione dignum, & agnoui profecto, eaque tali ac tanta obseruantia prosequi cœpi; ut cum paulo post plura de tuis virtutibus, & rebus gestis passim audissem, tempus longè accommodatissimum existimarem esse, quo aliqua parte officij

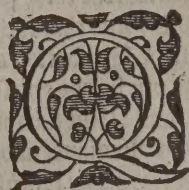
M

Stuyque

studijque nostri, erga te & tuam gentem perfunderer. Hoc est primum ovum, unde nostrum *Britannica* originem ducit. Reliquum est, ut eas & redeas quam prosperrime, vir nobilissime, & benivolentia tua, auctoritate, ac nomine, tuare studium nostrum. Vale pridie Kalen. Aprilis 1583.

AD THAMESIN.

Amnis, inoffensa qui tam requiete beatus
Antipodum quæris iam tibi in orbe locum:
Nunc tibi principium merita, pro tempore, laudis
Fecimus, & rante carmina prima tube.
Tum cum reddideris, modo quam dimittimus, Argo,
Ornatu perages gaudia festa novo.



Væ nova tam subito mutati gratia cœli?
Vnde graues nimbi vitreas tenuantur in auras?
Diffugiunt nebulæ, puroque nitentior ortu
Illustrat terras, clementiaque equora TITAN?
Nimirum posuere NOTI, meliorque resurgit
EVRYVS, & in ventos soluuntur vela secundos,
Vela quibus gentis decus immortale BRITANNÆ
Tendit ad ignotum nostris maioribus orbem
Vix notis GILBERTVS aquis. Ecquando licebit
Ordiri heroas laudes, & facta nepotum
Attonitis memoranda animis? Si cœpta silendum est
Illa, quibus nostri priscis ætatibus audent
Conferri, & certare dies: quibus obuia plano
Iamdudum FORTVNA solo, quibus omne per vndas
NEREIDVM genus exultat, faustoque tridenti
Ipse pater NEREVS placabile temperat æquor.
Et passim Oceano curui Delphines ab imo
In summos saliant fluctus, quasi terga pararent
In quibus euectæ fulcent freta prospera puppes.
Et quasi diluvium, tempestatesque minatur
Follibus inflatis inimica in vela phryseter.
Et fauet ÆGÆON, & qui NEPTVNI PROTEVS
Armenta, ac turpes alit imò in gurgite phocas.
Atque idem modò ab antiqua virtute celebrat
Sceptra CHALDONIDVM: seclis modò fata futuris
Pandit, & ad feros canit euentura minores.

Vt pacis bellicque bonis notissima vasto
Insula in OCEANO, magni decus ANGLIA mundi;
Postquam opibus diues, populo numerosa frequenti,
Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit orbe;
Non incauta sui, ne quando immensa potestas
Pondere sit ruitura suo, noua mœnia natis
Quærat, & in longum extendat sua regna recessum:
Non aliter, quàm cum ventis sublimibus aptæ
In nidis creuere grues, proficiscitur ingens
De nostra ad tepidum tellure colonia NILVM.
Euge, sacrum pectus, tibi, per tot secula, soli
Seruata est regio nullis regnata MONARCHIS.
Et triplici quondam mundi natura norata
Margine, & audacem quarto dignata COLVMBVM;
Iam quintâ lustranda plagâ tibi, iamque regenda
Imperio superest. EVROPAM ASIAMQVE relinque,
Et fortunatam nimium, nisi sole propinquo
Arderet, LIBYEN: illis sua facta viasque
Terminet ALCIDES: abs te illustranda quiescit

Parte alia tellus, quam non BABYLONIA sceptrā,
 Non MACEDVM inuictæ vires, non PERSICA virtus
 Attigit, aut vnquam LATIÆ feriere secures.
 Non illo soboles MAHOMETI mugijt orbe:
 Non vaser HISPANVS, cælo, superitque relictis,
 Sacra PAPAE humano crudelia sanguine fecit.
 Illic mortales hominumque ignota propago;
 Siue illi nostræ veniant ab origine gentis,
 Seu tandem à prisca FAVNORVM stirpe supersint
 Antiqua geniti terra, sine legibus vrbes
 Syluasque & pingues habitant ciuilibus agros:
 Et priscos referunt mores, vitamque sequuntur
 ITALIÆ antiquæ, & primi rude temporis æuū:
 Cum genitor nati fugiens SATVRNVS ob iram
 In LATIO posuit sedem, rudibusque regendos
 In tenues vicos homines collegit ab agris.
 Aurea in hoc primum populo cœpisse feruntur
 Secula, sicque homines vitam duxisse beati;
 Vt simul argenti percurrentes tempora, & æris,
 Degener in durum chalybem vilesceret ætas;
 Rursus in antiquum, de quo descenderat, aurum
 (Sic perhibent vates) æuo vertente rediret.
 Fallor an est tempus, reuolutoque orbe videntur
 Aurea pacificæ transmittere secula gentes?
 Fallor enim, si quassatas tot cladibus vrbes
 Respicio, & passim lacerantes regna tyrannos:
 Si MAHOMETIGENIS ASIAM LIBYAMQVE cruentō
 MARTE premi, domitaque iugum cervice subire:
 Iamque per EVROPÆ fines immane tribunal
 BARBARI adorari domini, DACISQVE, PELASGISQVE
 ÆMATHISQVE, omni que solo quod diuidit HEBRVS,
 Et quondam bello inuictis, nunc MARTE sinistro
 Angustos fines, paruumque tuentibus oram
 PANNONIAE populis, & prisca in gente LIBYRNIS.
 Tum verò in superos pugnas sine fine cieri
 Patribus AVSONIS: ardere in bella, neceque
 SARMATICAS gentes: & adhuc à cæde recenti
 HISPANVM sancto GALLVMQVE maderè cruore.
 Non sunt hæc auri, non sunt documenta, sed atrox
 Ingenio referunt ferrum, & si dicere ferro
 Deteriora mihi licet, intractabile saxum.

At verò ad niueos alia si parte BRITANNOS
 Verto oculos animumque, quot, ô pulcherrima tellus;
 Testibus antiquo vitam traducis in auro?
 Namque quòd hoc summum colitur tibi numen honore
 Quo superi, atque omnis geniorum casta iuuentus
 Illius ad sacra iussa vices obit, arguit aurum.
 Quòd tam chara DEO tua sceptrā gubernat AMAZON,
 Quàm DE A, cum nondum cœlis ASTRA appetitis
 Inter mortales regina erat, arguit aurum.
 Quòd colit haud vllis inclusas mœnibus vrbes
 Aurea libertas, & nescia ferre tyrannum
 Securam ætatem tellus agit, arguit aurum.
 Quòd regio nullis iniuria gentibus, arma
 Arma licet ferruginea rubicunda quiete,
 Finitimis metuenda gerit tamen, arguit aurum.
 Quòd gladij, quòd mucrones, quòd pila, quòd hastæ
 In rastròs abièrè, & bello affueta iuuentus

Pacem & amicitias dulces colit, arguit aurum.
 Denique si fas est auro connectere laudes
 Æris, & in pacis venerari tempore fortes;
 Quot natos bello heroas, quot ahænea nutris
 Pectora? Sint testes procerum tot millia, testes
 Mille duces, interque duces notissima mille
 Illa cui assurgunt Mvsæ, quam conscia **PALIAS**
 Lætior exaudit, **GILBERTI** gloria nostri.
 Illius auxilium, & socialia prælia amici
 Mirantur **BELGÆ**, & quamuis iniustus **IBERV**
 Commemorat iustas acies, domitaque per oras
 Martia victrices formidat **HIBERNIA** turmas,
 Illum oppugnatae quassatis turribus arces,
 Illum expugnatae perruptis incenibus vrbes,
 Fluminaque & portus capti, hostilique notatum
 Sanguine submersæ meminere sub æquore classes.
 Hic ubi per medios proiectus **SECVANA** **CELTAS**
 Labitur, & nomen mox amissurus, & vndas.
 Omnia si desint, quantum est ingentibus ausis
 Humani generis pro pace bonoque pacisci
 Tàm varios casus, freta tanta, pericula tanta?
 Linquere adhuc teneram prolem, & dulcissima sacri
 Oscula coniugij, numerantemque ordine longo
AVCHERIAM digitis in mollibus, æquora mille
 Formidanda modis, atque inter pauca relatos
AVCHERIOS exempla suos, fratremque patremque;
 Qui dum pro patriâ laudem & virtute sequuntur,
 Obsessi in muris soli portisque **CALETI**,
 Præposuere mori, quàm cum prodentibus urbem,
 Et decus **ÆEIONVM**, turpi superesse salute.

Quòd si parua loquor, nec adhuc fortasse fatenda est
 Aurea in hoc iterum nostro gens viuere mundo,
 Quid verat ignotis vt possit surgere terris?
 Auguror, & faueat dictis **DEVS**, auguror annos,
 In quibus haud illo secus olim principe in vrbes
 Barbara plebs coëat, quàm cum noua fax vocaret
AMPHION **THEBAS**, **TROIANA** ad moenia **PHOEVS**;
 Atque ubi sic vltro iunctas sociauerit ædes,
 Deinde dabit leges custoditurus easdem;
 In quibus ignari ciues fraudumque, dolique,
 A solida affuescant potius virtute beari;
 Quàm genio & molli liquentia corpora vita
 In Venerem ignauam, pinguemque immergere luxum:
 Quàm nummos, quam lucra sequi, quam propter honores
 Viuere ad arbitrium stolidæ mutabile plebis.
 Non illic generi virtus, opibusque premetur
 Libertas populi, non contrâ in deside vulgo
 Oppugnabit opes cluis sub nomine pauper:
 Quisque suo partem scælix in iure capeisset,
 Tum sua magna parens ingenti fœnore tellus
 Exiguo sudore dabit bona: cura iuuentam
 Nulla adiget senio, nec sic labor ocia tollet,
 Quo minus è virtute petant sua commoda ciues.
 Omnihi scælicem si fas conscendere puppim:
 Et tecum patriâ (pietas ignosce) relictâ
 Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare sorores
 Mecum vnâ **ÆONIAs**, illic exordia gentis
 Prima nouæ ad seros transnittere posse nepotes?

Sed me fata verant, memoraturumque canorâ
 Inclyta facta tubâ, ad clades miserabilis ISTRÏ
 Intitum retrahunt. His his me fata referunt:
 Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe
 Aut veteres populos, aut nostro incognita cœlo
 Munera naturæ; dum spreto HELICONE manebit
 Illa AGANIPPÆIS sacrata OXONIA Musis.
 Dum loquor in viridi festinant gramine Nymphæ,
 Impediuntque comas lauro, & florentis oliuæ
 Frondibus armantur, dominatricemque frequentes
 Oceani immensi longè venerantur ELISAM.
 Illa autem ad gelidum celsis de turribus amnem
 Prospicit, & iamiam TAMESINO in patre tuetur
 Paulatim obliquis GILEBERTVM albescere velis.
 Sic dea PELIACO spectasse è vertice PALLAS
 Fertur IASONIOS comites, ad PHASIDOS vndas
 Vix benè dum notis committere carbasa ventis.
 DIVA faue, nutuque tuo suscepta parari
 Vela iuua; Si sola geris dignissima totum
 Talibus auspicijs proferri sceptrâ per orbem.
 Proptereâ quia sola tuos ita pace beasti
 Tranquilla populos, ut iam te principe possint
 Augere imperij fines. Quia sola videris
 Quo niuæ CHARITES, quo corpore DELIA virgo
 Pingitur, & iusto si sit pro teste vetustas.
 Talibus audimus quondam de matribus ortos
 SEMIDEOS homines: tali est de sanguine magnus
 Siue HECTOR genitus, siue HECTORE maior ACHILLES
 Duntaxat sine fraude vlla, sine crimine possint
 Vlla tibi veterum conferri nomina matrum,
 Quæ sexum factis superas, quæ patribus audes,
 NYMPHA, dijs dignas laudes æquare LATINIS.
 Mentior infœlix, nisi sic in corpore virtus
 Lucet formoso, ceu quæ preciosior auro est
 Gemma, tamen pariter placituro clauditur auro.
 Mentior, & taceo, nisi sola audiris vbique
 Induperatorum timor aut amor, inter & omnes
 Securam requiem peragis turissima casus:
 Dum reliqui reges duro quasi carcere clausi
 Sollicitis lethi dapibus, plenoque fruuntur
 Terrificis monstris furtiuâ per ocia somno.
 Mentior & taceo, solam nisi viuere ciues
 Æternum cupiunt: quando nec verberare toruo,
 Nec cædis pœnæue thronum formidine firmas:
 Sed tibi tot meritis maiestas parta, & inermis
 Ad patulos residet custos clementia postes:
 Ut quot penè rei iustum meruere tribunal,
 Tot veniam grato narrent sermone clientes.
 Nec tamen admittis, nisi quod iustumque piumque
 Agnoscit probitas, & quæ potes omnia, solis
 Legibus vsurpas cautas sanctissima vires.
 Nec mala formidas: si quidem quasi fune ligatur
 Consilio fortuna tibi: Nullum impia terret
 In castris BELLONA tuis: Quin pronus adorat
 GRADIVVS tua iussa pater, sequiturque vocantem
 Quacunque ingrederis grato victoria plausu.
 Dumque fores alijs, vitamque & regna tuetur
 Ianitor externus, cingunt tua limina ciues:

Dumque alijs sordet sapientia regibus, almo
 PEGASIDVM tu fonte satur, tot A POLLINIS artes
 Aurea vaticina fundis quasi flumina lingua.
 Nil nostri inuenere dies, nil prisca vetustas
 Prodidit, in linguis peragunt commercia nullis
 CHRISTIADVM gentes, quas te, diuina virago,
 Iustius AONIÆ possint iactare sorores.
 Audijt hæc mundus, cunctisque in finibus ardet
 Imperio parere tuo: & quæ fortè recusat
 Miratur vires regio tamen. Hinc tua sceptrâ
 Incurua MAHOMETIGENÆ ceruice salutat:
 Hinc tua pugnaces properant ad fœdera GALLI:
 Dumque sibi metuit toties tibi victus IBERVS,
 Nescia ROMANO GERMANIA Marte domari
 Quærit amicitias BRITONVM: procul oscula mittit
 Virgineis pedibus LATIVM, longèque remoti
 PANNONES in tutos optant coalescere fines.
 Quinetiam quæ submisso diademate nuper
 Obtulit inuictis fascesque fidemque BRITANNIS,
 Nonne vides passis vt crinibus horrida dudum
 Porrigit ingentem lugubris AMERICA dextram?
 Et numquid lacrymas, inquit, soror ANGLIA, nostras
 Respicias, & dura nobiscum in sorte gemiscis?
 An verò nescisse potes, quæ tempora quantis
 Cladibus egerimus? postquam insatiabilis auri,
 Nam certè non vllus amor virtutis IBEROS
 In nostrum migrare solum, pietasue coëgit.
 Ex illo, quæ sacra prius vana litabam
 Manibus infernis, sperans meliora, tuumque
 Discere posse DEVM, iubeor mortalibus aras
 Erigere, & mutas statuas truncosque precata
 Nescio quod demens ROMANVM numen adoro.
 Cur trahor in terras? si mens est lucida, puris
 Cur DEVS in cœlis rectâ non quæritur? aut si
 A nobis cœlum petitur, cur sæpe videmus
 Igne, fame, ferro subigi, quocunque reatu
 Oenotriæ sedis maiestas lasa labascit?
 Non sic religio, non sic me iudice gaudet
 Defendi sua regna DEVS, quod si optimus ille est;
 Quod si cuncta potest, & nullis indiget armis.
 Mitto queri cades, exhaustaque mœnia bello:
 Mitto queri in viles tot libera corpora seruos
 Abiecta, immanisque iugum Busrïde dignum.
 Te tantum fortuna animet tua, te tua virtus:
 Si tibi tam plenè habitantur mœnibus vrbes,
 Vt nisi in excelsum crescant, cœloque minentur
 Edes aëriæ; quanquam latissima, desit
 Terra tamen populo: Si tot tua flumina nigrant
 Turrigeras arces imitata mole carinæ,
 Quot non illa natant eadem tua flumina cygni.
 Si tibi iam sub sole iacens penetratus vtroque est
 Mundus, vtroque iacens peragrata est terra sub axe.
 Ni frustra gelidam vectus WILLOBEVS ad arcton
 Illa in gente iacer, cui dum Sol circinat vmbas,
 Dimidio totus vix forsitan occidit anno.
 Ni frustra quæ fuit iter, duraque bipenni
 Illo FROBISERVS reditum sibi in æquore fecit;
 Horridum vbi semper pelagus, glacieque perenni

Nova Albion.

Hugo Willobei-
ius eques auratus.

Martinus Fro-
bisherus eques
auratus.

Frigora

Frigora natiuos simulant immitia montes.
 Ni frustra per CIMMERIOS, syluisque propinqua
 Flumina RIPHAËIS eoa profectus ad vsque est
 Meenia IENCISONVS, PERSASQVE & proxima PERSIÆ
 BACTRA, & BACTRORVM confines regibus INDOS.
 Ni frustra, quod mortali tot secla negarant,
 Hâc tuus immensum nuper DRACVS ambiit orbem,
 Quâ patri OCEANO clausas circumdare terras
 Concessit natura viam, mediaque meare
 Tellure, & duplici secludere littore mundos.
 Iam si fortuna, iam si virtute sequare
 Digna tua; sunt monstra mihi, sunt vasta gigantum
 Corpora, quæ magno cecidisse sub HERCVLE non sit
 Dedecus, OGIGIVS non quæ aspernetur IACCVS.
 Quæ si indigna putas, tantaque in pace beara
 Auersare meos multo vt tibi sanguine fines
 Inuidiosa petas: est nobis terra propinqua,
 Et tantum bimari capiens discrimen in ISTHMO.
 Hanc tibi iamdudum primi inuenere BRITANNI,
 Tum cum magnanimus nostra in regione CABOTVS
 Proximus à magno ostendit sua vela COLVMO.
 Hæc neque vicina nimium frigescit ab arcto,
 Sole nec immodico in steriles torretur arenas:
 Frigus & æstatem iusto moderamine seruat,
 Siue leues auras, grati spiracula cœli,
 Seu diæ telluris opes, & munera curas.
 Pone age te digno tua scepra in honore, meoque
 Iunge salutarem propius cum littore dextram.
 Sit mihi fas aliquam per te sperare quietem,
 Vicinoque bono lætum illucescere Solem.
 Quodd si consilijs superûm, fatisque negatum est
 Durare immensum magna infortunia tempus:
 Quodd si de immerita iustum est ceruice reuelli
 Ignarum imperij dominum, populique regendi;
 Quodd si nulla vnquam potuit superesse potestas,
 Ni pia flexilibus pareret clementia frenis
 Obsequium. A miti quæ sita potentia CYRO
 Amissa est sæuæ soboli. Parcendo subegit
 Tot reges MACEDVM virtus, tot postera sensim
 Abscidit a parto tandem inclementia regno.
 Et quod ROMVLEIS creuit sub patribus olim
 Imperium, dirisemper minuere NERONES.

Antonius Ien-
 cisonus.

Franciscus Dra-
 cus eques roma-
 nus.

Sebastianus
 Cabotus.

A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere
 of our Lord 1583 by sir *Humphrey Gilbert* knight, with other gentlemen assist-
 ing him in that action, intended to discouer and to plant Christian inhabitants in place
 conuenient, vpon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape
 of *Florida*, lying vnder very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet
 not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, written by *M. Edward Haies* gentle-
 man, and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued vnto the end, and by
 Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

Any boyages haue bene pretended, yet hitherto neuer any thorowly accomplish-
 ed by our nation of exact discouery into the bowels of those maine, ample and
 vast countreys, extended infinitely into the North from 30 degrees, or rather
 from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene ta-
 ken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment vpon the same, as well may
 appeare both by the little we yet do actually possesse therein, & by our ignorance
 of

of the riches and secrets within those lands, which vnto this day we know chiefly by the trauell and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they can not challenge such right and interest vnto the sayd countreys as we, neither these many yeeres haue had of portunity nor meanes so great to discouer and to plant (being vexed with the calamities of intestine warres) as we haue had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace: yet haue they both waies per-
formed moze, and had long since attained a sure possession and settled gouernment of many pro-
uinces in those Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into those forren and remote
lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The coasts frō
Florida North-
ward first dis-
couered by the
English nation.

The first discouery of these coasts (neuer heard of before) was well begun by Iohn Cabot the
father, and Sebastian his sonne, an Englishman borne, who were the first finders out of all that
great tract of land stretching from the cape of Florida vnto those Islands which we now call the
Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed vnto the crowne of England. Since when,
if with like diligence the search of inland countreys had bene followed, as the discouery vpon the
coast, and out-parts therof was performed by those two men: no doubt her Maiesties territories
and reuenue had bene mightily enlarged and aduanced by this day. And which is moze; the seed
of Christian religion had bene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might haue
brought forth a most plentiful harvest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be
the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatsoeuer is builded vpon
other foundation shall neuer obtaine happy successe nor continuance.

And although we can not precisely iudge (which onely belongeth to God) what haue bene the
humours of men stirred vp to great attempts of discouering and planting in those remote coun-
treys, yet the euents do shew that either Gods cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or
els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to
be yet reuealed vnto those infidels before the appointed time.

But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring for-
ward at the time assigned by God, an effectuall and compleat discouery & possession by Christians
both of those ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwith-
standing God in his wisdom hath permitted to be reuealed from time to time a certaine obscure
and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be
dull enough in the zeale of his cause) and thereby to prepare vs vnto a readinesse for the executi-
on of his will against the due time ordeined, of calling those pagans vnto Christianity.

It is con-
sideration.

In the meane while, it behooueth every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of incli-
nation vnto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the same proceed of ambition or
auarice, he may assure himselfe it cometh not of God, and therefore can not haue confidence of
Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistible) both of sea, and infinite pe-
rils vpon the land; whom God yet may vse an instrument to further his cause and glory some way,
but not to build vpon so bad a foundation.

Otherwise, if his motives be deriued from a vertuous & heroicall minde, preferring chiefly the
honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in most wonder-
full and dreadfull manner ouer their bodies and soules; aduancement of his honest and well dispo-
sed countrey men, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; reliefe of sundry people
within this realme distressed: all these be honorable purposes, imitating the nature of the munifi-
cent God, wherewith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyond expectation of man.

Probable con-
sideration in these
lands North-
ward of Florida, are
reserved for the
English nation
to possess.

And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confi-
dently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely neuer) the
time is compleat of receiuing also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an
instrument to effect the same: it seeming probable by euent of precedent attempts made by the
Spaniards and French sundry times, that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath re-
served the same to be reduced vnto Christian civility by the English nation. For not long after
that Christopher Columbus had discovered the Islands and continent of the West Indies for
Spaine, Iohn and Sebastian Cabot made discouery also of the rest from Florida Northwards to
the behoofe of England.

The Spany-
ards prospe-
rous in the
southerne
discoueries,
yet vnhappy
in these Nor-
therne.

And whensoever afterwards the Spaniards (very prosperous in all their Southerne disco-
ueries) did attempt any thing into Florida and those regions inclining towards the North, they
proued most vnhappy, and were at length discouraged utterly by the hard and lamentable successe
of many both religious and valiant in armes, endeavouring to bring those Northerly regions also
vnder the Spanish iurisdiction; as if God had prescribed limits vnto the Spanish nation which
they might not exceed: as by their owne gestes recorded may be aptly gathered.

The

The French, as they can pretend lesse title vnto these Northerne parts then the Spaniards, by how much the Spaniards made the first discouery of the same continent so far Northward as vnto Florida, and the French did but reuiew that before discovered by the English nation, vsurping vpon our right, and imposing names vpon countreys, riuers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had bene the first finders of those coasts; which intury we offered not vnto the Spaniards, but left off to discouer when we approached the Spanish limits: euen so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent vpon anothers right, notwithstanding their manifold attempts, in which the issue hath bene no lesse tragicall then that of the Spaniards, as by their owne reports is extant.

The French are but vsurers vpon our right.

The French are so infortunate in those North parts of America.

A good encouragement for the English nation, to proceed in the conquests of the North of America.

The due time approacheth by all likelihood of calling these heathens vnto Christianity. The word of God moueth circularly.

Then seeing the English nation onely hath right vnto these countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the priuilege of first discouery, vnto which Cabot was authorized by regall authority, and set forth by the expence of our late famous king Henry the seventh: which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: it may greatly encourage vs vpon so iust ground, as is our right, and vpon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same) to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countreys appertaining vnto the crowne of England: the same (as is to be coniectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approaching) being now arrived vnto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if euer their calling vnto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the reuolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moued from the East, towards, & at last vnto the West, where it is like to end, vnlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world shalbe the end. And as the Gospel when it descended Westward began in the South, and afterward spread into the North of Europe: euen so, as the same hath begunne in the South countreys of America, no lesse hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the North.

These considerations may helpe to suppress all dreeds rising of hard euents in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heauy successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and gouernment in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause (which was iust in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deseruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expence of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuerthelesse, least any man should be dismayed by example of other folks calamity, and misoeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witnesse, to deliuer the circumstance and manner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so infortunately incumbered with wants, and woofe matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subiect to tolerate abuses, & in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succed.

The issue of such actions, being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition (being the first attempt by our nation to plant) vnto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well aduised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the carriage is of his word into those very mighty and vast countreys. An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with bale purposes; as many haue made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarce iustificable: which doth excite Gods heauy iudgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cause, without pondering his iust proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how iust soeuer, who can not but deeme the sequele very dangerous vnto their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength) seeing the very beginnings are entered with spoile.

And with this admonition denounced vpon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable vnto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America (vnto whom I wish all happinesse) I will now proceed to make relation bylesly, yet particularly, of our voyage vnderaken with sir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended aduersly.

When first Sir Humfrey Gilbert vnderooke the Westerne discouery of America, and had procured

The planting of Gods word must be handled with reverence.

All actions coloured by pretence of planting vpon remote lands.

The first and
great prepara-
tion of Sir Hu-
frey Gilbert.

procured from her Maiesty a very large commission to inhabit & possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exem- plified with many priuileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew vnto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterpryse, so that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neuertheless, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were diuers, which bred a iarre, and made a diuision in the end, to the confusion of that attempt euen before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, & men ready vpon the coast to go aboord: at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pre- tended: Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, lea- uing the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he aduentured to sea: where ha- uing tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driuen to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his grieve) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.

A constant res-
olution of Sir
Humfrey Gilbert.

Having buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impai- red, his minde yet not dismayd, he continued his former designment & purpose to reuiue this enter- prise, good occasion seruing. Upon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfy his desire, at last he granted certaine assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of meane ability, desiring the priuilege of his grant, to plant & fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuer of Canada, to whō if God gaue good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the same (he thought) would greatly aduance the hope of the South, & be a furtherance vnto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused without prejudice vnto him by the former supposition, that those North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a possession taken in any parcell of those heathen countreys, by ver- tue of his grant, did inuest him of territories extending euery way two hundred leagues: which induced Sir Humfrey Gilbert to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six yerres, if in that space he had not gotten actuall possession.

A second pre-
paration of Sir
Humfrey Gilbert.

Time went away without any thing done by his assignes: insomuch that at last he must resolute himselfe to take a voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his patent in force, which then al- most was expired or within two yerres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, Sir George Peckam knight shewed him- selfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his aduice & in the charge. Other gen- tlemen to their ability ioyned vnto him, resolving to aduenture their substance & liues in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisite, some of them continued the charge two yerres compleat without intermission. Such were the difficulties and crosse accidents opposing these proceedings, which tooke not end in lesse then two yerres: many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in Causer bay neere vnto Plimmouth: then resolved to put vnto the sea with shipping and prouision, such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the yere, were too farre spent. Neuertheless it seemed first very doubtfull by what way to shape our course, and to begin our in- tended discovery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

Consultation
about our
course.

The first, that is, beginning South, without all controuersie was the likeliest, wherein we were assured to haue commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida setteth North- ward, and would haue furthered greatly our nauigation, discovering from the foresayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all those lands lying to the North.

Comodities
in discovering
from South
Northward.

Also the yere being farre spent, and arriued to the moneth of Iune, we were not to spend time in Northerly courses, where we should be surprisid with timely Winter, but to couet the South, which we had space enough then to haue attained; and there might with lesse detriment haue win- tered that season, being more milde and short in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

These and other like reasons alleged in fauour of the Southerne course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that forasmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull prouisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage, and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the New found- land in our way, which was but seven hundred leagues from our English coast. Where being v- sually at that time of the yere, and vntill the fine of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieued abundantly with many necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare, and freely impart vnto vs.

Not staying long vpon that Newland coast, we might proceed Southward, and follow still the Sunne, vntill we arrived at places moze temperate to our content.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly course, obeying vnto necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approach of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke mists, tempest and rage of weather; also contrariety of currents descending from the cape of Florida vnto cape Briton and cape Rase, would fall out to be great and irresistible impediments vnto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell vs to Winter in those North and colde regions.

Cause why we began our discovery from the North. Incommodities in beginning North.

Wherefore suppressing all objections to the contrary, we resolved to begin our course Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way vnto Newfoundland: from whence after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permission) to proceed into the South, not omitting any riuer or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search. Immediately we agreed vpon the maner of our course and orders to be obserued in our voyage; which were deliuered in writing vnto the captaines and masters of euery ship a copy in maner following.

Euery shippe had deliuered two bullets or scrowles, the one sealed vp in ware, the other left open: in both which were included seuerall watch-words. That open, seruing vpon our owne coast or the coast of Ireland: the other sealed, was promised on all hands not to be broken vp vntill we should be cleere of the Irish coast; which from thenceforth did serue vntill we arrived and met altogether in such harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vous. The sayd watch-words being requisit to know our consorts whensoever by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together againe; or one should hale another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboord of another in the darke.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keepe secret that watch-word while we were vpon our owne coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might betray the same; which knowen to an enemy, he might boord vs by night without mistrust, hauing our owne watch-word.

Orders agreed vpon by the Captaines and Masters to be obserued by the fleet of Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

First the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.
2 Item, if the Admirall shall shorten his saile by night, then to shew two lights vntill he be answered againe by euery ship shewing one light for a short time.
3 Item, if the Admirall after his shortening of saile, as aforesayd, shall make moze saile againe: then he to shew three lights one aboue another.

4 Item, if the Admirall shall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wauering light ouer his other light, wauering the light vpon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered by weather, or other mishap, then so soone as one shall descry another, to hoise both toppe sailes twise, if the weather will serue, and to strike them twise againe: but if the weather serue not, then to hoise the maine top saile twise, and forthwith to strike it twise againe.

6 Item, if it shall happen a great fogge to fall, then presently euery shippe to beate vp with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then euery ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to shoot off two pieces euery euening, and euery ship to answer it with one shot: and euery man bearing to the ship, that is to leeward so neere as he may.

7 Item, euery master to giue charge vnto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboord one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, euery euening euery ship to haile the admirall, and so to fall afterne him, sailing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coast, euery ship to haile him both morning and euening.

9 Item, if any ship be in danger any way, by leake or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light, whereupon euery man to beate towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out againe; thereby to giue knowledge that they haue seene her token.

10 Item, whensoever the Admirall shall hang out her ensigne in the maine shrouds, then euery man to come aboord her, as a token of counsell.

11 Item, if there happen any storme or contrary winde to the fleet after the discovery, where by they are separated: then euery ship to repaire vnto their last good port, there to meet againe.

Our

Our course agreed vpon.

The course first to be taken for the discovery is to beare directly to cape Rase, the most Southerly cape of Newfound land; and there to harbour our selues either in Rog-neux or Fermous, being the first places appointed for our Rendez vous, and the next harbours vnto the Northward of cape Rase: and therefore euery ship separated from the fleet to repaire to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten dayes; and when you shall depart, to leaue marks.

A direction of our course vnto the Newfound land.

Beginning our course from Silley, the neereſt is by Westlouthwest (if the winde serue) vntill such time as we haue brought our selues in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the Ocean is subiect much to Southerly windes in Iune and Iuly. Then to take trauerſe from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes; if God shall not inforce the contrary; but to do your endeavour to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, so nere as you can possibly, because cape Rase lieth about that height.

Notes.

If by contrary windes we be driuen backe vpon the coast of England, then to repaire vnto Silley for a place of our assembly or meeting.

If we be driuen backe by contrary winds that we can not passe the coast of Ireland, then the place of our assembly to be at Beare hauen or Baltimore hauen.

If we shall not happen to meet at cape Rase, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neereſt harbour vnto the Westward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the Westward; euery ship leauing their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that euery man ought to leaue in such a case, were of the Generals priuate deuice written by himſelfe, sealed also in close ware, and deliuered vnto euery shippe one ſcoule, which was not to be opened vntill occasion required, whereby euery man was certified what to leaue for instruction of after commers: that euery of vs comming into any harbour or riuer might know who had bene there, or whether any were still there by higher into the riuer, or departed, and which way.

Beginning of
the voyage.

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually giuen to be obserued, euery man withorew himſelfe vnto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our shippes vnder ſaile, hauing a loſt gale of winde, we began our voyage vpon Tuesday the eleuenth day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1583, hauing in our fleet (at our departure from Caulet bay) these shippes, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and masters of them, I haue also inserted, as followeth:

- 1 The Delight *alias* The George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clearke master.
- 2 The Barke Raleigh set forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice-admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Dauis of Bristol master.
- 3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare-admirall: in which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse master.
- 4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.
- 5 The Squirrell, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade master.

Our fleet consisted of five
sailes, in which
we had about
260 men.
Provisions fit
for such discou-
eries.

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of euery faculty good choise, as Shipwrights, Balons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action: also Minerall men and Refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were provided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toys, as Morris dancers, Hobby horse, and Maylike conceits to delight the Sauage people, whom we intended to winne by

by all faire meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those simple people.

In this maner we set forward, departing (as hath bene said) out of Causon bay the eleuenth June 11. day of June being Tuesday, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell the same night.

Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the euening (according to the order before June 13. specified) they signified vnto vs out of the Vizadmirall, that both the Captaine, and very many of the men were fallen sicke. And about midnigh the Vizadmirall forsooke vs, nor withstanding we had the winde East, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse, and arriued greatly distressed at Plimmoch: the reason I could neuer understand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner (Master Raleigh in setting them forth: Therefore I leaue it vnto God.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieued with the losse of the most puissant ship in our flecte: after whose departure, the Golden Hind succeeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and remooued her flagge from the mizon vnto the foretop.

From Saturday the 15 of June vntill the 28, which was vpon a Friday, we neuer had faire June 15. day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the West north west, whereby we were driven Southward vnto 41 degrees scarse.

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly West towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of West to the South or to the North, whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, Aprill & May, hath bene perfoyned out of England in 22 dayes and lesse. We had winde alwayes so scant from West north west, and from West south west againe, that our trauesle was great, running South vnto 41 degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

Also we were incombred with much fogge and mist in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe so well together, but were disseuered, losing the companie of the Swallow and the Squirrill vpon the 20 day of July, whom we met againe at seuerall places vpon the Newfound land coast the thirde of August, as shalbe declared in place conuenient.

Saturday the 27 of July, we mighte descry not farre from vs, as it were mountaines of yce driven vpon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of vs: whereby may be conjectured that some current doth set that way from the North.

Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this side, we passe the banke, which are high grounds rising within the sea and vnder water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not lesse then 25 and 30 fadome water vpon them: the same (as it were some vaine of mountaines within the sea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, & do extend into the South infinitely. The breadth of this banke is somewhere more, and somewhere lesse: but we found the same about 10 leagues ouer, hauing sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground with almost 200 fadome of line, both before & after we had passed the banke. The Portugals, and French chiefly, haue a notable trade of fishing vpon this banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more sailes of ships: who commonly beginne the fishing in Aprill, and haue ended by July. That fish is large, alwayes wet, hauing no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fish.

During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is vpon the banke, by the incredible multitude of sea foule hovering ouer the same, to pray vpon the offalles & garbage of fish throwen out by fishermen, and floating vpon the sea.

Vpon Tuesday the 11 of June, we forsooke the coast of England. So againe Tuesday the 30 of July (leuen weekes after) we got sight of land, being immediately embayed in the Grand bay, or some other great bay: the certaintie whereof we could not iudge, so great hase and fogge did hang vpon the coast, as neither we might discerne the land well, nor take the sunnes height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude.

If taking this bay and uncomfortable coast (nothing appearing vnto vs but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and void of any greene herbe) we followed the coast to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

We had sight of an Island named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much lesse then a goose) and exceeding fat: which the French men vse to take without difficultie vpon that Island, and to barreil them vp with salt. But for lingering of time we had made vs there the like prouision.

June 11.

June 13.

Obscure.

June 15.

July 20.

Great fogges vpon the sea an lea Northward.

July 27.

The banke in length unknown, stretcheth from North into South, in breadth 10 leagues, in depth of water vpon it 30 fadome.

A great fishing vpon the banke.

Abundance of foules.

July 30.

First sight of land.

Island and a foule named Penguin.

In Island cal-
led Baccalaos, of
the fish taken
there.

Trending this coast, we came to the Island called Baccalaos, being not past two leagues from the maine: to the South thereof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues distant from Baccalaos, between which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar sort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had lost in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: wherof it seemed their store was so amended, that for joy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast by into the aire and overboard, their caps & hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most part were such as had bene by vs surprised vpon the narrow seas of England, being pirats and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, & tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the same ship now called the Swallow, following still their kind so oft, as (being separated from the General) they found opportunitie to robbe and spoile. And because Gods iustice did follow the same company, euen to destruction, and to the ouerthrow also of the Captaine (though not consenting to their misdoings) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of his iudgements, for examples of others, perswaded that God more sharply tooke reuenge vpon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much these went under protection of his cause and religion, which was then pretended.

Spilde meane
of them in the
Swallow.

Therefore vpon further enquiry it was knowne, how this company met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his freight: and because the men in the Swallow were very neere scantred of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withall where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they besought the captaine they might go aboard this Newlander, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leauie giuen, not without charge to deale fauorably, they came aboard the fisherman, whō they rifled of tackle, sailes, cables, victuals, & the men of their apparell: not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men skilfull in such mischiefes) as they tooke their cocke boat to go aboard their own ship, it was ouerwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men there drowned: the rest were preserued euen by those silly soules whom they had before spoyled, who saued and deliuered them aboard the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps destitute of sayles and furniture sufficient to carry them home (whither they had not lesse to runne then 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant: to reuenge the fact, and iustitie to the world Gods iudgements inflicted vpon them, as shall be declared in place conuenient.

English ships
are the strong-
est and most
valiant of o-
ther fleets,
fishing vpon
the South
parts of New-
found land.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, vntill we came against the harbor called S. Iohn, about 5. leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the Frigate or Squirrell lying at anker. Whom the English marchants (that were & alwaies be Admirals by turnes interchangeably ouer the fleets of fishermen within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of August) we made readie our sights, & prepared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrarie notwithstanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sailes. But first the General dispatched a boat to giue them knowledge of his coming for no ill intent, hauing Commission from her Maestie for his voyage he had in hand. And immediatly we followed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not aboue 2 butts length) the Admirall fell vpon a rocke on the harbor side by great oversight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much aboue water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe vs in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

Hauing taken place conuenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Masters repairing aboard our Admirall: whither also came immediatly the Masters and owners of the fishing fleet of Englishmen, to vnderstand the Generals intent and cause of our arriual there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the aduancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repaying of his fleet, and supply of some necessities, so farre as conueniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other harbors adioyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them with any fauour and priuiledge, which vpon their better aduise they should demand, the like being not to bee obteyned hereafter for greater price. So crauing expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in those partes, he dismissed them, after promise giuen of their best

best indeuour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request. The marchants with their Masters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great Ordnance of their flecte in token of our welcome.

It was further determined that euery ship of our flecte should deliuer vnto the marchants and Masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships as well English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adioyning (for our English marchants command all there) to leaue our prouision: whereunto the Portugals (aboute other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (aboute our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, troutes, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily vnto vs. Moreover as the maner is in their fishing, euery weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succede in orderly course, and haue weekely their Admirals feast solemnized: euen so the General, Captaines and masters of our flecte were continually inuited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was vnexpected in that desolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beasts and birds haue only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

Good order taken by English marchants for our supply in Newfound land.

Good entertainment in Newfound land. No Sauiages in the South part of Newfound land.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the Generall and his company were brought on land by English marchants, who shewed vnto vs their accustomed walks vnto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which doe grow in euery place.

August 4.

Sunday following, the General had his tent set vp, who being accompanied with his own followers, summoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read & interpreted vnto the strangers his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. Iohn, and 200 leagues euery way, inuested the Queenes Maiestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had deliuered vnto him (after the custome of England) a rod & a turffe of the same soile, entering possession also for him, his heires and assignes for euer: And signified vnto al men, that from that time forthward, they should take the same land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorized vnder her Maiestie to possesse and enioy it, And to ordaine lawes for the gouernement thereof, agreeable (so neere as conueniently might be) vnto the lawes of England: vnder which all people coming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subiected and gouerned. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed & deliuered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Maiesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted preiudiciall, the partie or parties offending should be adiudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her Maiestie, he should loose his eares, and haue his ship and goods confiscate.

August 5.

Possession taken.

Three lawes.

These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude as well of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and gouernement begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingrauen in lead, and insired vpon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Maiestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for euer: the Generall granted in fee farme diuers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbor of S. Iohn, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds conuenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof many times before they did faile, being preuented by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did couenant to pay a certaine rent and seruice vnto Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for euer, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselves or their assignes.

Actual possession maintained in Newfound land.

Now remained only to take in prouision granted, according as euery shippe was taxed, which did fish vpon the coast adioyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men vnto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and prouisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea

Men appointed to make search.

of land, and to make relation vnto the Generall what eyther themselves could knowe by their owne trauaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some obserued the eleuation of the pole, and drew platys of the countrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans severall relation, I haue drawn a brieve description of the Newfound land, with the commodities by sea or lande already made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neuerthelesse the Cardes and platys that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbours, bays, and capes, did perishe with the Admirall: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

A brieve relation of the Newfound lande, and the commodities thereof.

New found land
is at Islands
or broke lands



That which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Island, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Islands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, vpon the gulfie and entrance of the great riuer called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, nauigation may be made both on the South and North side of this Island. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length betweene three & 400 miles, accounting from cape Race (which is in 46 degrees 25 minuts) vnto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Island round about hath very many goodly bays and harbours, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the known world.

Goodly roads
and harbours.

New found land
is habitable.

The common opinion that is had of intemperature & extreme cold that should be in this countrey, as of some part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are vnder the same eleuation: euen so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the climate, that the South parts should be so intemperate as the hute hath gone. For as the same doe lie vnder the climates of Briton, Aniou, Poictou in France, betweene 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: vnlesse vpon the outcoast lying open vnto the Ocean and sharpe windes, it must in deede be subiect to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interposed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to resist the asperitie and rigor of the sea and weather. Some hold opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more subiect to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere vnto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy and Afrike, euen vnder the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and feel some vncouered of snow, in their culme and highest tops, which cometh to passe by the same reason that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneath them, it is found quite contrary. Euen so all hills hauing their descents, the valleys also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the climate doeth giue in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the Sunne in his diurnall course from East to West, passeth ouer (for the most part) oyer land and sandy countries, before he arriueth at the West of Europe or Afrike (for the most part) oyer land and sandy countries, with little or no qualification by moyst vapours. Where, on the contrarie he passeth from Europe and Afrike vnto America ouer the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyst vapours, which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reuerberation vpon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being so much to the Northward. Neuerthelesse (as I sayd before) the cold cannot be so intollerable vnder the latitude of 46 47 and 48 (especially within land) that it should be uninhabitable, as some doe suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in these South parts there be certaine beastes, Dunces or Leopards, and birdes in like maner which in the Sommer we haue seene, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldnesse. Besides, as in the monethes of June, July, August and September, the heate is somewhat more then in England at those seasons: so men remaining vpon the South parts neere vnto Cape Race, vntill after Hollandtide, haue not found the cold so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Those which haue arriued there after Nouember and December, haue found the snow exceeding deepe, whereat no maruaile, considering the ground vpon the coast, is rough and breuen, and the snow is driuen into the places most declining, as the like is to be seene with vs. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land vpon the playner countries, which also are defended by

Cold by acci-
dental means

by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those South parts, above that with vs here: it can not be so great as in Swedland, much lesse in Moscouia or Russia: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigor of cold is dispensed with by the commoditie of Stoues, warme clothing, meats and drinckes: all which neede not to be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood haue abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are sauages altogether harmlesse. Touching the commodities of this countrie, seruing either for sustentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are & may be made diuers: so y^t it seemeth Nature hath recompensed that only defect and incommoditie of some sharpe cold, by many benefits: viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as Trouts, Salmones and other fish to vs vnknownen: Also Cod, which alone dratweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of Whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bays of Placentia & the Grand bay, where is made Crane oiles of the Whale: Herring the largest that haue bene heard of, and exceeding the Hualstrond herring of Norway: but hitherto was neuer benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobsters, Turbut, with others infinite not sought after: Dyffers hauing pearle but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

Commodities.

Fish of sea and fresh water.

Concerning the inland commodities, aswel to be drawn from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adioyning: there is nothing which our East and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and industrie: Namely, rosen, pitch, tarre, sopeashes, dealboord, mastes for ships, hides, furs, flaxe, hampe, coyne, cables, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countries will asford, and the soyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the most in those South parts, are Firretrees, Pine and Cypresse, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger then a small pearle. Also pearle trees, but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sorts to vs vnknownen.

The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing forth abundantly peason small, yet good feeding for cattel. Roses passing sweet, like vnto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berry which we call Purres, good and wholesome to eat. The grasse and herbe doth fat sheepe in very short space, proued by English marchants which haue caried sheepe thither for fresh victuall and had them raised exceeding fat in lesse then thre weekes. Peason which our countrey men haue sowed in the time of May, haue come vp faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present acceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits comming by by art and industrie in that desolate and dishabited land.

Lakes or pooles of fresh water, both on the tops of mountaines and in the vallies. In which are said to be muskles not vnlike to haue pearle, which I had put in triall, if by mischance falling vnto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diuersitie. All kind of greene foule: Others as bigge as Bustards, yet not the same. A great white foule called of some a Gaint.

Upon the land diuers sorts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridges most plentifull larger then ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doves, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and vnable to flie. Birds some like blackbirds, linnets, canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beast, as it seemeth by the tract & foote very large in maner of an ore. Beares, ounces or leopards, some greater & some lesser, wolues, fores, which to the Northward a litle further are black, whose furre is esteemed in some Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, beuers, marternes: And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the Generall had brought vnto him a Sable aloue, which he sent vnto his brother sir Iohn Gilbert knight of Deuonshire: but it was neuer deliuered, as after I vnderstood. We could not obserue the hundredth part of creatures in those vnhabited lands: but these mentioned may induce vs to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures seruing for the vse of man, though man hath not vsed the fift part of the same, which the more doth aggrauate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to liue indirectly, and very miserably to liue & die within this realme pestered with inhabitants, then to aduenture as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in those remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister vnto mens endeuours, and for art to worke vpon.

Newfound land doth minister commodities abundantly for art & industrie.

For besides these already recounted and infinite more, the mountaines generally make shew of minerall

minerrall substance: Iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not auerre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumstances following, more then hope may be conceiued thereof.

Siluer Ore
brought vnto
the Generall.

For amongst other charges giuen to inquire out the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerrall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest, and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be pyon then other mettall. The next time he found Ore, which with no smal shew of contentment he deliuered vnto the General, vsing protestation, that if siluer were the thing which might satisfie the Generall & his followers, there it was, aduising him to seeke no further: the perill whereof he vnderooke vpon his life (as deare vnto him as the Crowne of England vnto her Maestie, that I may vse his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

Reasons why
no further
search was
made for the
siluer mine.

My selfe at this instant liker to die then to liue, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to haue some part of the Ore, he replied: Content your selfe, I haue seene ynough, and were it but to satisfie my priuate humoz, I would proceede no further. The promise vnto my friends, and necessitie to bring also the South countreies within compasse of my Patent neere expired, as we haue already done these North parts, do only perswade me further. And touching the Ore, I haue sent it aboard, whereof I would haue no speech to be made so long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Viscains and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom must be kept any bzuit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea prooue shalbe made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answere I iudged reasonable, and contenting me well: wherewith I will conclude this narration and description of the Newfoundland, and proceede to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.

Misdemeanor
in our compa-
nie.

While the better sort of vs were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and contriuing of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another sort & disposition were plotting of mischief. Some casting to steale away our shipping by night, watching oportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the shore: whose conspiracies discovered, they were prevented. Others drew together in company, and caried away out of the harbors adioyning, a ship laden with fish, setting the poore men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselves, attending time and meanes to returne home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briebe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall licensed to returne home. Inasmuch as after we had reuiued our people, resolved to see an end of our voyage, we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping: it seemed good therefore vnto the Generall to leaue the Swallowe with such prouision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people.

God brought
together these
men into the
ship ordained
to perill, who
before had com-
mitted such
outrage.

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whose stead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who also brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before haue bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed vpon fishermen there met at sea.

Why Sir Humf.
Gilbert went in
the Frigate.

The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the Squirrell (whereof the Captaine also was amongst them that returned into England) the same frigate being most conuenient to discouer vpon the coast, and to search into euery harbor or creeke, which a great ship could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings & fighes, and ouercharged with bales and such small Ordnance, more to giue a shew, then with iudgement to foresee vnto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their ouerthrow.

Liberalitie of
the Portugals.

Now hauing made readie our shipping, that is to say, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboard our prouision, which was wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oiles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrellled, and such like: Also we had other necessary prouisions for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withall, boates or pinnesles fit for discouery. In briebe, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had bene in a Countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

August 20
S. Johns in 47
deg. 40 min.

We departed from this harbour of S. Johns vpon Tuesday the twentieth of August, which we found by exact obseruation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the same harborough.

Cape Race in
46 degrees
25 minutes.

This Cape lyeth South South-west from S. Johns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league: within the sea riseth by a rocke against the point of the Cape, which thereby is easily knowen: It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Under

Under this Cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew in lesse then two houres, fish so large and in such abundance, that many dayes after we fed vpon no other prouision. Fith large and plentifull.

From hence we shaped our course vnto the Island of Sablon, if conueniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Briton.

Sablon lieth to the sea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe vpon intelligence we had of a Portugall, (during our abode in S. Johns) who was himselfe present, when the Portugals (about thirty yeeres past) did put into the same Island both Beate and Swine to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed vnto vs very happy tidings, to haue in an Island lying so neere vnto the maine, which we intended to plant vpon, such store of cattell, whereby we might at all times conueniently be relieved of victuall, and serued of store for breede. Cattell in the Ile of Sablon,

In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape Race stretcheth into the North-west, making a bay which some called Trepassa. Then it goeth out againe toward the West, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner East and West. But this point inclineth to the North: to the West of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We sent men on land to take view of the soyle along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had wil to be planted there. They saw Pease growing in great abundance euery where. Good soile.

The distance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Nauigation we spent 8 dayes, hauing many times the wind indifferent good: yet could we neuer attaine sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindzed by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of vs escaped: where neuertheless we lost our Admirall with al the men and prouision, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of skill to make coniecture, by our course and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter) I haue set downe the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Master of the Hind, and Iohn Paul his mate, both of Limehouse,

Reckonings kept in our course from Cape Race towards Cape Briton, and the Island of Sablon, to the time and place where we lost our Admirall.

August 22.	West,	14. leagues.
	West and by South,	25.
	Westnorthwest,	25.
	Westnorthwest,	9.
	Southsouthwest,	10.
	Southwest,	12.
	Southsouthwest,	10.
August 29.	Westnorthwest.	12. Here we lost our Admirall.
Summe of these leagues, 117.		

The reckoning of Iohn Paul Masters mate from Cape Race.

August 22.	West,	14. leagues.
23	Northwest and by West,	9.
24	Southwest and by South,	5.
25	West and by South,	40.
26	West and by North,	7.
27	Southwest,	3.
28	Southwest,	9.
	Southwest,	7.
	Westsouthwest,	7.
29	Northwest and by West,	20. Here we lost our Admirall.
Summe of all these leagues, 121		

Our course we held in clearing vs of these flats was Eastsoutheast, and Southeast, and South
14 leagues with a marueilous scant winde.

The maner how our Admirall was lost.

August 27.

Vpon Tuesday the 27 of August, toward the euening, our Generall caused them in his frigat to sound, who found white sande at 35 fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Wednesday toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Westnothwest, contrary to the mind of master Cox: neuerthelesse wee followed the Admirall, deppriued of power to preuent a mischiese, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold o-
ther course, alleaging they could not make the ship to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

Predictions
before the
wacke.

The euening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admirall, or Delight, continued in sounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: also winding the Cornets, Haughtboyes: and in the end of their iolitie, left with the battell and ringing of dole-
full knels.

Towards the euening also we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpoise, with a harping ppon, hauing first stricken diuers of them, and brought away part of their flesh, sticking vpon the ppon, but could recouer onely that one. These also passing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend storme. I omit to recite friuolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of strange voyces, the same night, which scarred some from the helme.

Losse of our
Admirall.

Thursday the 29 of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at South and by East, bringing withal raine, and thicke mist, so that we could not see a cable length before vs. And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoale and deepe in euery three or foure shippes length, after wee began to sound: but first we were vpon them vnawares, untill master Cox looking out, discerned (in his iudgement) white cliffes, crying (land) withall, though we could not afterward deserie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and and thicke weather.

Immediatly tokens were giuen vnto the Delight, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet foremost vpon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the same, too late to recouer it: for presently the Admirall strooke a ground, and had soone after her sterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the rest (that is to say, the Frigat, in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) cast about Eastsoutheast, bearing to the South, euen for our liues into the windes eye, because that way carried vs to the seaward. Making out from this danger, wee sounded one while seven fadome, then five fadome, then foure fadome and lesse, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recovered (God be thanked) in some despaire, to sea roome enough.

In this distresse, wee had vigilant eye vnto the Admirall, whom wee sawe cast away, without power to giue the men succour, neither could we espie any of the men that leaped ouerboord to saue themselves, either in the same Whimelle or Cocks, or vpon rafters, and such like meanes, presenting themselves to men in those extremities: for we desired to saue the men by euery possible meanes. But all in vaine, sith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat vp and downe as neere vnto the wacke as was possible for vs, looking out, if by good hap we might espie any of them.

Stephanus Par-
menius a lear-
ned Hunga-
rian.

This was a heauy and grieuous euent, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe freighted with great prouision, gathered together with much trauell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundred soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budæus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, aduentured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discouerie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

Daniel a refiner
of mettals.

Here also perished our Saron Refiner and Discouerer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of vs in vndoubted hope.

No lesse heauy was the losse of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honest, and discreet

create Gentleman, ouerleene onely in libertie giuen late befoze to men, that ought to haue bene restrained, who shewed himselfe a man resolu'd, and neuer vnprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recouering the ship, and that men began to giue ouer, and to saue themselves, the Captaine was aduised befoze to shift also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the ship: but refusing that counsell, he would not giue example with the first to leaue the shippe, but vsed all meanes to exhort his people not to despair, nor so to leaue off their labour, choosing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to haue perished through his default, shewing an ill president vnto his men, by leauiing the ship first himselfe. With this mind bee mounted vpon the highest decke, where bee attended imminent death, and vnauidable: how long, I leaue it to God, who withowt weeth not his comfort from his seruants at such times.

In the meane season, certaine, to the number of foureteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselves to Gods mercy, amidst the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water. The boate seeming ouercharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to bee throwen ouerboord vpon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which other wayes seemed impossible to liue, offered himselfe with the first, content to take his aduenture gladly: which neuertheles Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, aduising to abide Gods pleasure, who was able to saue all, as well as a few.

A wonderfull
scape and de-
liuerance.
A great bi-
stresse.
A desperate re-
solution.

The boate was caried befoze the wind, continuing fire dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arrived at last with themen (alike, but wake) vpon the New found land, sauing that the for- sayd Headly, (who had bene late sicke) and another called of vs Brasile, of his trauell into those Countreys, died by the way, famished, and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to haue no better sustenance then their owne vyne, for fire dayes together.

Two men sa-
mished.

Thus whom God deliuered from drowning, hee appointed to be famished, who doth giue li- mits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom againe he will preferue, neither Sea, nor famine can confound. For those that arrived vpon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being vpon that coast.

After this heauie chance, wee continued in beating the sea vp and downe, expecting when the weather would cleere vp, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we iudged not farre off, eicher the continent or some Island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fadomes, and lesse. The ground comming vpon our lead, being sometimes oazie sand, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Our people lost courage dayly after this ill successe, the weather continuing thicke and blust- ring, with increase of cold, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendement, feeling an assurance of worse weather to grow vpon vs euery day. The Leaside of vs lay full of flats and dangers ineuitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and vnto vs vnknown. But aboue all, prouision wared scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall.

Canties infor-
ming vs to re-
turne home a-
gaine.

Those in the Frigate were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, befoze they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediately they also of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons hauing also moued the Generall to haue compassion of his poore men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to perfoyme the action they came for, resol- ued vpon retire: and calling the Captaine and Master of the Hinde, he peelded them many rea- sons, inforcing this vnexpected returne, withall procelling himselfe greatly satisfied with that hee had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these words, Be content, we haue seene enough, and take no care of expence past: I will set you forth royally the next Spring, if God send vs safe home. Therefore I pray you let vs no longer strue here, where we fight against the elements.

Omitting circumstance, how vnwillingly the Captaine & Master of the Hinde condescended to this

this

this motion, his owne company can testifie: yet comforted with the Generals promises of a speedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reasons, prouing an impossibilitie, to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

August 31.

A monster of the sea.

So vpon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, euen in winding about, there passed along betweene vs and towards the land which we now forooke a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the maner of a beast by moouing of his feete, but rather sliding vpon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diuing vnder, and againe rising aboue the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porpoises, and all other fish: but confidently shewing himselfe aboue water without hiding: notwithstanding, we presented our selues in open view and gesture to amaze him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eyes, and to bidde vs a farewell (comming right against the Hind) he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discern the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the Ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbear to deliuer: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, reioycing that he was to warre against such an enemy, if it were the deuill.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the Frigate wherein the Generall went was almost swallowed vp.

September 2.

Monday in the afternoone we passed in the sight of Cape Race, hauing made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, vnto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back againe, is to be imputed vnto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne.

This munday the Generall came aboard the Hind, to haue the Surgeon of the Hind to dress his foote, which he hurt by treading vpon a nail: At what time we comforted ech other with hope of hard successe to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigate, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his security. Immediately after followed a sharpe storme, which we ouerpassed for that time. Praise be God.

Our last conference with our Generall.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboard the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master, and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning vntill night. During which time there passed sundry discourses, touching affaires past, and to come, lamenting greatly the losse of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of measure grieved, the same doubtlesse being some matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered, the same to be y^e Dy which Daniel the Saxon had brought vnto him in the Mew found land. Whatsoeuer it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as not able to containe himselfe, he beat his boy in great rage, euen at the same time, so long after the miscarriage of the great ship, because vpon a faire day, when wee were becalmed vpon the coast of the New found land, neere vnto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboard the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could neuer conveniently send againe aboard the great ship, much lesse hee doubted her ruine so neere at hand.

Circumstances to be well observed in our Generall, importing the Dy to be of a Mew spine.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diuersly, and by sundry coniectures, which maketh me haue the greater hope of this rich Dyne. For where as the Generall had neuer before good conceit of these North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed vpon the Mew found land. And as before he refused not to grant assignements liberally to them that required the same into these North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of S. Johns, which certaine English merchants made suite for, offering to imploy their money and traueill vpon the same: yet neither by their owne suite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained.

Also laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he assigned the Captaine & Master of the Golden Hind, vnto the South discovery, and reserued vnto himselfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

Last

Last, being demanded what means he had at his arriuall in England, to compasse the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring: hauing determined vpon two flectes, one for the South, another for the North: Leaueth that to mee (hee replied) I will aske a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings vnto her Maiesty, who will be so gracious, to lend me 10000 pounds, willing vs therfore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he sayd) with all his heart, for that he had scene, the same being enough for vs all, and that we needed not to seeke any further. And these last wordes he would often repeate, with demonstration of great seruencie of mind, being himselfe very confident, and settled in heliefe of inestimable good by this voyage: which the greater number of his followers neuertheles mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the Generall kept vnto himselfe. Yet all of them that are liuing, may be witnesses of his wordes and protestations, which sparingly I haue deliuered.

Leauing the issue of this good hope vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, & can at his good pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit vp in the person of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance vpon him, euen so the vehement perswasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auail, to diuert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his Frigat, which was overcharged vpon their deckes, with sights, nettings, and small artillerie, too cumbersome for so small a boate, that was to passe through the Ocean sea at that season of the yere, when by course we might expect much storme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answer: I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I haue passed so many stormes, and perils. And in very trueth, hee was vrged to be so ouer hard, by hard reports giuen of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashnes, then aduised resolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had prouision out of the Hinde, such as was wanting aboard his Frigat. And so we committed him to Gods protection, & set him aboard his Pinnesse, we being more then 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Açores South of vs, yet wee then keeping much to the North, vntil we had got into the height and eleuation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high Pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, (as we see hilles and dales vpon the land) vpon which the seas doe mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diuersitie of winds, shifting often in sundry points: al which hauing power to moue the great Ocean, which againe is not presently settled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had bene diuersitie of windes. Howsoeuer it cometh to passe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, neuer saw more outrageous Seas. We had also vpon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an euill signe of more tempest: the same is vsuall in stormes.

Sunday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waues, yet at that time recovered: and giuing forth signes of ioy, the Generall sitting abast with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind (so oft as we did approach within hearing) We are as neere to heauen by sea as by land. Reiterating the same speech, well beseeeming a souldier, resolute in Iesus Christ, as I can testifie he was.

The same Monday night, about twelue of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of vs in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was deuoured and swallowed vp of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and euer after, vntill wee arriued vpon the coast of England: Dmitting no small saile at sea, vnto which we gaue net the tokens betweene vs, agreed vpon, to haue perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hinde, which arriued in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sunday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeast, with such thicke mist, that we could not discern land, to put in right with the Hauen.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, & lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which sayling well, might happily haue bene before vs. Also to certifie Sir Iohn Gilbert, brother vnto the Generall of our

Wilfulness in the Generall.

A token of a good mind.

A resolute and Christianlike saying in a distress.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert dying.

Arriual in England of the Golden Hinde.

hard

In the motion
of the Captaine
vnto Sir Hum-
frey Gilbert.

hard successe, whom the Captaine desired (while his men were yet aboard him, and were witnes-
ses of all occurrents in that voyage,) It might please him to take the examination of euery per-
son particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endeavour. Sir John Gilbert refused so to
doe, holding himselfe satisfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether despairing
of his brothers safetie, offered friendship and curtesie to the Captaine and his company, requiring
to haue his Barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was sent to helpe to
tow her in.

Neuerthelesse, when the Captaine returned aboard his ship, he found his men bent to depart,
euery man to his home: and then the winde seruing to proceede higher vpon the coast: they de-
manded money to carie them home, some to London, others to Harwich, and else where, (if the
barke should be caried into Dartmouth, and they discharged, so farre from home) or else to take
benefite of the wind, then seruing to draw neerer home, which should be a lesse charge vnto the
Captaine, and great ease vnto the men, hauing els farre to goe.

Will recom-
pense.

Reason accompanied with necessitie perswaded the Captaine, who sent his lawfull excuse and
cause of his sudden departure vnto Sir John Gilbert, by the boate of Dartmouth, and from thence
the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. Al the men tired with the tedious-
nes of so vnprofitable a voyage to their seeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle
and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was unrecompensed: their Captaine neuerthe-
lesse by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his
vndoubted prouidence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies those at other times,
whosoever haue confidence in him alone. Yet haue we more neere feeling and perseuerance of his
powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring vs together with others into one same pe-
ril, in which he leaueth them, and deliuereth vs, making vs thereby the beholders, but not parta-
kers of their ruine.

Euen so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sickneses
mortalitie, spoylings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions, more then in so small a flecte,
or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in euery particularitie, as partly by the former rela-
tion may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes liuing, it pleased God to
support this company, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inueterate, and long infested:
the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and conoord, beginning, continuing, and ending
the voyage, which none els did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of
wants, or preuented by death.

Constancie in
Sir Humfrey
Gilbert.

Thus haue I deliuered the contents of the enterprise and last action of Sir Humfrey Gilbert
knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appeare,
(though he be extinguished) some sparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a pur-
pose by all pretence honest and goodly, as was this, to discouer, possesse, and to reduce vnto the ser-
uice of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually
possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining vnto the Crowne of England: vnto the
which, as his zeale deserueth high commendation: euen so, he may iustly be taxed of temeritie and
presumption (rather) in two respects.

His temeritie
and presump-
tion.

First, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine & determinate place of habitation
selected, neither any demonstration of commoditie there in esse, to induce his followers: neuer-
theles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimony, and too careles of other mens expences,
to imploy both his and their substance vpon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very
like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning to bee salued some other way,
which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe
his designements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes,
which God might raise, he thrust himselfe againe into the action, for which he was not fit, presu-
ming the cause pretended on Gods behalfe, would carie him to the desired ende. Into which, ha-
uing thus made recurtie, he could not peebe againe to withdraw, though hee sawe no encourage-
ment to proceed, lest his credite soyled in his first attempt, in a second should vterly be disgraced.
Betweene extremities, hee made a right aduenture, putting all to God and good fortune, and
which was worst, refused not to entertaine euery person and meanes whatsoever, to furnishout
this expedition, the successe whereof hath bene declared.

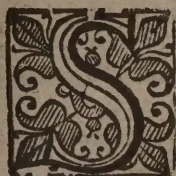
Afflictions
needfull in the
children of
God.

But such is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueth good. For besides that
fruite may growe in time of our trauelling into those North-west lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and
afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate hu-
mors,

moys, which befoze we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made vs sauoze, and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God: so it pleased the diuine will to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his, and euery other high and noble minde, haue alwayes aspired.

Ornatissimo viro, Magistro *Richardo Hakluyto Oxonij in Collegio ædis Christi, Artium & Philosophiæ Magistro, amico, & fratri suo.*



Non statueram ad te scribere, cum in mentem veniret promissum literarum tuarum. Putabas te superiore iam Iunio nos subsecuturum. Iraque de meo statu ex doctore Humfredo certiore te fieri iusseram. Verum sic tibi non esset satisfactum. Iraque scribam ad te iisdem ferè verbis, quia noua meditari & ^{conuolueris} mihi hoc tempore non vacat. Vndecimo Iunij ex Anglia reuera tandem & serio soluimus, portu & terra apud Plemuthum simul relictis. Classis

Dominus
Raiegh.

Insula Penguin.

In the south
side of Helve
found land,
there is store
of plaine and
champion
Countrey, as
Richard Clarke
found.

The great
heate of the
sunne in sum-
mer.

quinque nauibus constabat: maxima, quam * frater Amiralij accommodauerat, ignotum quo cõsilio, statim tertio die à nobis se subduxit. Reliqui perpetuò coniunctim nauigauius ad 23. Iulij, quo tempore magnis nebulis intercepto aspectu alij aliam viam tenuimus: nobis seorsim prima terra apparuit ad Calendas Augusti, ad gradum circiter 50. cum vltra 41. paucis ante diebus descendissemus spe Australium ventorum, qui tamen nobis suo tempore nunquam spirauère. Insula est ea, quam vestri Penguin vocant, ab auium eiusdem nominis multitudine. Nos tamen nec aues vidimus, nec insulam accessimus, ventis aliò vocantibus, Ceteri uero conuenimus omnes in eundem locum paulò ante portum in quem communi consilio omnibus veniendum erat, idque intra duas horas, magna Dei benignitate & nostro gaudio. Locus situs est in Newfoundlandia, inter 47. & 48. gradum, Diuum Ioannem vocant. Ipse Admiralius propter multitudinem hominum & angustiam nauis paulò afflictiores comitatus habuit, & iam duos dysentericis doloribus amisit: de cæteris bona spes est. Ex nostris (nam ego me Mauricio Browno verè generoso iuueni me coniunxeram) duo etiam casu quodam submersi sunt. Cæteri salui & longè firmiores. Ego nunquam sanior. In hunc locum tertio Augusti appulimus: quinto autem ipse Admiralius has regiones in suam & regni Angliæ possessionem potestatemque vendicauit, latis quibusdam legibus de religione & obsequio Regiæ Angliæ. Resicimus hoc tempore paulò hilarius & lautius, Certè enim & qualibus ventis vsi simus, & quàm fessi esse potuerimus tam longi temporis ratio docuerit, proinde nihil nobis deerit. Nam extra Anglos, 20 circiter naues Lusitanicas & Hispanicas nacti in hoc loco sumus: ex nobis impares non patientur nos esurire. Angli etsi satis firmi, & à nobis tuti, autoritate regij diplomatis omni obsequio & humanitate prosequuntur. Nunc narrandi erant mores, regiones, & populi. Cæterum quid narrem mi Hakluyte, quando præter solitudinem nihil video? Piscium inexhausta copia: inde huc comineantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attingit, illicò insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra vniuersa * montana & syluestris: arbores vt plurimum pinus: ex partim consenuère, partim nunc adulescunt: magna pars vetustate collapsa, & aspectum terræ, & iter euntium ita impedit, vt nusquam progredi liceat. Herbarum omnes proceræ; sed rarè à nostris diuersæ. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina, & spicas in similitudinem secales: & facillè cultura & satione in vsum humanum assuescieri posse videntur. Rubi in syluis vel potiùs fraga arborecentia magna suauitate. Vrsi circa tuguria nunquam apparent, & conficiuntur: sed albi sunt, vt mihi ex pellibus conicere licuit, & minores quàm nostri. Populus an vllus sit in hac regione incertum est: Nec vllum vidi qui testari posset. Et quis quæso posset, cum ad longum progredi non liceat? Nec minus ignotum est an aliquid metalli subsit montibus. Causa eadem est, etsi aspectus eorū mineras latentes præ se ferat. Nos Admiralio authores fuimus syluas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionē spaciū pateret: nec displicebat illi consiliū, si non magnū incommodum allatorum videretur. Confirmatum est enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septenium totū pisces non comparuisse, ex acerbata maris vnda ex terebynthina, quæ cõflagrantibus arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Cælum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum est, vt nisi pisces, qui arescunt ad solem, assidui inuertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. Hyeme quàm frigidum sit, magnæ moles glaciæ in medio mari nos docuere. Relatum est à comitibus mense Maio sexdecim totos dies interdum se inter tantam glaciem hæsisse, vt 60. orgyas altæ essent insulæ: quarum latera soli apposita cum liquecerent, libratione quadam vniuersam molem ita inuersam, vt quòd ante prouum erat, supinum euaderet, magno præsentium discrimine,

vt consentaneum est. Aer in terra mediocriter clarus est : ad orientem supra mare perpetuæ nebulæ : Et in ipso mari circa Bancum (sic vocant locum vbi quadraginta leucis à terra fundus attingitur, & pisces capi incipiunt) nullus ferme dies absque pluuia. Expeditis nostris necessitatibus in hoc loco, in Austrum (Deo iuuante) progrediemur, tantò indies maiori spe, quòd plura de iis quas petimus regionibus commemorantur. Hæc de nostris. Cupio de vobis scire: sed metuo ne incassum. Imprimis autem quomodo Vntonus meus absentiam meam ferat, præter modum intelligere velim: Habebit nostrum obsequium & officium paratum, quandiu vixerimus. Reuera autem spero, hanc nostram peregrinationem ipsius instituto vsui futuram. Nunc restat, vt me tuum putes, & quidem ita tuum, vt neminem magis. Iuuet dei filius labores nostros eatenus, vt tu quoque participare possis. Vale amicissime, suauissime, ornatissime Hakluyte, & nos ama. In Newfoundlandia apud portum Sancti Iohannis 6. Augusti 1583.

STEPHANVS PARMENIUS
Budeius, tuus;

The same in English.

To the worshipfull, Master *Richard Hakluyt* at *Oxford* in *Christchurch* Master of Arts, and Philosophie, his friend and brother.

I Had not purposed to write vnto you, when the promise of your letters came to my mind: But I thought in June last to haue followed vs your selfe, and therefore I had left order that you should be aduertised of my state, by Master Doctor Humfrey: but so you would not be satisfied: I will write therefore to you almost in the same words, because I haue no leasure at this time, to meditate new matters, and to vary or multiply words.

The 11. of June we set saile at length from England in good earnest, and departed, leaving the haue and land behind vs at Plimmouth: our flecte consisted of five shippes: the greatest, which the Admirals brother had lent vs, withdrew her selfe from vs the third day, wee know not vpon what occasion: with the rest we sailed still together till the 23. of July: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the the great mists, some of vs sailed one way, and some another: to vs alone the first land appeared, the first of August, about the latitude of 50. degrees, when as before we had descended beyond 41. degrees in hope of some Southerly windes, which notwithstanding neuer blew to vs at any fit time.

It is an Island which your men call Penguin, because of the multitude of birdes of the same name. Yet wee neither sawe any birdes, nor drew neere to the land, the winds seruing for our course directed to another place, but wee mette altogether at that place a little before the Haue, whereunto by common Councell we had determined to come, and that within the space of two houres by the great goodnesse of God, and to our great ioy. The place is situate in Newfoundland, betweene 47. and 48. degrees, called by the name of Saint Iohns: the Admirall himselfe by reason of the multitude of the men, and the smallnesse of his ship, had his company somewhat sickly, and had already lost two of the same company, which died of the flixe: of the rest we conceiue good hope. Of our company (for I ioyned my selfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper Gentleman) two persons by a mischance were drowned, the rest are in safetie, and strong, and for mine owne part I was neuer more healthy. Wee arrived at this place the thirde of August: and the first the Admirall tooke possession of the Countrey, for himselfe and the kingdome of England: hauing made and published certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is somewhat better, and daintier, then it was before: for in good loock, the experience of so long time hath taught vs what contrary winds wee haue found, and what great trauell wee may endure hereafter: and therefore wee will take such order, that wee will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall and Spanish shippes, besides the shippes of the English: which being not able to match vs, suffer vs not to bee hunger starued: the English although they were of themselves strong ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our authoritie, by the Queenes letters patents, they shewed vs all maner of due ty and humanitie.

The maner of this Countrey and people remaine now to be spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wilderness? Of fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine growes to them, that trauell to these parts: the hooke is no sooner shewne out, but it is eiesoones drawne by with some goodly fish: the whole land is full of hills and

and woods. The trees for the most part are *Pynes* and of them some are very olde, and some pong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of the land, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to trauell, that they can goe no whither: all the grasse here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for cozne: for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easily be framed for the vse of man: here are in the woodes bush berries, or rather straw berries growing by like trees, of great sweetnesse. Beares also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrey, and are sometimes killed, but they seeme to bee white, as I coniectured by their skinnies, and somewhat lesse then ours. Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither haue I seene any to witnesse it. And to say trueth, who can, when as it is not possible to passe any whither: In like sort it is vnknowne, whether any mettals lye vnder the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles seeme to haue some *Pynes* in them: we moued the Admirall to set the woods a fire, that so wee might haue space, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconuenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported and confirmed by very credible persons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fish neuer came to the place about it, for the space of 7. whole yeeres after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine, and Rosen of the trees, which ranne into the riuers vpon the firing of them. The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dzyed by the sunne, be euery day turned, it cannot possibly bee preserved from burning: but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the midst of the Sea haue taught vs: some of our company report, that in May, they were sometimes kept in, with such huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathoms thicke, the sides wherof which were toward the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse of heape was so inuerted and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which was before down ward rose vppward, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason wee may gather. The ayre vpon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towards the East there is nothing els but perpetuall mists, and in the Sea it selfe, about the Vanke (for so they call the place where they find ground forty leagues distant from the shore, and where they beginne to fish) there is no day without raine, when we haue serued, and supplied our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South, with so much the more hope euery day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of those Countreys, which we go to discover. Thus much touching our estate.

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone master Henry Vmpton doth take my absence: my obedience, and ductie shall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I liue: but in deede I hope, that this journey of ours shall be profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you your selfe may be partaker of our blessing. Adieu, my most friendly, most sweete, most vertuous Hakluyt: In Newfound land, at Saint Iohns Port, the 6. of August, 1583.

STEVEN PARMENIUS of
Buda, yours.

A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the *Delight*, going for the discovery of *Noremberga*, with Sir Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his oversight,

DEparting out of Saint Iohns Harbrough in the Newfound land the 20. of August vnto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our course vnto the Ile of Sablon or the Ile of Sand, which the Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly haue seene. But when we came within twentie leagues of the Ile of Sablon, we fell to controuersie of our course. The Generall came by in his Frigot and demanded of mee Richard Clarke master of the Admirall what course was best to keepe: I said that Westsouthwest was best: because the wind was at South and night at hand and vnknewen lands lay off a great way from the land. The Generall commanded me to go Westnorthwest. I told him againe that the Ile of Sablon was Westnorthwest

20. Leagues
from the Ile
of Sablon.

15. Leagues
from the Isle
of Sablon.
Hercin Clarke
buttruly char-
geth Sir Hum-
frey Gilbert.
The ship cast
away on
Thursday be-
ing the 29 of
August 1583

Sixteene gate
into the shipps
boate.

Master Hedlyes
vngodly pro-
position.

They came on
land the 7. day
after their shipps
wrecke.

The fruitful-
nesse of the
south part of
Newfound land.

and but 15. leagues off, and that he should be upon the Island before day, if hee went that course. The Generall sayd, my reckoning was untrue, and charged me in her Maesties name, and as I would shewe my selfe in her Countrey, to follow him that night. I fearing his threarnings, because he presented her Maesties person, did follow his commaundement, and about seuen of the clocke in the morning the ship strooke on ground, where shee was cast away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the course that I would haue had them gone before, and saw the ship cast away men and all, and was not able to saue a man, for there was not water vpon the land for either of them much lesse for the Admirall that dyed foureteene foote. Now as God would the day before it was very caline, and a Souldier of the ship had killed some foule with his piece, and some of the company desired me that they might hoyle out the boat to recover the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboard they did not hoyle it in againe that night. And whē the ship was cast away the boate was a sterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could swimme, and recovered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coulde: among the rest they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Master: They happened on my selfe being the master, but could neuer see the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16, whose names hereafter I will rehearse. And when the 16. were in the boate, some had small remembrance, and some had none: for they did not make account to liue, but to prolong their liues as long as it pleased God, and looked euery incient of an houre when the Sea would eate them vp, the boate being so little and so many men in her, and so foule weather, that it was not possible for a shippe to brooke halfe a course of sayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee saw it pleased God our boate liued in the Sea (although we had nothing to helpe vs withall but one oare, which we kept vpon the boate withall vpon the Sea, and so went euen as the Sea would driue vs) there was in our company one master Hedly that put forth this question to me the Master. I doe see that it doth please God, that our boate lyueth in the Sea, and it may please God that some of vs may come to the land if our boate were not ouerladen. Let vs make sixtene lots, and those foure that haue the foure shorrest lots we will cast ouerboard preferring the Master among vs all. I replied vnto him, saying, no, we will liue and die together. Master Hedly asked me if my remembrance were good: I answered I gaue God prayse it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the land, and was in hope to come to the lande within two or thre dayes, and layde they were but threescore leagues from the lande, (when they were seuentie) all to put them in comfort. Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any sustenance, saue onely the weedes that swamme in the Sea, and salt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreouer: then wee desired all to die: for in all these five dayes and five nights we saw the Sunne but once and the Starre but one night, it was so foule weather. Thus we did remaine the first day: then we were very weake and wished all to die sauing onely my selfe which did comfort them and promised they should come soone to land by the helpe of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they should neuer come to land, but that I promised them the seuenth day they should come to shore, or els they should cast me ouerboard: which did happen true the seuenth day, for at eleuen of the clocke wee had sight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land. All these seuen dayes and seuen nights the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meane time shifted vpon any other point, wee had neuer come to land: we were no sooner come to the land, but the wind came cleane contrary at North within halfe an houre after our arriual. But we were so weake that one could scarcely helpe another of vs out of the boate, yet with much adoe being come all on shore we kneeled downe vpon our knees and gaue God praise that he had dealt so mercifully with vs. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellows vnto a fresh brooke, where we satisfied our selues with water and berries very well. There were of all sorts of berries plentie, & as goodly a Countrey as euer I saw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre euery way: by the Sea side was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as euer I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruce trees, firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a little house with boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I deuised the company thre and thre to goe euery way to see what foode they could find to sustaine themselves, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with such foode as they could get. As we went aboard we found great store of peason as good as any wee haue in England: a man would thinke they had bene sowed there. We rested there thre dayes and thre nights and liued very well with pease and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, because it was a very goodly riuer like the
riuer

riuer of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmones. When wee had well rested our selues wee rowed our boate along the shore, thinking to haue gone to the Grande Bay to haue come home with some Spanyards which are peerey there to kill the Whale: And when we were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered pease and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the shore fūe dayes: about which time we came to a very goodly riuer that ranne farre vp into the Countrey and saw very goodly growen trees of all sortes. There we happened vpon a ship of Saint Iohn de Luz, which ship brought vs into Biskay to an Harbourogh called The Passage. The Master of the shippe was our great friend, or else we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsaile. For when the visitors came aboard, as it is the order in Spaine, they demanding what we were, he sayd we were poore fishermen that had cast away our ship in Newfound land, and so the visitors inquired no moze of the matter at that time. All done as night was come he put vs on land and had vs shift for our selues. Then had wee but tenne or twelue miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the yeere 1583.

Fourteene of our men brought out of Newfound land in a ship of S. Iohn de Luz.

A true Report of the late discoueries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the *Newfound Lands*, By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* Knight.

Wherein is also briefly set downe, her highnesse lawfull Title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the Aduenturers in particular: Together with the easinesse and shortnesse of the Voyage.

Written by Sir *George Peckham* Knight, the chiefe aduenturer, and furtherer of Sir *Humfrey Gilberts* voyage to *Newfound Land*.

The first Chapter, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.



It was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes past, to meete with a right honest and discreete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, in this last iourney for the Westerne discoueries, and is owner and Captaine of the onely vessell which is as yet returned from thence.

Master Edward Hays.

By him I vnderstand that Sir *Humfrey* departed the coast of England the eleuenth of Iune last past, with fūe sayle of Shippes, from Causen bay neere Plimmouth, whereof one of the best forooke his company, the thirteenth day of the same moneth, and returned into England.

The other foure (through the assistance of Almighty God) did arrive at Saint Iohns Hauen, in Newfound land, the 3. of August last. Upon whole arrivall all the Masters and chiefe Parteners of the English Fleet, which were in the said Hauen before, endeavoring to fraight themselves with fish, repaired vnto Sir *Humfrey*, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his Commission: which being done, he promised to intreat them and their goods well and honourably as did become her Maiesties Lieutenant. They did all welcome him in the best sort that they could, and shewed him and his all such courtesies as the place could afford or yeelde.

Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* did arrive at Saint Iohns Hauen in Newfound land, the 3. of August, Anno 1583.

Then he went to view the Countrey, being well accompanied with most of his Captaines and souldiers. They found the same very temperate, but somewhat warmer then England at that season of the yeere, replenished with Beasts and great store of foule of diuers kinds: And fish of sundry sortes, both in the salt water, and in the fresh, in so great plentie as might suffice to victuall an Armie, and they are very easily taken. What sundry other commodities for this Realme right necessarie, the same doeth yeelde, you shall vnderstand in this treatise hereafter, in place moze conuenient.

Among these there was found the tract of a beast of 7. piches and a halfe ouer.

On Monday being the fift of August, the Generall caused his tent to be set vpon the side of an hill, in the viewe of all the Fleete of English men and strangers, which were in number betweene thirtie and fourtie sayle: then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Masters, Gentlemen and other souldiers, he caused all the Masters, and principall Officers of the ships, aswell Englishmen as Spanyards, Portugales, and of other nations, to repaire vnto his tent: And then and there, in the presence of them all, he did cause his Commission vnder the great Seale of England to bee openly and solemnely read vnto them, whereby were granted vnto him, his

heires,

Sir Humfrey
tooke possession
of the New-
found land in
right of the
Crown of
England.

Three lawes
established
there by Sir
Humfrey.

Sundry per-
sons, became
Tenants to
Sir Humfrey,
and doe main-
taine possession
for him in di-
uers places
there.

Plutarch,

heires, and assignes, by the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, many great and large royalties, liberties, and priuiledges. The effect whereof being signified vnto the strangers by an Interpreter, hee tooke possession of the sayde land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turffe and receiuing the same with an Wassell wand, deliuered vnto him, after the maner of the law and custome of England.

Then he signified vnto the company both strangers and others, that from thenceforth, they were to liue in that land, as the Territories appertayning to the Crowne of England, and to be gouerned by such Lawes as by good aduise should be set downe, which in all points (so neere as might be) should be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And for to put the same in execution, presently he ordained and established three Lawes.

First, that Religion publicly exercised, should be such, and none other, then is vsed in the Church of England.

The second, that if any person should bee lawfully convicted of any practise against her Maiestie, her Crowne and dignitie, to be adiudged as traitors according to the Lawes of England.

The third, if any should speake dishonourably of her Maiestie, the partie so offending, to loose his carres, his ship and goods, to be confiscate to the vse of the Generall.

All men did very willingly submit themselves to these Lawes. Then he caused the Queenes Maiesties Armes to be ingraued, set vp, and erected with great solemnitie. After this, diuers Englishmen made sute vnto Sir Humfrey to haue of him by inheritance, their accustomed stagers, standings & dypping places, in sundry places of that land for their fish, as a thing that they doe make great account of, which he granted vnto them in fee farme. And by this meane he hath possession maintained for him, in many parts of that Countrey. To be brieue, he did let, set, giue and dispose of many things, as absolute Gouvernoze there, by vertue of her Maiesties letters patents.

And after their ships were repaired, whereof one he was to leaue behind, both for want of men sufficient to furnish her, as also to carrie home such sicke persons as were not able to proceede any further: He departed from thence the 20. of August, with the other three, namely, the *Delight*, wherein was appointed Captaine in *M.* William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatly for England) *M.* Maurice Browne: the *Golden hinde*, in which was Captaine and owner, *M.* Edward Hays: and the little *Frigat* where the Generall himselfe did goe, seeming to him most fit to discouer and appoach the shore.

The 21. day they came to Cape Race, toward the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Cod in largenes and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfound land, where any of them had bene. And from thence, trending the coast West, toward the Bay of Placentia, the Generall sent certaine men ashore, to view the Countrey, which to them as they sayled along, seemed pleasant. Whereof his men at their returne gaue great commendation, liking so well of the place, as they would willingly haue stayed and wintred there. But hauing the wind faire and good, they proceeded on their course towards the firme of America, which by reason of continuall fogs, at that time of the yeere especially, they could neuer see, till Cox Master of the *Golden Hinde* did discerne land, and presently lost sight thereof againe, at what time they were all vpon a breach in a great and outrageous storme, hauing vnder 3. fathome water. But God deliuered the *Frigat* and the *Golden Hinde*, from this great danger. And the *Delight* in the presence of them all was lost, to their unspeakable griefe, with all their chiefe victuall, munition, and other necessary provisions, and other things of value not fit here to be named. Whereupon, by reason also that Winter was come vpon them, and foule weather increased with fogs and mists that so couered the land, as without danger of perishing they could not appoach it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert and *M.* Hays were compelled much against their willes to retyre homewards: And being 300. leagues on their way, were after by tempestuous weather separated the one from the other, the ninth of September last, since which time *M.* Hays with his Barke is safely arrived, but of Sir Humfrey as yet they heare no certaine newes.

Upon this report (together with my former intent, to write some brieue discourse in the commendation of this so noble and worthy an enterprize) I did call to my remembrance, the Historie of Themistocles the Grecian, who (being a right noble and valiant Captaine) signified vnto his Countreymen the Citizens of Athens, that he had inuented a deuise for their common wealth very profitable: but it was of such importance and secrecie, that it ought not to be reuealed, before priuate conference had with some particular prudent person of their choyle.

The Athenians knowing Aristides the Philosopher, to be a man indued with singular wisdom and vertue, made choyle of him to haue conference with Themistocles, and thereupon to peeble his opinion to the Citizens concerning the sayd deuise: which was, that they might set on fire

fire the Hauie of their enemies, with great facilitie, as he had layde the plot: Aristides made relation to the Citizens, that the stratageme deuised by Themystocles was a profitable practise for the common wealth but it was dishonest. The Athenians (without further demaund what the same was) did by common consent reiect and condemne it, preferring honest and vpright dealing before profite.

By occasion of this Historie, I drewe my selfe into a more deepe consideration of this late vnder taken Voyage, whether it were as well pleasing to almighty God, as profitable to men: as lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Sauages, as gainefull to the Christians. And vpon mature deliberation I found the action to be honest and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Aristides if he were now aliue: which being by me herein sufficiently prooued, (as by Gods grace I purpose to doe) I doubt not but that all good mindes will endeouour themselves to be assistants to this so commendable an enterpryse, by the valiant and worthy Gentlemen our Countrey men already attempted and vnder taken.

Now whereas I doe vnderstand that Sir Humfrey Gilbert his adherents, associates and friends doe meane with a conuenient supply (with as much speede as may be) to maintaine, pursue and follow this intended voyage already in part performed, and (by the assistance of almighty God) to plant themselves and their people in the continent of the higher part of America, betwene the degrees of 30. and 60. of septentrionall latitude: Within which degrees by computation Astronomicall and Cosmographicall are doublelesse to bee found all things that be necessarie, profitable, or delectable for mans life: The climate milde and temperate, neyther too hotte nor too colde, so that vnder the cope of heauen there is not any where to be found a more conuenient place to plant and inhabite in: which many notable Gentlemen, both of our owne nation and strangers, (who haue bene traualers) can testifie: and that those Countreies are at this day inhabited with Sauages (who haue no knowledge of God:) As it not therefore (I say) to be lamented, that these poore Pagans, so long liuing in ignorance and idolatry, and in fort this King after Christianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of such as haue trauailed in those partes) that our hearts are so hardened, that fewe or none can be found which will put to their helping hands, and apply themselves to the relieving of the miserable and wretched estate of these sille soules:

Englishmen.
Master Iohn
Hawkins.
Sir Francis
Drake.
M. William
Winter.
M. Iohn Chester.
M. Martin Fro-
bisher.
Anthony Park-
hurst.
William Battes.
Iohn Louel.
Dauid Ingram.
Strangers
French.
Iohn Ribault.
Iaques Cartier.
Andrew Theuer.
Monsieur Gour-
gues.
Monsieur Lati-
donniere.
Italians.
Christopher Co-
lumbus.
Iohn Versanus.
God doeth not
alwayes begin
his greatest
workes by the
greatest per-
sons.
His custome
was to bowe
himselfe very
lowe in ma-
king of cour-
tesie.

Whose Countrey doeth (as it were with armes aduanced) aboute the climates both of Spaine and France, stretch out it selfe towards England only: In maner praying our ayde and helpe, as it is not onely set forth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is also found to be true by the discouerie of our nation, and other strangers, who haue oftentimes trauailed vpon the same coasts.

Christopher Columbus of famous memorie, the first instrument to manifest the great glory and mercy of Almighty God in planting the Christian faith, in those so long unknownen regions, hauing in purpose to acquaint (as he did) that renowned Prince, the Queenes Maiesties grand father King Henry the seuenth, with his intended voyage for the Westerne discoveries, was not onely derided and mocked generally euen here in England, but afterward became a laughing stocke to the Spaniards themselves, who at this day (of all other people) are most bounden to laude and prayse God, who first stirred by the man to that enterpryse.

And while he was attending there to acquaint the King of Castile (that then was) with his intended purpose, by how many wayes and meanes was he derided: Some scorned the pildnesse of his garments, some tooke occasion to iest at his simple and silly lookes, others asked if this were he that lotwts so lowe, which did take vpon him to bring men into a Countrey that aboundeth with Golde, Pearle, and Precious stones: If hee were any such man (sayd they) he wou'd carry another maner of countenance with him, and looke somewhat loftier. Thus some iudged him by his garments, and others by his looke and countenance, but none entered into the consideration of the inward man.

In the ende, what successe his Voyage had, who list to reade the Decades, the Historie of the West Indies, the conquest of Hernando Cortes about Mexico, and those of Francisco Pizarro in Peru about Casamalcha and Cusco, may know more particularly. All which their discoveries, traualles and conquests are extant to be had in the English tongue. This deuise was then accounted a fantasticall imagination, and a vaine dreame.

Hernando
Cortes.
Francisco
Pizarro.

But the sequelle thereof hath since awaked out of dreames thousands of soules to knowe their Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant: And hath since made sufficient prooffe, neither to be fantastick, nor vaine imagined.

Which, how mightily it hath enlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spaine, and greatly enriched the subjects of the same, let all men consider. Besides, it is well knownen, that since the

the

the time of Columbus his first discouerie, through the planting, possessing, and inhabiting those partes, there hath bene transported and brought home into Europe greater store of Golde, Siluer, Pearle, and Precious Stones, then heretofore hath bene in all ages since the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore heartily wish, that seeing it hath pleased almighty God of his infinite mercy, at the length to awake some of our worthy Countrey men out of that drowlie dreame, wherein we haue so long slumbered:

A reasonable request.

That wee may now not suffer that to quaille for want of maintenance, which by these valiant Gentlemen our Countreymen is so nobly begun & enterprised. For which purpose, I haue taken vpon me to write this simple short Treatise, hoping that it shall be able to perswade such as haue bene, and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this iourney, (by reason perhaps that they haue not deliberately and aduisedly entred into the iudgement of the matter) that yet now vpon better consideration they will become fauourable furtherers of the same. And that such as are already well affected thereunto, will continue their good disposition: And withall, I most humbly pray all such as are no nigards of their purses in buying of costly and rich apparel, and liberall Contributors in setting forth of games, pastimes, feasting and banquets, (whereof the charge being past, there is no hope of publike profite or commoditie) that henceforth they will bestowe and employ their liberality (heretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of these so commendable purposed proceedings.

The argument of the booke.

And to this ende haue I taken pen in hand, as in conscience thereunto moued, desiring much rather, that of the great multitude which this Realme doeth nourish, farre better able to handle this matter then I my selfe am, it would haue pleased some one of them to haue undertaken the same. But seeing they are silent, and that it falleth to my lotte to put pen to the paper, I will endeavour my selfe, and doe stand in good hope (though my skill and knowledge bee simple, yet through the assistance of almighty God) to prooue that the Voyage, lately enterprised for trade, traffique, and planting in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Majesties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the aduenturers in particular, beneficiall to the Sauages, and a matter to be attained without any great danger or difficultie.

And lastly, (which is most of all) A thing likewise tending to the honour and glory of Almighty God. And for that the lawfulness to plant in those Countreies in some mens iudgements seemeth very doubtfull; I will beginne the prooue of the lawfulness of trade, traffique, and planting.

The second Chapter sheweth, that it is lawfull and necessarie to trade and traffique with the Sauages: And to plant in their Countries: And diuideth planting into two sorts.

And first for traffique, I say that the Christians may lawfully trauell into those Countries and abide there: whom the Sauages may not iustly impugne and forbidde in respect of the mutuall societie and fellowshippe betweene man and man prescribed by the Law of Nations.

For from the first beginning of the creation of the worlde, and from the renewing of the same after Noes flood, all men haue agreed, that no violence should be offered to Ambassadors: That the Sea with his Hauens should be common: That such as should fortune to be taken in warre, should be seruants or slaues: And that strangers should not bee driuen away from the place or Countrey whereto they doe come.

If it were so then, I demaund in what age, and by what Law is the same forbidden or denied since? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Christians to vse trade and traffique with Infidels or Sauages, carrying thither such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some part of their plentie?

A thing so commonly and generally practised, both in these our dayes, and in times past, beyond the memorie of man, both by Christians and Infidels, that it needeth no further prooue.

And forasmuch as the vse of trade and traffique (be it neuer so profitable) ought not to be preferred before the planting of Christian faith: I will therefore somewhat increate of planting, (without which, Christian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers neuer so carefull and diligent) which I meane to diuide into two sortes.

The principall causes why this voyage is undertaken.

The first, when Christians by the good liking and willing assent of the Sauages, are admitted by them to quiet possession.

The

The second, when Christians being vnusually repulſed, doe ſeeke to attaine and mainteine the right for which they doe come.

And though in regard of the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtian Religion, eyther of both may be lawfully and iuſtly exerciſed: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyses and Iosua, and other Rulers before the birth of Chriſt, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings ſithence his incarnation:) yet doe I wiſh, that before the ſecond be put in practice, a prooſe may be made of the firſt, ſauing that for their ſafety as well againſt the Sauages, as all other foreigne enemies, they ſhould firſt well and ſtrongly fortifie themſelues: which being done, then by all fayre ſpeeches, and euery other good meanes of perſwaſion to ſeeke to take away all occaſions of offence.

As letting them to vnderſtand, how they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongſt them, and to trade and traffique with them for their owne commoditie, without moleſting or grieuing them any way: which muſt not be done by wordes onely but alſo by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repell iniury, be a juſt cauſe of warre: yet muſt there hereof be heedfull care had, that whereas the Sauages be fearefull by nature, and ſond otherwiſe, the Chriſtians ſhould doe their beſt endeour to take away ſuch feare as may growe vnto them by reaſon of their ſtrange apparell, Armour, and weapon, or ſuch like, by quiet and peaceable conuerſation, and letting them liue in ſecuritie, and keeping a meaſure of blameleſſe defence, with as little diſcommoditie to the Sauages as may bee: for this kinde of warre would be onely deſenſiue and not offenſiue.

And queſtionleſſe there is great hope and likelyhoode, that by this kinde of meanes we ſhould bring to paſſe all effects to our deſired purpoſes: Conſidering that all creatures, by conſtitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and eaſier wonne for all aſſayes, by courteſie and mildneſſe, then by crueltie or roughneſſe: and therefore being a principle taught vs by naturall reaſon, it is firſt to be put in vſe.

For albeit as yet the Chriſtians are not ſo thoroughly furniſhed with the perfectneſſe of their language, eyther to expreſſe their mindes to them, or againe to conceiue the Sauages intent: Yet for the preſent opportunitie, ſuch policie may be vſed by friendly ſignes, and courteous tokens towards them, as the Sauages may eaſily perceiue (were their ſences neuer ſo groſſe) an aſſured frienſhip to be offered them, and that they are encountered with ſuch a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquillitie and ſafety. To further this, and to accompliſh it in deedes, there muſt bee preſented vnto them gratis, ſome kindes of our pettie marchandizes and trifles: As looking glaſſes, Belles, Beades, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Chryſtall, Amber, Iet, or Glaſſe &c. For ſuch be the things, though to vs of ſmall value, yet accounted by them of high price and eſtimation: and ſoonest will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutuall ſocietie with vs.

Moreouer, it ſhall be requiſite eyther by ſpeeche, if it be poſſible, either by ſome other certaine meanes, to ſignifie vnto them, that once league of frienſhip with all louing conuerſation being admitted betweene the Chriſtians and them: that then the Chriſtians from thenceforth will alwayes be ready with force of Armes to aſſiſt and defend them in their juſt quarrels, from all inuasions, ſpoiles and oppreſſions offered them by any Tyrants, Aduerſaries, or their next boyders: and a benefite is ſo much the more to be eſteemed, by how much the perſon vpon whom it is beſtowed ſtandeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a Countryman of ours, namely David Ingram, (who travelled in thoſe countries vt. Doneyhs and more). That the Sauages generally for the moſt part, are at continuall warres with their next adioyning neighbours, and eſpecially the Cannibals, being a cruell kinde of people, whole foode is mans fleſh, and haue teeth like dogges, and doe purſue them with rauenous mindes to eate their fleſh, and deuoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Chriſtians may in this caſe iuſtly and lawfully ayde the Sauages againſt the Cannibals. So that it is very likely, that by this meanes we ſhall not only mightily ſtirre and inflame their rude mindes gladly to embrace the louing company of the Chriſtians, proffering vnto them both commodities, ſuccour, and kindneſſe: But alſo by their franke conſents ſhall eaſily enioy ſuch competent quantity of Land, as euery way ſhall be correſpondent to the Chriſtians expectation and contentation, conſidering the great abundance that they haue of Land, and how ſmall account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then ſuch as the ground of it ſelfe doeth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the firſt ſort of planting, which as I aſſuredly hope, ſo I moſt heartily pray may take effect and place.

But

The seconde
kinde of plan-
ting.

But if after these good and fayre meanes vled, the Sauages neuertheless will not bee here-
withall satisfied, but barbarously will goe about to practise violence eyther in repelling the Chri-
stians from their Ports & safe landings, or in withstanding them afterwards to enioy the rightes
for which both painfully and lawfully they haue aduentured themselves thither :

Then in such a case I holde it no breach of equitie for the Christians to defend themselves, to
pursue reuenge with force, and to doe whatsoever is necessarie for the attaining of their safetie :
For it is allowable by all Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence : And for their
more securitie to increase their strength by building of Forts for auoyding the extremitie of in-
surious dealing.

Wherein if also they shal not be suffered in reasonable quietnesse to continue, there is no barre
(as I iudge) but that in stout assemblies the Christians may issue out, and by strong hand pursue
their enemies, subdue them, take possession of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, and (in auoy-
ding murderous tyrannie) to vse the Law of Armes, as in like case among all Nations at this
day is vled : and most especially to the ende they may with securitie holde their lawfull possession,
lest happily after the departure of the Christians, such Sauages as haue bene conuerted, should
afterwards through compulsion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horri-
ble idolatrie (as did the children of Israel, after the decease of Ioshua) and continue their wicked
custome of most vnnaturall sacrificing of humane creatures.

And in so doing, doubtlesse the Christians shall no whit at all transgresse the bonds of equitie
or ciuilitie, forasmuch as in former ages, (yea, before the incarnation of Christ) the like hath bene
done by sundry Kings and Princes, Gouernours of the children of Israel: chiefly in respect to
begin their planting, for the establishment of Gods worde : as also since the Natiuitie of Christ,
mightie and puissant Emperours and Kings haue performed the like, I say to plant, possesse, and
subdue. For prooofe whereof, I will alledge you examples of both kindes.

Wee reade in the olde Testament, how that after Noes flood was ceased, restauration of man-
kinde began onely of those fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preselected to bee
saued in the Arke with him, whose seede in procelle of time, was multiplied to infinite numbers
of Nations, which in diuers sortes diuided themselves to sundry quarters of the earth. And for-
asmuch as all their posteritie being mightily encreased, followed not the perfect life of Noe their
predecessour, God chose out of the multitude a peculiar people to himselfe, to whom after-
wardes being vnder the gouernment of Moyses in Mount Sinay, hee made a graunt to inherite
the Land of Canaan, called the Land of promise, with all the other rich and fertile Countries
next adioynning thereunto. Neuertheless, before they came to possession thereof, hauing bene af-
flicted with many grievous punishments and plagues for their sinnes, they fell in despayre to
enioy the same.

But being encouraged and comforted by their Rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, ar-
ming themselves with all patience, to suffer whatsoever it should please God to send : and at last
attaining to the Land, they were encountered with great numbers of strong people, and mighty
Kings.

Iosua 4.

Notwithstanding, Iosua their Leader replenished with the Spirit of God, being assured of
the iustnesse of his quarell, gathered the chiefe strength of the children of Israel together, to the
number of 40000. with whom he safely passed the huge riuer Iordan, and hauing before sent pri-
uate spies for the discouerie of the famous citie Ierico, to vnderstand the certaintie of the Citizens
estate, he forthwith came thither, and enuironed it round about with his whole power the space of
seuen dayes.

Iosua 6.

In which respite, perceiuing none of the Gentiles disposed to yeeld or call for mercie, he then
commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Ierico should be burned, yea, and
all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell should be destroyed, onely excepted
Rahab, her kindred and familie, because shee before had hid secretly the messengers of Iosua, that
were sent thither as spies. As for all their golde, siluer, precious stones, or vessels of brasse, they
were reserued and consecrated to the Lords treasure.

Iosua 8.

In like maner he burned the citie Hay, slew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged by their King.
But for so much as the Gebionites (fearing the like euent) sent Ambassadors vnto Iosua to in-
treate for grace, fauour, and peace : hee commaunded that all their liues should bee saued, and
that they should be admitted to the company of the children of Israel. Yet vnderstanding after-
wardes they wrought this by a policie, he vled them as drudges to hewe wood and to carie water,
and other necessities for his people. Thus beganne this valiant Captaine his conquest, which
he pursued and neuer left till hee had subdued all the Hechites, Amorites, Cananites, Peresites,

Iosua 9.

Judg. 11. 13.

Heuities,

Heuities, and Iebusites, with all their princes and Kings, being thirte and one in number, & diuers other strange nations, besides whose lands & dominions he wholly diuided among Gods people.

After that Iosua was deceased, Iuda was constituted Lord ouer the armie, who receiuing like charge from God, pursued the proceedings of the holy captaine Iosua, and vicerly banquished many Gentiles, Idolaters, and aduersaries to the childzen of Israel, with all such Rulers of Kings as withstood him, and namely Adonibezek the most cruell tyrant: whose thumbe and great toes he caused to be cut off, for so much as hee had done the like before vnto seuentie Kings, whom being his prisoners, he forced to gather by their victuals vnderneath his table. In this God shewed his iustice to reuenge tyrannie. We reade likewise, that Gedeon a most puissant and noble warriour so behaued himselfe in following the worthy acts of Iosua and Iuda, that in short time he not only deliuered the childzen of Israel from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but also subdued them and their Tyrants, whose landes he caused Gods people to possesse and inherite.

Judg. 1.

A good note for al Conquerors to be meritorious.

Judg. 6. 7.

I could reuerie diuers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applyed herunto, were it not I doe indetour my selfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in like maner will I alledge some fewe Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Ecclesiasticall Historiographers, all tending to the like argument. And first to begin withall, we doe reade: That after our Saviour Iesus Christ had suffered his passion, the Apostles being inspired with the holy Ghost, and the knowledge of all strange languages, did immediately disperse themselves to sundry parts of the world, to the preaching of the Gospel. Yet not in so generall a maner, but that there remayned some farre remote Countries vnvisited by them, among the which it is reported that India the great, called the uttermost India, as yet had receiued no light of the word. But it came to passe, that one Metrodorus a very learned and wise Philosopher in that age, being desirous to search out unknowen lands, did first discover the same, finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which vpon his retorne being published, and for certaine vnderstood, there was another graue Philosopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a Christian, who did resolute himselfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to trauaile thither, and in a short time assisted but with a few, in a small Vessel arrived there, hauing in his company two yong youths, Edecius and Frumentius, whom (being his schollers) he had thouroughly instructed both in liberall Sciences, and christian Religion. Now after that Meropius some while staying there, had (as hee thought) sufficient vnderstanding of the Indians whole estate: He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof vnto the Emperour, whom he meant to exhorte to the conquest of the same.

Rufinus lib. 1. cap. 2.

But by misfortune he was prevented, for being in the middelt of his course on the Sea homeward, a sore tempest arose, and perforce droue him backe againe, to an unknowen Port of the sayd land: where he by the most cruell barbarous Indians on the sudden was slaine with all his company, except the two yong schollers aforesayde, whom the barbarous Indians, by reason they were of comely stature and beautifull personages, tooke, and forthwith presented them to their King and Queene: which both being very well liked of, the King courteously entreated, and ordeined Edecius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretarie, and in few yeeres by reason of their learning and ciuill gouernment, they were had in great fauour, honour, and estimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his wife with her yong sonne to gouerne, and gaue free scope and libertie to the two Christians, at their best pleasure to passe to their native soulds, allowing them all necessaries for the same. Yet the Queene who highly fauoured them was very sorrowfull they should depart, and therefore most earnestly intreated them to tarry and assist her in the gouernment of her people, till such time as her yong sonne grew to ripe yeeres, which request they fulfilled.

Meropius slaine.

Edecius and Frumentius presented by the Indians.

And Frumentius excellling Edecius farre in all wisdom, ruled both the Queene and her subjects at his discretion, whereby he tooke occasion to put in practice priuily, that the foundation of Christian religion might be planted in the hearts of such as with whom he thought his perswasion might best preuaile, and that soonest would giue eare vnto him: which being brought to passe accordingly, hee then with his fellow Edecius tooke leaue of the Queene to retorne to his native countrey. And so soone as he was arrived there, he reuealed to the Emperour Constantine, the effect of all those euents: who both commending his deedes and wholly allowing thereof, by the aduise and good liking of Athanasius then Bishop of Alexandria, did araine and see forth a conuenient power for the ayde of Frumentius, in this his so godly a purpose. And by this meanes came the Emperour afterwards by faire promises, and by force of armes together, vnto the possession of all the Indians countrey. The author of this storie Rufinus receiued the truth hereof from the very mouth of Edecius companion to Frumentius.

Frumentius in great fauour with the Queene of the Indians.

An other great worke of God begunne by a man of meane birth.

Rufinus the author of this storie.

Moreouer

Euseb. in his ecclesiasticall history maketh mention how that Constantine the great did enlarge his dominions by subduing of Infidels and Idolatrous nations.
Eusebius lib. 1. de vita Constant. cap. 4. et cap. 9.
Euseb. eod. lib. cap. 39.

Moreover Eusebius in his Historie Ecclesiasticall in precise termes, and in diuers places maketh mention how Constantine the great not onely enlarged his Empire by the subduing of his next neighbours, but also endeouored by all meanes to subiect all such remote Barbarous and Heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quarters of the worlde. For (as it is written) the Emperour thoroughly appoynted with a puissant armie of valiant souldiers whom he had before perswaded to Christian religion, in proper person himselfe came euen vnto this our country of England, then called the Island of Brittaines, bending from him full West, which he wholly conquered, made tributarie, and settled therein Christian faith, and left behinde him such Rulers thereof, as to his wisdom seemed best. From thence hee turned his force towardes the North coast of the worlde, and there utterly subdued the rude and cruell Nation of the Scythians, whereof part by friendly perswasions, part by maine strength, hee reduced the whole to Christian faith. Afterwards he determined with himselfe to search out what strange people inhabited in the uttermost parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his iourney thither, at last became victour ouer them all, euen to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Ethiopians, that now are the people of Presbyter Iohn, who yet till this day continue and beare the name of Christians.

In the East likewise, what Nation soeuer at that time he could haue notice of, he easily wonne and brought in subiection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the worlde, the inhabitants whereof being Gentiles, though vnknown vnto him, but in time he ouercame and vanquished.

This worthy beginning of Constantine, both his sonnes succeeding his roome, and also diuers other Emperours after ward to their uttermost endeavour followed and continued, which all the booke of Eusebius more at large set forth. Theodoretus likewise in his Ecclesiasticall historie maketh mention how Theodosius the vertuous Emperour employed earnestly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy Gospel, utterly subuerting their prophane Temples and abominable Idolatry, as also in extinguishing of such vsurping tyrants as with Paganisme withstood the planting of Christian religion. After whose decease his sonnes Honorius and Arcadius were created Emperours, the one of the East, the other of the West, who with all stout godlinesse most carefully imitated the footsteps of their Father, eithers in enlarging their territories, or increasing the christian flocke.

Moreover, it is reported by the sayd authoꝝ, that Theodosius Iunior the Emperour, no whit inferiour in vertuous life to any of the aboue named Princes, with great studie and zeale pursued and prosecuted the Gentiles, subdued their tyrants and countries, and utterly destroyed all their idolatry, conuerting their soules to acknowledge their onely Messias and Creator, and their Countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be brieft, who so listeth to read Eusebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodorus, Hermia, Sozomen, and Euagrius Scholasticus, which all were most sage Ecclesiasticall writers, shall finde great store of examples of the worthy liues of sundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former speeches.

And for like examples of later time, (yea euen in the memorie of man) I shall not neede to recite any other then the conquest made of the West and East Indies by the Kings of Spaine and Portugall, whereof there is particular mention made in the last Chapter of this booke. Wherein haue I vsed more copy of examples then otherwise I would haue done, sauing that I haue bene in place, where this manner of planting the Christian faith hath bene thought of some to be scarce lawfull, yea, such as doe take vpon them to be more then meanely learned. To these examples could I toyne many moe, but whosoever is not satisfied with these fewe, may satisfie himselfe in reading at large the Authoꝝ last aboue recited. Thus haue I (as I trust) proued that we may iustly trade and traffique with the Sauages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countries.

The third Chapter doeth shew the lawfull title which the Queenes most excellent Maiestie hath vnto those Countries, which through the ayde of Almighty God are meant to be inhabited.

1170.
Owen Gwyneth was then Prince of Northwales. Nullum tempus occurrit Regi.

And it is very euident that the planting there shal in time right amply enlarge her Maiesties Territories and Dominions, or (I might rather say) restore her to her Highnesse ancient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170. arriued and there planted himselfe and his Colonies, and afterward returned himselfe into England, leauing certaine of his people

people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welsh Chronicle, where he then gaue to certaine Ilands, beastes, and foules sundry Welsh names, as the Iland of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same.

There is likewise a foule in the saide countreys called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English, as Whitehead, and in trueth the said foules haue white heads. There is also in those countreys a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreover, there are diuers other Welsh wordes at this day in vse, as David Ingram aforesaid reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the sayd prince with his people to haue inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma that mightie Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration vnto his subiects for the better pacifying of them, made in the presence of Hernando Cortes vsed these speeches following.

MY kinsmen, friends, and seruants, you doe well know that eightene yeres I haue bene your King, as my fathers and grandfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and you vnto me good and obedient subiects, and so I hope you will remaine vnto mee all the dayes of my life. You ought to haue in remembrance, that either you haue heard of your fathers, or else our diuines haue instructed you, that wee are not naturally of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a faire countrey, and their King and Captaine, who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying that he would send such as should rule and gouerne vs, if by chance he himselfe returned not, &c.

These be the very wordes of Mutezuma set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being thoroughly considered, because they haue relation to some strange noble person, who long before had possessed those countreys, doe all sufficiently argue the vndoubted title of her Maiestie: forasmuch as no other Nation can cruely by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselves, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Besides all this, for further prooffe of her highnesse title thence the arriual of this noble Briton into those parts (that is to say) in the time of the Queenes grandfather of worthy memory, King Henry the seventh, Letters patents were by his Maiestie granted to Iohn Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius, his three sonnes, to discover remote, barbarous and heathen Countreys, which discovery was afterwarde executed to the vse of the Crowne of England, in the sayde Kings time, by Sebastian and Sancius his sonnes, who were borne here in England: in true testimony whereof there is a faire haven in Newfoundland, knowne, and called vntill this day by the name of Sancius haven, which proueth that they first discovered vpon that coast from the height of 63 vnto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades.

And this may stand for another title to her Maiestie: but any of the foresayd titles is as much or more then any other Christian Prince can pretend to the Indies, before such time as they had actuall possession thereof, obtained by the discovery of Christopher Columbus, and the conquest of Vafques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Francisco Pizarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needlesse to write any more touching the lawfulnessse of her Maiesties title.

The fourth chapter sheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in those countreys, is likely to proue very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

NOW to shew how the same is likely to proue very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: it is very certaine, that the greatest iewell of this realme, and the chiefeest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in marshall matter and maner, is the multitude of ships, masters and mariners, ready to assist the most stateli and royall navy of her Maiestie, which by reason of this voyage shall haue both increafe and maintenance. And it is well knownen that in sundry places of this realme ships haue bene built and set forth of late dayes, for the trade of fishing onely: yet notwithstanding the fish which is taken and brought into England by the English navy of fishermen, will not suffice for the expense of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of strangers. And the chiefeest cause why our English men doe not goe so farre Westerly as the especiall fishing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatnesse of fish, is for that they haue no succour and knowne safe harbour in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts; whereas they now fish but for two moneths in the yere, they might then fish so long as pleased themselves, or rather at their comming finde such plenty of fish ready taken, salted, and dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there) whereof David Ingram (who trauelled in those

This Iland was discovered by Sir Humfrey and his company in this his last iourney.

Mutezuma his Oration to his subiects in presence of Hernando Cortes, which Oration was made about the yere 1520.

M. Oliver Dabony.
M. Edward Reow.
M. R. H.
M. I. A.

Cox the master.

countreys as aforesayd) sayth that there is great plenty: and withall the climate doth giue great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, yet it might as well be made there by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elsewhere. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our shippes and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing onely: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abundance.

Moreouer, it is well knowen that all Sauages, as well those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall begin but a little to taste of ciuility, will take maruelous delight in any garment, be it neuer so simple; as a shirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cot-ten cassocke, a cap, or such like, and will take incredible paines for such a trifle.

For I my selfe haue heard this report made sundry times by diuers of our countrey men, who haue dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelue yeeres together, and some of lesse time; that the people in those parts are easily reduced to ciuility both in maners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons and artificers, whose names are quoted in the margin, I do leaue to the iudgment of such as are discreet.

Clothiers.
Woolmen,
Carders,
Spinners,
Weauers,
Fullers,
Shesmen,
Dyers,
Drapers,
Cappers,
Hatters, &c.
and many de-
cayed townes
repaired.

And questionlesse, heereby it will also come to passe, that all such townes and villages as both haue bene, and now are verily decayed and ruined (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes more excessively then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate: all which doe likewise tend to the enlargement of our navy, and maintenance of our nauigation.

To what end need I endeavour my selfe by arguments to proue that by this voyage our nauie and nauigation shalbe enlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest & late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall, who since the first discovery of the Indies, haue not onely mightily enlarged their dominions, greatly enriched themselves and their subjects: but haue also by iust account trebled the number of their shippes, masters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance.

The idle per-
sons of this
realme shall
by occasion of
this tourney
bee well im-
ployed & set
on worke.

Besides this, it will proue a generall benefit vnto our countrey, that through this occasion, not onely a great number of men which do now liue idely at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, & vnprofitable to this realme, shall hereby be set on worke, but also children of twelue or fourteene yeeres of age, or vnder, may bee kept from idleness, in making of a thousand kindes of trifling things, which wil be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreouer, our idle women (which the Realme may well spare) shall also be employed on plucking, drying, and sorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and diuers things right necessary for dyng. All which things are to be found in those countreys most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselves in dragging for pearle, working for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the Whale for Crane, and making caskes to put the same in: besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring, drying salting and barreling the same, and felling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meete for those persons that are no men of Art or science.

Wenpe doeth
grow neere S.
Laurence river
naturallp.

Many other things may bee found to the great reliefe and good employments of no small number of the naturall Subjects of this Realme, which doe now liue here idely to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I here omit the great hope and likelyhood of a passage beyond the Grand Bay into the South Seas, confirmed by sundry authours to be found leading to Cataia, the Moluccas and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as generall a benefite to the Realme, or greater then yet hath bene spoken of, without either such charges, or other inconueniences, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinarie passage to those parts at this day doeth minister.

Read the be-
ginning of the
booke intit-
led, Diuers voy-
ages touching
the discovery of
America.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowen to all men of sound iudgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in vse and trade amongst vs.

The fift chapter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those countreys is likely to proue to the particular profit of all aduenturers.

I Must now according to my promise shew forth some probable reasons that the aduenturers in this tourney are to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore conuenient that I doe diuide the aduenturers into two sorts: the noblemen and gentlemen by

by themselves, and the Merchants by themselves. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there shall be one societie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another societie of the merchants. And yet not so diuided, but that eche societie may freely and frankely trade and traffique one with the other.

And first to bend my speech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who doe chiefly seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile soile, and a strong place by nature whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselves, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to send to bee lords of that place and countrey: to them I say, that all these things are very easie to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforesaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Islands thereunto adioyning at their choise: but the degree certaine of the eleuation of the pole, and the very climate where these places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publicke, for such regard as the wiser sort can easily coniecture: the rather because I doe certainly vnderstand, that some of those which haue the managing of this matter, knowe it as well or better then I my selfe, and do meane to reueale the same, when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne, and to no other: so that they may seat & settle themselves in such climate as shall best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the description of as many as haue bene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all sorts, and in very many places, both stones of price, pearle and chrystall, and great store of beasts, birds, and fowles both for pleasure and necessary vse of man are to be found.

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wilde bores, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and diuers other such like for pleasure. Also for such as haue delight in hauking, there are haukes of sundry kinds, and great store of game, both for land and riuer, as Fezants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Ducks, Mallards, and such like. There is also a kinde of beast much bigger then an Ore, whose hide is more then eigheteene foote long, of which sort a countreyman of ours, one Walker a sea man, who was vpon that coast, did for a trueth report in the presence of diuers honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage about two hundred and fortie hides, which they brought away and solde in France for fortie shillings an hide: and with this agreeth David Ingram, and describeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Basse; there are likewise beasts and fowles of diuers kinds, which I omit for breuities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumbe, and the most delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be diuers of good credit in this realme that haue tasted: and there is also a kind of graine called Maiz, Potato rootes, and sundry other fruits naturally growing there: so that after such time as they are once settled, they shall neede to take no great care for victuall.

And now for the better contentation and satisfaction of such worshipfull, honest minded, and well disposed Merchants, as haue a desire to the furtherance of euery good and commendable action, I will first say vnto them, as I haue done before to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, that within the degrees abouesayde, is doubtlesse to bee found the most wholesome and best temperature of ayre, fertilitye of soyle, and euery other commoditie or merchandize, for the which, with no small perill we doe trauell into Barbary, Spaine, Portugall, France, Italie, Moscouie and Eastland. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in very short time procured from thence with lesse danger then now we haue them. And yet to the ende my argument shall not altogether stand vpon likelihoods and presumptions, I say that such persons as haue discovered and trauelled those partes, doe testifie that they haue found in those countreyes all these things following, namely:

<i>Of beasts for furs.</i>		
Martens.	Hérons.	Salmon.
Beauers.	Partridges.	Seales.
Foxes, blacke and white.	Cranes.	Herrings.
Leopards.	Mallards.	<i>Of Trees.</i>
	Wilde geese.	Palme trees yeelding sweet
	Stocke dooues.	wines.
<i>Of wormes.</i>	Margaus.	Cedars.
Silke wormes great & large	Blacke birds.	Firres.
<i>Of Birds.</i>	Parrots.	Safasfras.
Hawkes.	Pengwins.	Oake.
Bitters.	<i>Of Fishes.</i>	Elme.
Curlewes.	Codde.	Popler.

And sundry other strange Trees, to vs vnknown.

<i>Of fruites.</i>	<i>Of Mettals.</i>	<i>Christall.</i>	<i>Traine oyle.</i>
Grapes very large.	Golde.	<i>Sundry other commodities of all sorts.</i>	Muske codde.
Muskemellons.	Siluer.		Salt.
Limons.	Copper.	Rosen.	Tallow.
Dates great.	Lead.	Pitch.	Hides.
Orrenges.	Tinne.	Tarre.	Hempe.
Figges.	<i>Of Stones.</i>	Turpentine.	Flaxe.
Prunes.	Turkeis.	Frankincense.	Cochenello & dies
Raisins great and small.	Rubies.	Honny.	of diuers sorts.
Pepper.	Pearls great & faire.	Waxe.	Feathers of sundrie
Almonds.	Marble, of diuers kindes.	Rubarbe.	sorts, as for pleasure and filling of
Citrons.	Iasper.	Oyle Oliue.	Featherbeds.

And seeing that for small costs, the truth of these things may be understood (whereof this intended supply will giue vs more certaine assurance) I doe finde no cause to the contrary, but that all well minded persons should be willing to aduenture some competent portion for the furtherance of so good an enterprise.

Commodities
found in
New
foundland.

Now for the triall hereof, considering that in the articles of the Societie of the aduenturers in this voyage, there is prouision made, that no aduenturer shall be bound to any further charge then his first aduenture: and yet notwithstanding keepe still to himselfe his children, his apprentices and seruants, his and their freedome for trade and traffique, which is a priuiledge that aduenturers in other voyages haue not: and in the said articles it is likewise prouided, that none other then such as haue aduentured in the first voyage, or shall become aduenturers in this supply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the said Societie, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I say vnto all such according to the old prouerbe, Nothing venture, nothing haue. For if it do so fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had, (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reape by traffique into other farre countries, shall by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, and more safety: Lesse charge, I say, by reason of the ample and large deepe riuers at the very banke, whereof there are many, whereby both easily and quietly they may transport from the innermost parts of the main land, all kind of merchandize, yea in vessels of great burden, and that three times, or twice in the yere at the least. But let vs omit all presumptions how vehement soeuer, and dwell vpon the certainty of such commodities as were discovered by S. Humfrey Gilbert, & his assistants in Newfoundland in August last. For there may be very easily made Pitch, Tarre, Rosen, Sope ashes, in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to serue the whole realme of euery of these kindes: And of Traine oyle such quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which haue bene there, it would seeme incredible.

It is hereby intended, that these commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and setting there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more sorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewise discovered there) I doe holde them for some respects, more meete for a time to be concealed then uttered.

Of the fishing I doe speake nothing, because it is generally known: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the Sauages doe require in exchange of these commodities: yea, for pearle, golde, siluer, and precious stones. All which are matters in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it should so fall out, that the aboue specified commodities shall not happily be found out within this first yere: Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister iust occasion to thinke all cost and labour well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seat fit for fortification, of great safety, wherein these commodities following, especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other necessary things, and fish of farre greater size and plenty, then that of Newfoundland, and of all these so great store, as may suffice to serue our whole realme.

Besides all this, if credit may be giuen to the inhabitants of the same soile, a certaine riuer doth therunto adioyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance: I doe not hereby meane the passage to the Moluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeeres past, certaine merchants of S. Malo in France, did hyre a ship out of the Island of Iersey, to the ende that they would keepe that trade secret from their Countrey men, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ship boy belonging to the sayd ship, to goe with them, which shippe was about 70. tunne. I doe know the shippe and

and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage prooued very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already sayd, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition to serue for a taste, vntill such time as it shall please almighty God through our owne industrie, to send vs better tydings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this iourney, shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the iudgement and liking of such of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not necessary in this treatise, publickly to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage.

The sixt Chapter sheweth that the traffique and planting in those countries, shall be vnto the Sauages themselves very beneficiall and gainefull.

NOW to the end it may appeare that this voyage is not vnderaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our selues and our country (as generally other trades and iourneys be) it shall fall out in prooofe, that the Sauages shall hereby haue iust cause to blesse the houre when this enterprize was vnderaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and glad some tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Sauour Iesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falshood to truely, from darknesse to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatrie to sincere Christianity, from the deuill to Christ, from hell to heauen. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeelde vs (were they many moe) that they should but receiue this onely benefit of Christianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

But heereunto it may bee objected, that the Gospel must bee freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles: vnto whom although the authorities and examples before alledged of Emperors, Kings and Princes, as well before Christs time as since, might sufficiently satisfie: yet for further answer, we may say with S. Paul, If wee haue sown vnto you heauenly things, 2. Corinth. 9. doe you thinke it much that we should reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hire. These heauenly tidings which those labourers our countrey men (as messengers of Gods great goodnesse and mercy) will voluntarily present vnto them, doe farre exceed their earthly riches. Moreover, if the other inferiour worldly and temporall things which they shall receiue from vs, be weighed in equall ballance, I assure my selfe, that by equal iudgement of any indifferent person, the benefits which they then receiue, shall farre surmount those which they shall depart withall vnto vs. And admit that they had (as they haue not) the knowledge to put their land to some vse: yet being brought from brutish ignorance to ciuilitie and knowledge, and made then to vnderstand how the tenth part of their Land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary vse of mans life, then the whole now doeth: What iust cause of complaint may they haue? And in my priuate opinion, I do verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should by culture and husbandry yeeld things necessary for mans life.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receiue by the Christians: for, ouer and beside the knowledge how to till and dress their grounds, they shall be reduced from vnseemely customes to honest manners, from disordered riotous routs and companyes to a well gouerned common wealth, and withall, shall be taught mechanicall occupations, arts, and liberall sciences: and which standeth them most vpon, they shall be defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and blood sucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their liues shall be preserved. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent childzen shall be preserved from the bloody knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and euer heretofore vsed amongst them. Many other things could I heere alledge to this purpose, were it not that I doe feare lest I haue already more then halfe tired the reader.

This bargaen cannot be vniust, where both parties are gainers.

The seuenth Chapter sheweth that the planting there, is not a matter of such charge or difficultie, as many would make it seeme to be.

NOW therefore for prooofe, that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purse, contrary to the allegation of many malicious persons, who wil neither be actors in any good action themselves, nor so much as asoord a good word to the setting forward thereof: and that worse is, they will take vpon them to make molehilles seeme mountains, and flies elephants, to the end they may discourage others, that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like vnto Esops dogge, which neither would eate Hay himselfe, nor suffer the poore hungry asse to feede thereon:

I say and affirme that God hath provided such meanes for the furtherance of this enterprize, as doe stand vs in stead of great treasure: for first by reason that it hath pleased God of his great goodnesse, of long time to hold his merciful hand ouer this realme, in preserving the people of the same, both from slaughter by the sword, and great death by plague, pestilence, or otherwise, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which liue in such penurie & want, as they could be contented to hazard their liues, and to serue one yeere for meat, by luke and appaile only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates: which is a matter in such like iournyes, of no small charge to the prince. Moreover, things in the like iournyes of greatest price and cost, as victuall (whereof there is great plentie to be had in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or coislets are not needefull in so plentifull and chargeable maner, as the shew of such a iourney may present: for a small quantitie of all these, to furnish the Foze only, will suffice vntill such time as diuers commodities may be found out in those parts, which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. Also the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath blessed this land withall before all other nations, will stand vs in great stead amongst those naked people.

Another helpe we haue also, which in such like cases is a matter of marvellous cost, and will be in this iourney procured very easily (that is to say) To transport yeerely aswell our people, as all other necessities needfull for them into those parts by the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fish in Newfoundland, being not farre distant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly goe with emptie vessels in effect, sauing some litle freight with salt. And thus it appeareth that the souldiers wages, and the transportation may be defrayed for farre lesse summes of money then the detractors of this enterprize haue giuen out. Again, this intended voyage for conquest, hath in like maner many other singular priuiledges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand blessed the same before all others. For after once we are departed the coast of England, wee may passe straightway thither, without danger of being driuen into any the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde serueth to bring vs thither, which seldom faileth from the middle of Januarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they haue in few or none of other iournyes. Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, hauing but an indifferent winde, and returne continually in twenty or foure and twentie dayes at the most. And in the same our iourney, by reason it is in the Ocean, and quite out of the way from the intercourse of other countreys, we may safely trade and traffique without peril of piracy: neither shall our ships, people, or goods there, be subiect to arrest or molestation of any Pagan potentate, Turkish tyrant, yea, or Chyistian prince, which heretofore sometimes vpon slender occasion in other parts haue stayed our ships and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countrey men haue bene utterly vndone, diuers put to ransome, yea, and some lost their liues: a thing so fresh in memorie as it needeth no prooue, and is well worthy of consideration.

Besides, in this voyage we doe not crosse the burnt line, whereby commonly both beuerage and victuall are corrupted, and mens health very much impayred, neither doe we passe the frozen seas, which yelde sundry extreme dangers: but haue a temperate climate at all times of the yeere, to serue our turnes. And lastly, there neede no delays by the way for taking in of fresh water and fiewell, (a thing vsually done in long iournies) because, as I sayd aboue, the voyage is not long, and the fresh waters taken in there, our men here in England at their returne home haue found so wholesome and sweete, that they haue made choise to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Behold heere, good countrey men, the manifold benefites, commodities and pleasures heretofore vnknewen, by Gods especiall blessing not onely reueiled vnto vs, but also as it were infused into our bosomes, who though hitherto like doxime haue slumbered in ignorance thereof, being like the cats that are loth for their prey to wet their feet: yet if now theretofore at the last we would awake, and with willing mindes (setting friuolous imaginations aside) become industrious instruments to our selues, questionlesse we should not only hereby set forth the glozy of our heavenly father, but also easily attaine to the end of all good purposes that may be wished or desired.

And may it not much encourage vs to hope for good successe in the countrey of these Sauages, being a naked kinde of people, void of the knowledge of the discipline of warre, seeing that a noble man, being but a subiect in this realme (in the time of our king Henry the second) by name Strangbow, then earle of Chepstow in South Wales, by himselfe and his allies and assistants, at their owne proper charges passed ouer into Ireland, and there made conquest of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lyncester, at which time it was very populous and strong, which history our owne chronicles do witnesse: And why should we be dismayed more then were the Spaniards, who haue bene able within these few yeeres to conquer, possesse and enjoy so large a trace

of the earth, in the West Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47. degrees in latitude from South to North, and both containe 2820. English miles at the least, that the king of Spaine hath there in actuall possession, besides many goodly and rich Islands, as Hispaniola, now called S. Domingo, Cuba, Iamaica, and diuers other, which are both beautifull and full of treasure, not speaking any whit at all, how large the said land is from East to West, which in some places is accounted to be 1500. English miles at the least from East to West, betweene the one Sea and the other.

Why should our noble nation be dismaide, more then was Vasques Nunnes de Valboa, a private gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70. Spaniards at Tichiri, gaue an overthrow vnto that mighty king Chemacchus, hauing an armie of an hundred Canoas and 5000. men, and the said Vasques Nunnes not long after, with his small number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie.

Likewise Hernando Cortes, being also but a private gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Islands of Cuba and Acuzamil, and entering into the firme of America, had many most victorious & triumphant conquests, as that at Cynela, where being accompanied with lesse then 500. Spanish footmen, thirteene horsemen, and five pieces of Ordnance only, he overthrew 40000. Indians. The same Cortes with his sayd number of Spaniards, tooke prisoner that mighty Emperour Muezuma in his most chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that instant had in it about the number of 50000. Indians at the least, and in short time after obtained not onely the quiet possession of the said citie, but also of his whole Empire.

And in like maner in the Countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall possession, Francisco Pysarro, with the onely ayd of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, being all three but private gentlemen, was the principall person that first attempted discouerie and conquest of the large and rich countrey of Peru, which through the ayd of the almighty, he brought to passe and atchieued in the Tambo of Caxamalca, (which is a large place of ground, enclosed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and mightie prince Acabalipa prisoner, amidst the number of 60000. Indians his subiects, which were euer before that day accounted to bee a warlike kind of people, which his great victorie it pleased God to grant vnto him in the yere of our Lord God 1533. he not hauing in his company about the number of 210. Spaniards, wherof there were not past threescore horsemen in all: after the taking of which prince Acabalipa, he offered vnto Pysarro for his rancome, to fill a great large hall full of gold and siluer, and such golde and siluer vessels as they then vfed, euen as high as a man might reach with his arme. And the sayd prince caused the same hall to be marked round about at the sayd height, which rancome Pysarro granted to accept. And after, when as this mighty prince had sent to his vassals & subiects to bring in gold and siluer for the filling of the hall, as aforesaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Paciacama and Cusco, as also to the Calao of Lima, in which towne, as their owne writers doe affirme, they found a large and faire house, all slated and couered with gold: and when as the said hall was not yet a quarter full, a mutinie arose amongst the Spaniards, in which it was commonly giuen out, that the said prince had politickely offered this gre at rancome vnder pretence to raise a much more mightie power, whereby the Spaniards should be taken, slaine and overthrowen: whereupon they grew to this resolution, to put the sayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and siluer already brought in, which they presently put in execution. And committing to make perfect Inuentorie of the same, as wel for the Emperour then king of Spaine, his sife part, as otherwise, there was found to be already brought in into the sayd hall, the number of 132425. pound weight of siluer, and in golde the number of 1828125. pezos, which was a riches neuer before that no, since scene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the Emperour for his sife part of golde 365625. pezos, and for his sife part of siluer 26485. pound waight, and to euery horseman eight thousand pezos of gold, and 67. pound waight of siluer. Euery souldiour had 4550. pezos of gold, and 280. pound waight of siluer. Euery Captaine had some 30000. some 20000. pezos of gold and siluer, proportionally answerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed vpon amongst them.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his detree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the rest, ouer and besides the massie table of gold which Acabalipa had in his Litter, which waighd 25000. pezos of gold: neuer were there before that day souldiours so rich in so small a time, and with so little danger. And in this iourney for want of yron, they did chooe their horses, some with gold, and some with siluer. This is to bee scene in the generall historie of the West Indies, where as the doings of Pizarro, and the conquest of Peru is more at large set forth.

To this may I adde the great discoueries and conquests which the princes of Portugall haue made

2. Decad. lib. 3.
fol. 77. of the
West Indies,
in English.
Canoa is a
kind of boat.
3. Decad lib. 1.
fol 97.
About the yere
of our Lord
1511.

Conquest of
the West In-
dies. fol. 43. and
45. English.

A marueilous
victorie.

made round about the West, the South, and the East parts of Africa, and also at Calicut, and in the East Indies, and in America, at Brasile and elsewhere in sundry Islands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the sayd coastes and Islands, euer as they discovered: which being rightly weped and considered, doth minister iust cause of incouragement to our Countreymen, not to account it so hard and difficult a thing for the subiects of this noble realme of England, to discover, people, plant and possesse the like goodly lands and rich countreys not farre from vs, but neere adioyning & offring themselves vnto vs (as is aforesayd) which haue neuer yet heretofore bene in the actuall possession of any other Christian prince, then the princes of this Realme. All which (as I thinke) should not a little animate and encourage vs to looke out and aduenture abroad, vnderstanding what large Countreys and Islands the Portugals with their small number haue within these few yeeres discovered, peopled and planted, some part whereof I haue thought it not amisse, briefly in particular to name both the Townes, Countreys & Islands, so neere as I could vpon the sudden call them to remembrance: for the rest I doe referre the Reader to the histories, where more at large the same is to be seene. First, they did winne and conquire from the princes of Barbary the Island of Geisera & towne of Arzila, not past an 140. mile distant from their Metropolitane & chiefe city of Fesse: and after that they wonne also from the said princes the townes of Tanger, Ceuta, Mazigam, Azamor, and Azaffi, all alongst the Sea coasts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadomosta a Gentleman Venetian, was hee that first discovered for their vse Cape Verd, with the Islands adioyning, of which he then peopled and planted those of Bonauista and Sant Iago discovering also the riuer Senega, other wise called Niger, and Cape Roxo & Sierra Leone, and in a few yeeres after they did discover the coast of Guinea, and there peopled and built the castle of Mina: then discovered they further to the countreys of Melegettes, Benin, and Congo, with the Islands of Principe, da Nobon, S. Mattheue, and S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled, and built in the said Island of S. Thomas the ha- uen towne or port of Pauosan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1494. one Bartholomeu Dias was sent forth, who was the first man that discovered and doubled that great and large Cape called de Bon Esperanze, & passing the currents that run vpon the said coast, on the South- east part of Africa, between the said maine land & the Island of S. Laurence, other wise called of the ancients, Madagascar, he discovered to y^e harbor named the Riuer of y^e Infant. After that since the yeere of our Lord God, 1497. and before the full accomplishment of the yeere of Christ, 1510. through the traualles and discoveries of Vascos de Gama, Peter Aluares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corfale, John de Empoli, Peter Sintra, Sancho de Toar, and that noble and worthy gentle- man Alonso de Albuquerque, they did discover, people, and plant at Ceffala, being vpon the East side of Africa, in the twenty degrees of latitude of the South Pole, and direct West from the Island of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, diuers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as also vpon the said East side of Africa, they did afterward discover, people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiola, Monbaza and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and so vnto the streight of Babel-Mandell at the entring of the red sea, all vpon the East coast of Africa, from whence they put off at the Cape of Guarda Fu, and past the great gulf of Arabia, and the Indian Sea East to Sinus Persicus, and the Island of Ormus, and so passing the large and great riuer Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, vnder the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrional latitude, they made their course againe directly towards the South, and began to discover, people, and plant vpon the West side of the hither India at Goa, Manga- lor, Cananor, Calecut and Cochin, and the Island of Zeilam.

Ceffala accom-
ted to be the
place where
the noble and
wise king Salo-
mon did fetch
his gold.

And here I thinke good to remember to you, that after their planting vpon this coast, their forces grew so great that they were able to compell all the Moores, the subiectes of the mightie Emperour of the Turkes to pay tribute vnto them, euer as they passed the gulf of Arabia, from the port of Mecca in Arabia Foelix, where Mahomet lieth buried, or any of the other portes of the sayd land, euer as they passed to and from the hauens of Cochin, Calecut and Cananor, and by their martiall maner of discipline practised in those partes, the great and mightie prince the So- phie Emperour of the Persians, and professed enemy to the Turke, came to the knowledge and vse of the Caliuier shot, and to enterlace and ioyne footemen with his horsemen, sicence which time the Persians haue growen to that strength and force, that they haue giuen many mightie and great ouerthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Christendome.

And from the Island of Zeilam aforesayd, they also discovered more East in passing the gulf of Bengala, and so passed the notable and famous riuer of Ganges, where hee hath his fall into the maine Ocean, vnder the tropike of Cancer, and to the Cape of Malaca, and vnto the great and large Islands of Sumatra, Iaua maior, Iaua minor, Mindanao, Palobane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tidore,

Tidore, Mathin, Borneo, Machian, Terenate, and all other the Islands of Molucques and Spices, and so East alongst the coasts of Cathaia, to the portes of China, Zaiton and Quinsay, and to the Island of Zipango and Iapan, situate in the East, in 37. degrees of Septentrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. These are their noble and worthy discoueries. Here also is not to be forgotten, that in the yere of our Lord, 1501. that famous and worthy gentleman Americus Vespucius did discover, people, and plant to their use the holdes and forts which they haue in Brazil, of whom (he but being a private gentleman) the whole countrey of firme land of the West Indies, is commonly called and known by the name of America.

These are the furthest parts of the world from England. At these Islands hath Sir Francis Drake bene, where the same of the Queenes most excellent Majesty was resorted.

I doe greatly doubt least I seeme ouer tedious in the recitall of the particular discoueries and conquests of the East and West Indies, wherein I was the more bold to vrge the patience of the Reader, to the end it might most manifestly and at large appeare, to all such as are not acquainted with the histories, how the king of Portugall, whose Countrey for popularity and number of people, is scarce comparable to some three shires of England, and the king of Spaine likewise, whose natural Countrey doth not greatly abound with people, both which princes by means of their discoueries within lesse then 90. yeres past, haue as it appeareth both mightily and matuellously enlarged their territories and dominions through their owne industrie by the assistance of the omnipotent, whose aid we shall not need to doubt, seeing the cause and quarrell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Christian faith.

To conclude, since by Christian dutie we stand bound chiefly to further all such acts as do tend to the encreasing the true flock of Christ by reducing into the right way those lost sheepe which are yet astray: And that we shall therein follow the example of our right vertuous predecessors of renowned memorie, and leaue vnto our posteritie a diuine memoriall of so godly an enterprize: Let vs I say for the considerations alledged, enter into iudgement with our selues, whether this action may belong to vs or no, the rather for that this voyage through the mighty assistance of the omnipotent God, shall take our desired effect (whereof there is no iust cause of doubt.) Then shall her Maiesties dominions be enlarged, her highnesse ancient titles iustly confirmed, all odious idleness from this our Realme utterly banished, diuers decayed townes repaired, and many poore and needy persons relieved, and estates of such as now liue in want shall be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Christ, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannicall neighbours, the diabolicall custome of sacrificing humane creatures abolished.

All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the sight of our Saviour Christ, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore, for hee that cannot erre hath sayd: That before the ende of the world, his word shall be preached to all nations. Which good worke I trust is reserved for our nation to accomplish in these parts: Therefore my deere countrey men, be not dismayed: for the power of God is nothing diminished, nor the loue that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Gospell any whit abated. Shall wee then doubt he will be lesse ready most mightily and miraculously to assist our nation in this quarrell, which is chiefly and principally undertaken for the enlargement of the Christian faith abroad, and the banishment of idleness at home, then he was to Columbus, Vasques Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the West: and Vasques de Gama, Peter Aluares, & Alonso de Albuquerque in the East: Let vs therefore with cheerefull minds and couragious hearts, giue the attempt, and leaue the sequell to almighty God: for if he be on our part, what forceth it who bee against vs: Thus leauing the correction and reformation vnto the gentle Reader, whatsoeuer is in this treatise too much or too little, otherwise vnperfect, I take leave, and so end.

A letter of Sir Francis VValsingham to M. Richard Hakluyt then of Christchurch in Oxford, encouraging him in the study of Cosmographie, and of furthering new discoueries, &c.

Understand aswel by a letter I long since receiued from the Maior of Bristol, as by conference with sir George Pekham, that you haue endeouored, & giuen much light for the discouery of the Westerne partes yet vnknown: as your studie in these things is very comendable, so I thanke you much for the same; wishing you do continue your trauell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11. of March, 1582.

Your louing Friend,
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A let

A letter of Sir *Francis Walsingham* to Master *Thomas Aldworth* merchant, and at that time Maior of the Citie of *Bristol*, concerning their adventure in the *Westerne* discoverie.

After my heartie commendations, I haue for certaine causes deferred the answer of your letter of November last till now, which I hope cometh all in good time. Your good inclination to the *Westerne* discoverie I cannot but much commend. And for that Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, as you haue heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts being readie to imbarke within these 10. dayes, who needeth some further supply of shipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or 2. barks you write of, be put in a readinesse to goe along with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this trauell wil proue profitable to the *Adventurers* and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with the searers, *M. Richard Hakluyt*, and *M. Thomas Steuenton*, to whome I referre you: And so bid you heartily farewell. Richmond the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend.

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A letter written from *M. Thomas Aldworth* merchant and Maior of the Citie of *Bristol*, to the right honourable Sir *Francis Walsingham* principall Secretary to her Maiestie, concerning a *Westerne* voyage intended for the discovery of the coast of *America*, lying to the Southwest of Cape *Briton*.

Right honourable, vpon the receit of your letters directed vnto me and deliuered by the bearers hereof *M. Richard Hakluyt* and *M. Steuenton*, bearing date the 11. of March, I presently conferred with my friends in priuate, whom I know most affectionate to this godly enterprize, especially with *M. William Salterne* deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as conuenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed vnto me priuately, to be read in publike, and after some good light giuen by *M. Hakluyt* vnto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterprize, and were desirous to be resolved, the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was estioones set downe by mens owne hands then present, & apparently knowne by their own speech, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and upward: which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but etherwise to furnish out for this *Westerne* discovery, a ship of threescore, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey vnder the direction and gouernment of your sonne in law *M. Carlile*, of whom we haue heard much good, if it shall stand with your honours good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are also willing to haue *M. Steuenton* your honours messenger, and one well knowne to vs, as captains. And here in humble maner, desiring your honour to vouchsafe vs of your further direction by a generall letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this citie, at your honours best and most conuenient leisure, because we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further then to the end of April next comming, I cease, beseeching God long to blesse and prosper your honourable estate. Bristol. March 27. 1583.

A briefe and summary discourse vpon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of *America*: written by Captaine *Carlile* in April, 1583, for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the *Moscovian* companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12. li. 10. s. and the lowest at 6. pound five shillings.

When the Goldsmith desireth to finde the certaine goodnesse of a piece of golde, which is newly offered vnto him, he presently bringeth the same to the Touchstone, where, by comparing the shewe or touch of this new piece with the touch or shewe of that which he knoweth of old, he forthwith is able to iudge what the value is of that, which is newly offered vnto him. After the example whereof I haue thought it good to make some brieue repetition of the particular estate of many

many other forren voyages and trades already frequented and known unto vs, whereby we may be the better able to conceiue and iudge what certaine likelihood of good there is to be expected in the voyage, which is presently recommended vnto your knowledge and resolution.

And first to lay downe that of Moscouia, whose beginning is yet in the remembrance of many: Moscouie.
It is well known, that what by the charges of the first discouery, and by the great gifts bestowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, together with the lewd dealing of some of their seruants, who thought themselves safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the company aboue fourescore thousand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good course and commoditie: It falleth to very ticklish termes, and to as slender likelihood of any further goodnesse, as any other trade that may be named.

For first the estate of those Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more tickle then are by euery body understood.

Next, the Dutchmen are there to crepe in, as they daily augment their trade thither, which may Dutchmen.
well confirme that vncertainty of the Emperours disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadors betweene that Prince and her Maiesty, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke.

And lastly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce Denmarke.
a tribute on vs, hath likewise an aduantage vpon the ships in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whensoever he listeth to take the opportunitie.

The badde dealings of the Easterlings are sufficiently known to be such towards our mer- Easterlings.
chants of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them many iniuries ouerlong to bee written, but doe seeke all the meanes they can, to deprive them wholly of their occupying that way: and to the same purpose haue of late cleane debaired them their accustomed and ancient priuiledges in all their great towncs.

The traffique into Turkie, besides that by some it is thought a hard point to haue so much fa- Turkie.
miliaritie with the professed and obstinate chemic of Christ: It is likewise a voyage which can not be made but at the deuotion, and as it were in the danger of many states, who for sundry respects are apt to quarrell with vs vpon sudden occasions, and the presents to be giuen away in Turkie this yeere, cost little lesse then two thousand pounds.

As for the trades into all the partes of Italie, it may easily be considered by euery one of iudge- Leuant.
ment, that the same stand in the like termes touching the passages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our shippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Alger, our poore Mariners after the losse of their goods and trauell, are set at such excessive ransoms before they can bee freed of their slauierie, as for the most part they are no way able to discharge. As for example, at this instant there are some prisoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whose releasing there must be payed two hundred Duckets the man, for some three hundred, yea, foure or five hundred Duckets the man for some of them. And how enuiously the Venetians doe already oppose themselves against our frequenting into their partes, may appeare by the late customs which they haue imposed as well vpon our English merchandize which we bring them, as also vpon such their merchandize which we fetch from them.

The trade into Barbarie groweth likewise to worse termes then before times, and when it Barbarie.
was at the best, our merchants haue bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whensoever it happened the king to die. For vntill a new were chosen, the libertie of all disordered persons is such, as they spoile and wrong whom they list, without any remorse at all.

Touching Spaine and Portugall, with whom wee haue very great trade, and much the great- Spaine.
ter, by meanes of their venting a good part of our wares in their Indies, as also of the provision Portugall.
they haue from the same, where with are made many of our returns from them againe: It falleth out that twice the yeere ordinarily we send our flectes into those partes: So that whensoever the king of Spaine listeth to take the opportunitie, hee may at these seasons deprive vs not onely of a great number of our very good ships, but also of our honestest and ablest sort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme againe, which is a matter of no small consequence: for it is to be noted, that when hee shall take a quarrell in hand, though it be but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well those our shippes which are in his owne Countreys of Spaine and Portugall, as also all others which shall bee bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whosoever hee bee that is but meanely affected in Religion, as of necessitie becommeth euery ordinarie man and good Christian to be, cannot but be grieued in
his

Remember the
great arrest of
the Hollan-
ders, An. 1598

his heart to consider, that his children and servants whom hee desireth to haue well brought vp, are in these trades of Spaine and Portugall, and all Italic, forced to denie their owne profession, and made to acquaint themselves with that which the Parents and Masters doe utterly deny and refuse, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a detestable and most wicked doctrine.

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouces, of that hithermost part of America, shall find it hath as many points of good moment belonging vnto it, as may almost be wished for.

*Commodities
of this voyage
in shortness.*

1 As first it is to be understood, that it is not any long course, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the first discouerie thereof.

2 Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subiect to 3. or 4. winds.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the passage is vpon the high sea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fifthly, that those parts of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or home ward vpon this voyage, are very well storied of goodly harbours.

6 Sixtly, that it is to be accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any forreine prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all other voyages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their servants or children, shall haue no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced vpon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable vnto their Parents and Masters.

*Commodities
of the countrey
more then
those of Mos-
couie.*

As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit that for the present we are not certainly able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscouian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demanded any such proportion of day expenses, as was at the first, and as yet is continued in that of Moscouia and other.

But when this of America shall haue bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscouia, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be employed well, twise the yeere at the least. And if for the present time there doe fall out nothing els to be found then the bare fishing, yet doubt I not after the first yeeres planting, but by that matter only to serue halfe a dozen of your best sort of shippes, although my supply of people doe not follow me so substantially, as in all reason may be well looked for.

*The feriall
merchandise.*

But when it is asked what may be hoped from thence after some yeeres, it is first to be considered, that this situation in fourtie degrees, shall be very apt to gather the commodities either of those parts which stand to the Southward of it, as also of those which are to the Northward.

In the Northward may be expected not onely an especiall good fishing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but also any other such commodities, as the Easterne Countreys doe yeeld vs now: as Pitch, Tarre, Hemppe, and thereof cordage, Walles, Losse hives, rich Furies, and other such like, without being in any sort beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or state that shall be in such sort able to command our shippes at their pleasure, as those doe at this day, by meanes of their strait passages and strong shipping.

As for those partes which lie West and to the Southwardes, it may well be hoped they will yeeld Vines with a small helpe, since the grapes doe growe there of themselves already very faire and in great abundance. Oliues being once planted, will yeelde the like Oyle as Spaine, Prouince and Italic. The Countrey people being made to know, that for Ware and home, we will giue them such trifling things as they desire of vs, and shewing them once the means how to provide the same, the labour thereof being so light, no doubt but in short time they will earnestly care to haue the same in good quantitie for vs. Besides, what great likelihood there is of good meanes to make Salt, which may serue for the fishing of those partes, may well enough appeare vnto them, who can iudge the qualitie of such places as are required to make the same in.

*At lake of salt
in Viques
his voyage.*

Thus much for the beginning, because they may be had with an easie kinde of trauell: but when it may haue pleased God to establish our people there any such time as they may haue planted amongst them in sundry partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar entreating them, they be made to see what is better for them then they doe as yet vnderstand of, and that in so many sorts of occasions as were infinite to be set downe: It is to be assuredly hoped, that

that they will daily by little and little forsake their barbarous and sauage liuing, and growe to such order and ciuilitie with vs, as there may be well expected from thence no lesse quantitie and diuersitie of merchandize then is now had out of Duchland, Italie, France or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the aptest to fall out with vs, so these parts being somewhat remote, are the liker to take, or giue lesse occasion of disquiet. But when it is considered that they are our own kindred, and esteemed our own countrey nation which haue the gouernment, meaning by those who shall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of most louing and most assured friends?

There are further to be considered these two poynts of good importance, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good prospering of this action, there must of necessitie fall out a very liberall utterance of our English Clothes into a maine Countrey, described to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, shall haue wonderfull great vse of our sayde English Clothes, after they shall come once to knowe the commoditie thereof. The like will bee also of many other things, ouer many to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of necessitie must bee provided from hence.

The other is, if there be any possible meanes to finde a sea passage or other fresh water course, which may serue in some reasonable and conuenient sort, to transport our merchandize into the East Indian Sea, through any of these Northerly partes of America, it shall be soonest and most assuredly performed by these who shall inhabite and first grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What Minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in suspence, vntill some better knowledge, because there be many men, who hauing long since expected some profits herein, vpon the great promises that haue bene made them, and being as yet in no point satisfied, doe thereupon conceiue that they be but wordes purposely cast out for the inducing of men to bee the more ready and willing to furrish their money towards the charge of the first discouerie.

But nowe to answere some others who begin with an other obiection, saying: That it is not for the Marchants purse to continue the charges of transporting and planting: and that since these hundred men which are nowe to bee planted, will cost foure thousand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee also a farre greater summe of money.

Whereunto I answere, that in all attemptes vnknown, especially such a one as this is, wherewith wee are presently in hand, the first charges are commonly aduentured in more desperate kinde, then those that followe vpon some better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one aduentureth in the first enterprise, an hundred for that one will of themselves bee willing and desirous to aduenture in the next, if there bee neuer so little more appearance, that the intended matter is by some knowledge of our owne, found true in some poynts of our first presumption.

The examples are many, and may easily bee remembered by those who be Marchants, euen in their ordinarie and dayly trades, as well as in extraordinarie attemptes, which of late yeeres haue fallen into those termes of some likelihood, as is aforesayde. So then no doubt, but when certaine reports shall bee brought by them who directly come from thence, that such a Countrey and people they haue themselves seene, as is by vs spoken of, but that then there will come forwarde a greater number of those, who nowe neither haue heard any thing of the matter, as also of others, who presently make such fruitlesse scruple, and will not otherwise be satisfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I speake not this by the Marchants whom for their freedoms of trade I would not haue pressed to any further charge then this first preparation, but rather by such as haue great affection to hazard the changing of their estates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be assured that there is such a Countrey, & that their money should not be wasted to nothing in the preparations.

The right examination of this point must bee the contrary sequell of the common Proverbe that is vsed, Nothing venture, nothing haue: so on the other side by venturing, many great good profits are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of the Common weale, and to those especially in private, who take on them the hazard of their life and traucell, or substance in the first attemptes: and therefore I would wish that they, who (God be thanked) are well able to spare that which is required of each one towards the vndertaking of this aduenture, be well content and willing to imploy the same, since the sequell in good and substantiall reason doth promise, not onely a great commoditie in particular to the Marchant, who shall here at home exercise the trade of Marchant:

The ether of metal brought by M. Frobi-her, caused two severall supplies, the two yeeres next following, whereof the latter was of thirteene tall ships.

dise: but also to an infinite number of other, who presently live in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discoverie, alter the same to a far better degree. Wherefore to make some conclusion vpon this point of the Merchants misdoubt, who suspecteth lest this first disbursement without returne of present gaine, should not be all his charge, but that afterwards he might yet further be urged to continue the like again, as hath happened in the discoverie of the Moscovian trade: It may suffice to consider, that this is not an action which concerneth onely the Merchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall sort of people throughout all England: And that when such relation shall be returned, as that it may bee found a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie wil not refuse to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it should sinke for want of any reasonable supply.

But as it is a very little time, since I haue beene thoroughly resolved to trie my fortune in the matter, so it is more then time the preparation were in hand already, and therefore no fit time now to make any number of ignorant men to vnderstand with reason the circumstance that belongeth to a matter of so great consideration and importance.

To those who haue any forward mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankind, I say thus much more, that Christian charitie doth as greatly perswade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may be layed before vs, in as much as thereby wee shall not onely doe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducing the sauage people to Christianitie and ciuilitie, but also in respect of our poore sorte of people, which are very many amongst vs, liuing altogether vnprofitable, and often times to the great disquiet of the better sort. For who knoweth not, how by the long peace, happie health, and blessed plentifulnesse, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is so mightily encreased, as a great number being brought vp, during their youth in their parents houses, without any instruction how to get their liuings after their parents decease, are driuen to some necessitie, whereby very often for want of better education they fall into sundry disorders, and so the good sort of people, as I sayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themselves led on to one shamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee found some such kinde of employment as this would be, no doubt but a greater part of them would be withheld from falling into such vile deedes: and in steade thereof, prooue greatly seruiceable in those affaires, where they might be so employed.

Master Carleile
owns experi-
ence.

This I speake of mine owne experience, hauing seene diuers come ouer to the warres of the lowe Countreys during my residence in the same, who here had beene very euill and idle liuers, and by some little continuance with vs, haue growen to be very industrious in their facultie, which I can assure you, was a more painefull maner of liuing then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpose of farre lesse value, in respect of their particular recompence, then with an assured kind of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you see in euery point that may bee wished for in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reason enough to satisfie the well disposed. But now to growe somewhat neerer the quicke, and to shewe you some greater appearance, then hath beene yet spoken of touching the trade which is the onely subiect wherewith I doe meane to intermeddle at this time, because my aduise hereby is chiefly to men of such like facultie: you may vnderstande by that which followeth, the circumstance of a little discourse, which doeth concerne these matters very directly.

In the yeere 1534. James Carthier of S. Malo made his first discoverie of those partes of America, which lie to the Westwardes, and as it were on the backside of Newfoundland. In which voyage his principall intention was to seeke out the passage, which hee presumed might haue beene found out into the East Indian Sea, otherwise called the passage to Cathaya, but this pere he went no higher then the Island of the Assumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and so returned backe into France.

The next yeere following hee went with greater prouision into the Grand bay againe, where he keeping the Northerly shoare, ran vp the great Riuer that comes downe from Canada and other places, untill at last with his small pinnelles, (hauing left his great shipping by the way) he arrived at Hochelaga towne, being three hundred leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which traualle hee had spent so much of the yeere, that it was now the moneth of October, and therefore thought it conuenient, for the better enforming himselfe at large in this discoverie, to winter it out in those partes, which he did at a place called by himselfe Holy Crosse. This winter fell out to bee a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with vs in these partes, and the sauage people, who for the most part make but a slender kinde of prouision, euen as it were from hande to mouth, fell into some scarcitie of victuals: yet did they not refuse

to serue the Frenchmen, with any thing they had all the winter long, albeit at somewhat higher prices towards the ende when the neede was most, as with our selues the like happeneth at such times.

But when the French had their wants serued all the yeere, and that as yet they sawe not any appearance of their intended matter, which was the discouerie of the passage, and yet imagining by the signes wherewith the willing people endeoured to declare their knowledge in that poynt, that some good matter might bee had from them, if they might haue beene well understoode, they resoulued with themselves to take some of the sufficicent men of that countrey home into France, and there to keepe them so long, as that hauing once atchieued the French tongue, they might declare more substantially their minde, and knowledge in the sayde passage, concluding this to be the meane of least charge, of least trauaile, and of least hazard.

And when they came to bechinke themselves, who might bee meetest for it, they determined to take the King, as the person who might bee best informed of such partes as were somewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as also that for the respect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further seruice, when it should happen them to returne thither againe about the discouerie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions coming aboarde the French shippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterously carped away into France, where hee liued foure yeeres, and then dyed a Christian there, as Theuet the French Kings Coliographer doeth make mention. This outrage and iniurious dealing did put the whole Countrey people into such dislike with the French, as neuer since they would admit any conuersation or familiaritie with them, untill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawn on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I sayde) within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since was begunne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was found so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by those Merchants, who meant to haue kept the trade secret vnto themselves, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of fourescore tunnes out of the Isle of Iersey, but not any one Hariner of that place, sauing a shipboy. This shippe made her returne in such sorte, as that this yeere they haue multiplied three shippes, to wit, one of nine score tunnes, another of an hundred tunnes, and a third of foure score tunnes: which report is giuen by very substantiall and honest men of Plimmouth, who sawe the sayd shippes in readinesse to depart on their voyage, and were aboard of some of them.

The French mens trade renewed in Canada, in the yeere 1581.

Here is at this instant in the towne a man of Gernesey, Lewis de Vike, who reporteth to haue credibly heard, that by this last yeeres voyage the Frenchmen got foureteene or fiftene hundred for euery one hundred: But how soeuer it be, it carrieth good likelihood of some notable profite, in as much as they doe so greatly, and thus suddenly encrease the burthen and number of their ships this present yeere.

Nowe, if in so little as two yeeres time this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growen to such good passe as hath beene declared vnto you: it is worth the thinking on to consider what may be hoped for from the Southerne part, which in all reason may promise a great deale more. And so, as one who was neuer touched with any indirect meaning, I presume to wish and perswade you to some better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I do verely thinke will turne to your greater and more assured commodity, then you receiue by any other voyage, as yet frequented of so short and safe a course as this hath: dealing herein no other wise with you for your seuerall small summes, then I doe with my selfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: besides the hazard and trauaile of my person, and the totall imployment of my poore credit, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto passed cleare and vnsported in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this matter betweene you and me.

The South part best for inhabiting and traffique.

Articles set downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moscouian Marchants, to conferre with *M. Carlile*, vpon his intended discouerie and attempt into the hithermost parts of *America*.

The names of the Committies.

Master Alderman Hart,
Master Alderman Spencer.
Master Hoddesden.
Master William Burrough,
Master Slany.

Master Towerson,
Master Staper.
Master Iohn Castelin.
Master Leake.



First the Committies are well perswaded, that the Countrey whereunto this action is intended, is very fruitfull, inhabited with sauage people of a milde and tractable disposition. And that of all other places which are vnfrequented at this day, it is the onely most fit and most commodious for vs to intermeddle withall.

The conuenientest maner of attempting this enterprise is thought to bee thus: That there should be one hundred men conueyed thither to remaine there one whole yeere: who with friendly intreatie of the people, may enter into better knowledge of the particular estate of the Countrey, and thereby gather what commoditie may be hereafter, or presently looked for.

The furni-
shing forth
of 100. men for
one yeere will
cost 4000. li.

The charge to transport these hundred men, to victuall them, and to furnish them of munition and other needefull things, will not be lesse then foure thousand poundes: whereof hath bene very readily offered by the Citie of Bristol one thousand poundes, the residue being three thousand poundes, remaineth to bee furnished by this Citie of London, or any others who will aduenture their money in this first preparation.

The Committies thinke it conuenient that a Priuilege should be procured by Master Carlile from her Maiesty, by vertue whereof these conditions and Articles following may be effectually provided for.

First, that they who shall disburse their money for the first preparation, shall be named Aduenturers, and shall haue the one halfe of all such landes, territories, townes, mines of gold and silver, and other metalls whatsoever, as shall bee found, gotten, obtained, as conquered by this discouery: yeelding to her Maiesty the fift part of all such gold and silver, as shall happen to be had out of any mines that so shall be found.

That those parties which doe employ themselves personally in the present discouerie, shall be named Enterprisers, and shall haue the other halfe of all the Landes, Territories, Townes, Mines of Gold and Silver, and other metalls, yeelding to her Maiesty the fift part of the Gold and Silver as the Aduenturers do: The same to bee distributed by the Generall, with the consent of the greatest part of twelue discrete persons to bee chosen out of the whole number of the Enterprisers.

Also, that all trade of Marchandise which shall bee used to and from those partes, which by this discouerie shall bee found out, shall appertaine onely to the Aduenturers which first shall disburse their money for this discouery, with prohibition to all other her Maiesties subiects, and other Marchants to deale in the sayd parts, without the consent of the first Aduenturers, vpon losse of shippe and goods, and punishment of their persons, that so shall aduenture in trade of marchandise: or otherwise by imprisonment at the Companies pleasure.

That no person shall hereafter aduenture in this discouerie as Aduenturers for the profits mentioned in the first Articles, but such onely as doe disburse their money in this first preparation: and they shall not aduenture hereafter any greater summe, then ratably according to their proportion of this their first aduenture.

Also, the profite which by this discouerie shall be attained vnto, either by lande which may bee conquered, or otherwise gotten: as also such profite which by this discouerie shall bee obtained by mines, or otherwise gotten, that eche one shall haue his part rate and rate like, according to the proportion of their first aduenture, and not otherwise.

The Aduenturers in this first preparation shall, at their owne free will and libertie, choose whether they will supply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any such occasion to requyre the same. And yet withall shall for ever holde to them the freedome of the trade which

which shall growe in any of these partes : notwithstanding their sayd refusall to beare any further charge.

That in the Patent which is to bee obtained, be graunted, that all her Maiesties subiects may transport themselues thither that shall be contented to goe. And that the Patentee or his assignes may shippe thither from time to time, so many and such persons, men, women, and children, as they shall thinke meete. And the same persons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleasure, any lawe to the contrary notwithstanding, with expresse prohibition, as is mentioned in the third article, against all others, which shall go thither without the licence of the patentee or his assignes first obtained.

That it shall not be lawfull for any of her Maiesties subiects, or any other to inhabite or traffique within one hundred leagues any way of the place, where the Generall shall haue settled his chiefest being or residence.

A relation of the first voyage and discouerie of the Isle Ramea, made by for Monsieur de La court Pre Rauillon, and Grand Pre, with the ship called the *Bonaventure*, to kill and make Traine oyle of the beasts called the Morfes with great teeth, which we haue performed by Gods helpe this yeere 1591. 1591.

The performance of our said voyage, we departed from S. Malo with the flete that went for Canada, and kept companie with the ships called The Soudil and the Charles halfe the way, and then lost them; a violent wind arising at North-west, which separated vs.

The flete of Canada.

After which we had faire wether, and came to the coast of Cape Rase, & had no further knowledge thereof, because the winde was at the Southwest but a scarce gale: and we came to the sounding Southwest of the Isles of S. Peter about 10. leagues, where we found 20. fathoms water, and we sayled Northwest one quarter of the North, and came within 12. leagues of Cape de Rey.

Cape Rase.

The Isles of S. Peter.

The next day being the 6. of May 1591. we were come to Cape de Rey, & saw a ship South-west off vs, and stayed there that night.

Cape de Rey.

The next day being the seuenth of the sayd moneth, we came to the Isles of Aponas, where we put forth our boat, because we had not past 8. leagues to our haven, which we kenne very clearly, although the coasts lay very low: and because the night approached, and the wind grew very high, we sought not to seeke our port, because it is very hard to find it when the wind is losty, because of the shoals that are about it. And we thought to keepe our course untill the next morning between the Isle of Brion & the Isle of Aponas. But there arose so great a tempest at the Southwest, that without the helpe of God we had bene in great danger among these Isles. And we trauesed by and downe eleuen dayes, making our prayers vnto God to ende the tempest and to send vs faire weather, that we might obtaine our haven: which of his goodnesse he gaue vs. The last of May we ranged the Isle Ramea on the Northnorthwest side, vnto the contrary part of the land, where it trendeth to the Southsoutheast: and seeing no land on the West side, wee ranged the sayd land to the East one quarter to the North at the least 15. leagues, and being from the shore some eight leagues, we found 15. fathoms water, and passed betweene the Isle of Duoron and the Isle of Ramea, where goeth a chanell of 3. leagues bredth; in the midst whereof you shall haue 7. 8. and 9. fathoms water. And the lowe poynt of the Isle Ramea, and the Isle Duoron lie Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. And take heede you come not neere the low point of the Isle Ramea by a great league, for I haue sounded it at 3. fathoms water. The Isle is marked. And the harbour of the Isle Ramea lyeth Northeast and Southwest, one quarter to the East and West. And if you would enter the sayd harbour, keepe you a league off the shoare: for often times there is great danger.

The Isles of Aponas.

The Isle of Brion.

The Isle Ramea.

The Isle of Duoron.

And that you may know the sayd haven, to the Eastnortheast of the sayde Isle there are high lands appearing to them that are without on all sides like a number of Islands, but in very deepe they are all firme land: and if you come on the South and Southwest side, you shall see a hill diuided into 3. parts, which I called The three hillockes, which is right within the haven. And for another better marke of the sayd harbour, you shall see an Isle like vnto a Flour de lice, distant from the sayd haven 6. leagues at the least: and this Isle and the sayd haven lie Northeast and Southwest, a quarter to the North and South. And on the sayd Isle there is good pebble stone to drie fish vpon: But to the West thereof there is a very faire countrey: and there is a banke of land, which runneth the length of a cable, hauing not past one fathom water vpon it. From the

The markes of the harbour of the Isle Ramea.

An Isle like a Flour de lice.

A banke of land.

Cape du Chapt.

The maine a
shold coast.Lille Blanche.
The place
where they
killed 1500.
Hoxles.The Isle
Hupp.Sands and
Holds.
A small Island
containing
a league of
ground.
A hard haven.Markes to
come into the
hauen.

The Barre

The best an-
chorage.Another en-
trance.
The Isle of Cor-
morants.

sayde Isle along the firme land the coast lyeth East and West, and you shall see as it were a great forrest running Eastward: and the Easterne Cape is called Cape du Chapt, and is great and red toward the Sea. And betweene the sayd lands you shall see as it were a small Island, but it ioyneth to the firme land on the Southwest part: and there is good shingle to drie fish on. And you must coast the shore with boates and not with ships, by reason of the shallowes of the sayd coast. For I haue seene without Cape du Chapt in faire weather the ground in two fathoms water, neere a league and an halfe from shore, and I iudged by reason of the highnesse of the land, that there had bene aboue thirtie fathoms water, which was nothing so: and I haue sounded comming neere the shore, in more or lesse depth. The coast stretcheth three leagues to the West from Lille Blanch or the white Isle, vnto the entrance of a riuer, where we slewe and killed to the number of fifteene hundred Hoxles or Sea oxen, accounting small and great, where at full sea you may come on shoare with boates, and within are two or three fathoms water. From thence the coast trendeth foure leagues to the West: to the North-west vnto the Isle Hupp, which is twentie leagues in circuit, and is like the edge of a knife: vpon it there is neither wood nor grasse: there are Hoxles vpon it, but they bee hard to be taken. From thence the coast trendeth to the North-west and North-north-west: which is all that I haue seene, to wit, the two sides and one ende of the Isle. And if I had had as good lucke as my Masters, when I was on the North-west side with my shippe, I would haue aduentured to haue sayled South-southeast, to haue discovered the Easterne shoare of the sayd Isle.

In your returne to the East, as you come from the hauen of Cape du Chapt vnto the sayde hauen, are sandes and holds. And three good leagues from Cape du Chapt there is a small Island containing about a league of ground: where there is an hauen toward the Southeast: and as you enter into the sayd hauen on the starreboord side, a dented Cape all of redde land. And you cannot enter into the said hauen but with the flood, because of a barre which lieth halfe a league without the poynts of the sayd hauen. The tydes are there at Southeast and North-west: but when the wind is very great, it bloweth much into the hauen at halfe flood. But ordinarily it floweth fife foote and an halfe. The markes to enter into the sayd hauen are to leaue the Isle Blanche or White Island at your comming in on the starreboord; and the poynt of the hauen toward the West hath a thicke Island, which you shall see on the other side, and it hath a little round Buttesse, which lyeth on the East side of the Island. There are also two other butresses more easie to bee seene then hidden: these are not to the East but to the West, and they haue markes on them. Here you shall not haue aboue two fathom and an halfe at a full sea vpon this barre. And the sounding is stone and rough ground. At your entring in, when you shall finde white sand which lyeth next the Southeast of the Cape, then you are vpon the barre: and bee not afrayd to passe vp the chanell. And for markes toward the West athwart the barre, when you haue brought an Island euen, which lyeth to the westward without, with the chicke part of the high land which lyeth most to the West, you shall bee past the barre: and the chanell runneth due North. And for your anchoring in the sayd hauen, see that you carefully seeke the middest of the sayd Thicke land, which lyeth in the bottome of the sayd hauen: for you must anchor betweene two bankes of sand, where the passage is but narrow. And you must anker surely: for there goeth a great tyde: for the Sea runneth there as swiftly and more then in.

There is good ground and ankorage here: and you shall ride in three fathom water. And within the sayde hauen there is nothing to hurt you, for you are free from all winds. And if by chance you should be driuen Westward of the sayd hauen, you may seeke an entrance, which is right ouer against the small Island named before, which is called The Isle of Cormorants; and you may enter in there as at the other hauen at a full sea: And you must passe vp on the West side, and you shall finde on the Barre at a full sea fourteene foote water, and great depth when you are entred in: for the Sea runneth very swiftly in that place: and the entrie thereof lyeth Southeast and North-west.

Right ouer against you on the other side, you may passe with boates at a full sea. And all these entrances make all but one hauen, which is good within. I say this, because I haue passed into the maine Sea by the one and the other passage. And the said Isle is not past two leagues ouer in the middest. It is but two bankes of sande, whereof one is like to that of S. Malo, which let the Sea from passing through the middest of all the Isle: But the two endes are high mountaines with Islands altogether cut and separated with streames and riuers.

To anker in the sayd harbour, you must not ride farther then fife or sixe cables length from the sayd hauen.

A letter

A letter sent to the right Honorable Sir William Cecill Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England &c. From M. Thomas James of Bristol, concerning the discoverie of the Isle of Ramea, dated the 14 of September. 1591.



Right Honourable, my humble duetie to your good Lordship done, I thought good humbly to aduertise your honour of the discovery of an Island made by two smal shippes of Saint Malo; the one 8 dates past being pilled neare Silley, by a ship of which I am part owner, called the Pleasure, sent by this citie to my Lord Thomas Howard, for her Maiesties seruice. Which prise is sent backe to this Port by those of the sayd shippes, with upwards of fortie tunnes of Traine. The Island lyeth in 47 degrees, some fiftie leagues from the grand Bay, neere Newfoundland: and is about twentie leagues about, and some part of the Island is flat Sands and shoulder: and the fish commeth on banke (to do their kinde) in April May & June, by numbers of thousands, which fish is very big; and hath two great teeth: and the skinne of them is like Buffes leather: and they will not away from their yong ones. The yong ones are as good meat as Ueale. And with the bellies of stue of the saide fishes they make a hogthead of Traine, which Traine is very sweet, which if it will make sope, the king of Spaine may burne some of his Oliue trees. Humbly praying your Lordship to pardon herein my boldnes, betaking your Honour to the keeping of the Almighty. From Bristol, this 14 of September. 1591.

Your Honours most humbly at commandement.
THOMAS JAMES.

A briefe note of the Morisse and the vse thereof.

In the first voyage of Iaques Carthier, wherein he discovered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the said Isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534, as you may reade in pag. 205 of this present volume, he met with these beasts, as he witnesseth in these words. About the said Island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouthes like vnto Elephants teeth, and liue also in the sea. Wee saw one of them sleeping vpon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard vs, he cast himselfe into the sea. Touching these beasts which Iaques Carthier saith to be as big as Oxen and to haue teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth: True it is that they are called in latine Boues Marini, or Vaccæ Marinae, & in the Russia tongue Bozses, the hides whereof I haue seene as big as any Ox hide, and being dyessed I haue yet a piece of one thicker then any two Ox or Bulls hides in England. The Leatherdyesters take them to be excellent good to make light targets against the arrowes of the Sauages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores vse in Barbarie against arrowes and lances, whereof I haue seene diuers in her Maiesties statly Armoie in the towne of London. The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I haue seene a dyfat full at once, are a foote and some times more in length: & haue bene sold in England to the combe & knife-makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best Iuorie is sold for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is somewhat more yelow then the Iuorie. One M. Alexander Woodson of Bristol my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and skilful Iohistion, shewed me one of these beasts teeth which were brought from the Isle of Ramea in the first prise, which was half a yard long or very litle lesse: and assured mee that he had made tryall of it in ministring medicine to his patients, and had found it as soueraigne against poyson as any Unicorne horn.

The voyage of the ship called the *Marigold* of M. Hill of Redriffe vnto Cape Briton and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an half, 1593 Written by Richard Fisher Master Hilles man of Redriffe.



The ship called the Marigold of 70 tunnes in burthen furnished with 20 men, whereof 10 were Bariners, the Masters name being Richard Strong of Apsam, the Masters mate Peter Langworth of Apsam, with 3 coopers, 2 butchers to flea the Bozses or sea Oxen (whereof diuers haue teeth aboue a cubit long, & skinnes farre thicker then any bulls hide) with other necessary people, departed out of Fal-mouth the 1 of June 1593 in consort of another ship of M. Drakes of Apsam, which vpon some occasion was not ready so soone as thee should haue bene by two moneths. The place for which these two shippes were bound was an Island within the streightes of Saint Peter on the backe side of Newfoundland to the Southwest in the latitude of fortie seuen degrees, called by the Britons

The voyage of
M. Drake of
Apsam to
Ramea.

The Isle of
Ramea, or
Menquit.

Britons of Saint Malo the Isle of Ramea, but by the Sauages and naturals of the Continent next adoyning, Menquit: On which Isle are so great abundance of the huge and mightie Sea Dren with great teeth in the moneths of April, May and June, that there haue bene fifteene hundred killed there by one small barke, in the yeere 1591. The two English shippes aforesayde, lost companie before they came to Newfounland: and neuer came after together in all their voyage.

The ship of M. George Drake fell first with New-foundland, and afterward very directly came to the Isle Ramea, though too late in the yeere to make her voyage: where shee found a shippe of Saint Malo three parts freighted with these fishes: the men whereof enquiring whence our shippe was and who was the Master thereof, being answered that shee was belonging to Master George Drake of Apsam, fearing to bee taken as good prize being of a Leaguer towne, and at that time out of league with England, fled so hastily that present night that they left three and twentie men and three Shallops behinde them, all which our men seized vpon and brought away as good prizes home.

Here our men tooke certaine Sea-open, but nothing such numbers as they might haue had, if they had come in due season, which they had neglected. The shippe called the Marigolde fell with Cape Saint Francis in Newfounland the eleuenth of Iulie, and from thence wee went into the Bay Rogneuse, and afterward doubled Cape Razo, and sayling toward the straight of Saint Peter (which is the entrance betweene Newfounland and Cape Briton,) being vnacquainted with the place, beate vp and downe a very long time, and yet missed it, and at length ouer shot it, and fell with Cape Briton.

The English
men land vpon
on Cape Briton

They goe
on shore in
another place.

The people of
the countrey
came downe
to our men.

Blacke dogs.

A secret trade
to the South-
west of Cape
Briton.

Soundings to
the South and
Southwest-
ward of Cape
Briton.

Here diuerse of our men went on land vpon the very Cape, where, at their arriual they found the spittes of Dke of the Sauages which had roasted meate a litle before. And as they viewed the countrey they sawe diuers beastes and fowles, as blacke Foxes, Deere, Otters, great Fowles with redde legges, Pengwyns, and certaine others. But hauing found no people here at this our first landing wee went againe on shipboorde, and sayled farther foure leagues to the West of Cape Briton, where wee sawe many Seales. And here hauing neede of fresh water we went againe on shore. And passing somewhat more into the land, wee founde certaine round poudes artificially made by the Sauages to keepe fish in, with certaine weares in them made to take fish. To these poudes wee repayed to fill our calke with water. Wee had not bene long here, but there came one Sauage with blacke long hayre hanging about his shoulders, who called vnto vs, weauing his handes downewarde towardes his bellie, vsing these wordes, Calitogh Calitogh: as wee drewe towardes him one of our mens mulket vnawares shot off: whereupon hee fell downe, and rising vp suddenly againe hee cryed thirle with a loude voyce Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh. Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes running right vp ouer the bushes with great agilite and swiftnesse came towardes vs with white stauers in their handes like halfe pikes, and their dogges of colour blacke not so bigge as a grehounde followed them at the heeles; but wee retired vnto our boate without any hurt at all receiued. Howbeit one of them brake an hogthead which wee had filled with fresh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Upon which occasion we bestowed halfe a dosen muskets shotte vpon them, which they auoyded by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwarde retired themselues to the woodes. One of the Sauages, which seemed to bee their Captaine, ware a long mantle of beastes skimes hanging on one of his shoulders. The rest were all naked except their priuities, which were couered with a skinne tyed behinde. After they had escaped our shotte they made a great fire on the shore, belike to giue their fellowes warning of vs.

The kindes of trees that wee noted to bee here, were goodly Dkes, Firre trees of a great height, a kinde of tree called of vs Quickbeame, and Cherie trees, and diuerse other kindes to vs unknowne, because wee stayed not long with diligence to obserue them: and there is great shewe of rosen, pitch, and tarre. Wee found in both the places where wee went on land abundance of Raspeles, Strawberies, Hurtes, and herbes of good smell, and diuers good for the skurue, and grasse very ranke and of great length. Wee sawe fise or sixe boates sayling to the Southwestwardes of Cape Briton, which wee iudged to bee Christians, which had some trade that way. Wee sawe also, while wee were on shore, the manner of their hanging vp of their fish and flesh with witches to dry in the ayre: they also lay them vpon raftes and hurdles and make a smoake vnder them, or a softe fire, and so drie them as the Sauages vse to doe in Virginia.

While wee lay foure leagues South of Cape Briton wee sounden and had sixtie fathomes blacke ozie ground. And sayling thence Westwarde nine or ten leagues off the shore, we had twenty foure fathomes redde sande, and small whitish stones. Wee continued our course so farre

farre to the Southwest, that wee brought our selues into the latitude of fourtie foure degrees and an half, hauing sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues to the Southwest of Cape Briton. We found the current betwene this Cape Briton and Cape Rey to set out toward the Eastsoutheast. In our course to the West of Cape Briton we saw exceeding great store of seales, and abundance of Whorpoles, whereof we killed eleuen. We sawe Whales also of all sortes aswell small as great: and here our men tooke many berber Coddes with one teate underneath, which are like to the North-east Codds and better then those of Newfoundland,

From our arrivall at the haven of Saint Francis in Newfoundland, (which was as is aforesayde the eleuenth of July) we continued beating vp and downe on the coast of Arambec to the West and Southwest of Cape Briton untill the twentie eight of September, fully by the space of eleuen weekes: and then by the perswasion of our Master and certaine others wee shaped our course homeward by the Isles of the Azores, and came first to Coruo and Flores, where beating vp and downe, and missing of expected pray, we sayled by Tercera, and from thence to Saint Michael, where we sought to boorde a Portugall shippe, which we found too well appointed for vs to lying along with vs, and so being forced to leaue them behinde and hauing wasted all our victuals, wee were constrained against our willes to hasten home vnto our narrowe Seas: but it was the two and twentieth of December before wee could get into the Downes: where for lacke of winde wee kept our Christmas with dry breade onely for dropping of our clothes. One thing very strange hapened in this voyage: to witte, that a mightie great Whale followed our shippe by the space of many dayes as we passed by Cape Razo, which by no meanes wee coulde chase from our ship, untill one of our men fell ouerboord and was drowned, after which time hee immediatly forsooke vs, and neuer afterward appeared vnto vs.

They sayle 50 or 60 leagues to the South: West of Cape Briton. Great store of seales Whorpoles, Whales and Codds.

They continue on the coast from Cape Briton Westwards full eleuen weekes.

An huge Whale pursued their ship by the space of many dayes, till one of their men fell ouerboord.

A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. George Drake of Apsham to Isle of Ramea in the aforesayd yere 1593.



In the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fisher seruante to the worshipfull Master Hill of Redriffe is, as you reade, a briefe reporte of their loosing of their consort the shippe of Master George Drake of Apsham: which though shee came directly to the Isle of Ramea, yet because shee was not ready so soone by two moneths as she ought to haue bene, she was not onely the hinderance of her consort the Marigolde, & lost the season of the yere for the making of her voyage of killing the Whorles or Sea Oren, which are to be taken in Aprill, May, and Iune: but also suffered the fit places and harboroughs in the Isle which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be forestalled and taken by by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baskes of Saint Iohn de Luz, by comming a day after the fayne, as wee say. Which lingering improuidence of our men hath bene the overthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the undertakers of the same.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promised by the Authour himselfe: but the same not comming to my handes in tyme I am constrained to leaue it out. The want whereof, for the better vnderstanding of the state of the sayde Island, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforesayd nations of the of Britons and Baskes, may in part be supplied by the voyage of Master Charles Leigh to the sayde Island of Ramea: which also comming much too late thither, as Master George Drake had done, was wholly preuented and shutte out to his and his friends no small detriment and mischief, and to the discouraging of others hereafter in the sayd gainefull and profitable trade.

Neuerther thelesse albeit hitherto the successe hath not answered our expectation through our owne default, as is abovesaid, yet I was very willing to set downe in briefe and homely stile some mention of these three voyages of our owne men. The first of M. George Drake, the second of M. Siluester Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, because they are the first, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our owne Nation, that haue conducted English ships so farre within this gulf of S. Laurence, and haue brought vs true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes, and Biskaines do perely retaine from the sayd partes; while wee this long time haue stood still and haue bene idle lookers on, making courtisie who should giue the first aduenture, or once being giuen, who should continue or prosecute the same.

The

The voyage of the *Grace of Bristol* of M. Rice Iones, a Barke of thirty five Tunnes, vp into the Bay of Saint Laurence to the Northwest of *Newfoundland*, as farre as the Isle of *Assumption* or *Natiscotec*, for the barbes or tynnes of Whales and traine Oyle, made by Siluester Wyet, Shipmaster of *Bristol*.



He departed with the aforesaid Barke manned with twelue men for the place aforesaid from *Bristol* the 4 of Aprill 1594. and fell with Cape d'Esper on the coast of *Newfoundland* the nineteenth of May in the height of 47. We went thence for Cape Raz, being distant from thence 18 or 19 leagues, the very same day.

The 20. day we were thwart of Cape Raz.

Cape Raz.

Cape S. Marie.

The Islands of the Martyers.
The Isles of S. Peter.

Cape de Rey.
Cape de Angullie.
The bay of Saint George.

Then we set our course North-west for Cape S. Marie, which is distant from Cape Raz 19 leagues, and is on the Eastside of the great bay of *Placentia* almost at the entrie thereof.

From thence we shaped our course for the Islands of S. Pedro passing by the broken Islands of the Martyers; and when we were thwart of the said Isles of the Martyers our course to the Isles of S. Pedro was West and by North. In these Isles of S. Pedro there is a faire harbour, which we went into with our barke, and found there 2 ships of *Sibiburo* fishing for Cod: where we stayed 2 dayes, and tooke in balest for our ship. There are as faire and tall firre trees growing therein, as in any other part of *Newfoundland*. Then wee departed thence, and as we came out of the harbour's mouth we laid the ship vpon the lee, and in 2 houres space we tooke with our hookes 3 or 4 hundred great Cods for our prouision of our ship. Then we departed from the Isle of S. Pedro to enter into the gulfte of S. Laurence betwene Cape Briton and the said Isle, and set our course West North West, and fel with Cape de Rey which wee found to be distant from the Isles of S. Pedro 42 leagues. From Cape de Rey to Cape de Angullie we set our course North-north-west being distant thence 12 or 13 leagues. From the Cape de Angullie into the Bay of S. George we ran North-east and by East some 18 or 19 leagues.

In this bay of Saint George, we found the wrackes of 2 great *Biskaine* ships, which had bene cast away three yeres before: where we had some seuen or eight hundred Whale finnes, and some yron bolts and chaines of their mayne shrouds & fore shroudes: al their traine was beaten out with the weather but the caske remained still. Some part of the commodities were spoiled by tumbling downe of the cliffs of the hills, which couered part of the caske, and the greater part of those Whale finnes, which we vnderstood to be there by foure Spaniards which escaped, & were brought to S. Iohn de Luz. Here we found the houses of the Sauages, made of firre trees bound together in the top and set round like a Doue-house, and couered with the barks of firre trees, wee found also some part of their victuals, which were Deeres flesh roasted vpon wooden spits at the fire, & a dish made of a ryme of a tree, sowed together with the sinowes of the Deere, wherein was oile of the Deere. There were also foules called *Cormozants*, which they had pulckt and made ready to haue dressed, and there we found a wooden spoone of their making. And we discerned the tracks of the feete of some forty or fiftie men, women and children.

They land on the Isle of Natiscotec.

When we had dispatched our businesse in this bay of S. George and stayed there ten dayes, wee departed for the Northren point of the said bay, which is nine or ten leagues broade. Then being enformed, that the Whales which are deadly wounded in the grand Bay, and yet escape the fisher for a time, are wont usually to shoot themselves on shore on the Isle of *Assumption*, or *Natiscotec*, which lieth in the very mouth of the great riuer that runneth vp to *Canada*, we shaped our course ouer to that long Isle of *Natiscotec*, and wee found the distance of the way to the Eastermost ende thereof to be about forty foure leagues: and it standeth in the latitude of 49. Here we arrived about the middelt of June at the East end, and rode in eightene fadome water in faire white sand and very good ankerage, and for tryall heaued a lyne ouerboorde and found wonderfull faire and great Cod fish: we went also seuen of vs on shore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees, and heard and sawe store of land and sea foules, and sawe the footing of diuers beastes in the land when we were on shore. From the Easter end we went to the Northren side of the Island, which we perceiued to be but narrow in respect of the length thereof. And after wee had searched two dayes and a night for the Whales which were wounded which we hoped to haue found there, and missed of our purpose, we returned backe to the Southwarde, and were within one league of the Island of *Penguin*, which lyeth South from the Eastermost part of *Natiscotec* some twelue leagues. From the Isle of *Penguin* wee shaped our course for Cape de Rey and had sight of the Island of Cape Briton: then returned wee by the Isles of Saint Pedro, and so came into the Bay of *Placentia*, and arrived in the Easter side thereof some ten leagues vp with-

in the Bay among the fishermen of Saint Iohn de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threescore and odde sayles, whereof eight shippes onely were Spaniardes, of whom we were very well vsed and they wished heartily for peace betweene them and vs. There the men of Saint Iohn and Sibiburo men bestowed two pinnesses on vs to make vp our voyage with fish. Then wee departed ouer to the other side of the Bay, where we arriued in an harbour which is called Pesmarck, and there made our stage and fished so long, that in the ende the Sauages came, and in the night, when our men were at rest, cut both our pinnesse and our shippes boate away to our great hinderance of our voyage, yet it was our good fortune to finde out our pinnesses and get them againe. Then for feare of a shrewder turne of the Sauages, we departed for Cape Saint Marie, and hauing passed Cape Raz, we passed Northwarde fourteen leagues and arriued in Farrillon, and finding there two and twentie sayles of Englishmen, wee made vp our fishing voyage to the full in that harborough the twentieth foure of August to our good content: and departing thence we arriued first in Combe and staid there a seuen night, and after ward in Hungrod in the riuer of Bristol by the grace of God the 24 of September. 1594.

The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and diuers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea.

THe Hopewell of London of the burthen of 120 tunnes, whereof was M. William Craffon, and the Chancewel of London of the burthen of 70 tunnes, whereof was M. Steuen Benner, bound vnto the riuer of Canada, set to sea at the sole and proper charge of Charles Leigh and Abraham Van Herwick of London merchants (the said Charles Leigh himselfe, and Steuen Van Herwick brother to the sayd Abraham, going themselves in the said ships as chiefe commanders of the voyage) departed from Graues-end on Fryday morning the 8 of April 1597. And after some hindrances, arriuing at Falmouth in Cornewal the 28 of the said moneth put to sea againe. And with prosperous windes the 18 of May we were vpon the banke of Newfoundland. The 19 we lost the Chancewel. The 20 we had sight of land and entred within the bay of Assumption, where our men contrary to my knowledge fought with a French ship: and after ward in the same bay wee met with our consort. Whereupon we presently put to sea againe: and the next day we arriued at Caplen bay, where we remained by extremitie of foule weather, and to mend a pinnies of 7 or 8 tunnes (which was giuen vs at Farrillon by M. Wil. Sayer of Dartmouth the Admiral of that place) vntill the last of May. On which day departing from thence in the afternoone we put in to Rognecuse to seeke Shallops but could find none. The first of June we set saile from Rognecuse, and the second we put roome to a bay vnder the Northside of Cape Raz being enforced in by an extreme storme. The 4 we set saile, and this day we saw a great Island of yce. The 5 at night we lost the Chancewell in a fog at the mouth of the bay of Placentia. The 11 at Sunne setting we had sight of Cape Briton. And the 12 by reason of contrary windes we cast anker vnder the Northeast ende of the Isle of Menego to the North of Cape Briton in 16 fathome reasonable ground. In that place we caught great store of Codds, which were larger and better fish then any in Newfoundland. The 13 wee weyed anker againe, and being becalmed about a league from the shore we fell to fishing where the Codds did bite at least 20 fathomes aboue ground, and almost as fast as we could hale them into the ship. The 14 we came to the 2 Islands of Birds, some 23 leagues frō Menego: where there were such abundance of Birds, as is almost incredible to report. And vpon the lesse of these Islands of Birds, we saw great store of Hoyses or sea Oren, which were a sleepe vpon the rockes: but when we approached nere vnto them with our boate they cast themselves into the sea and pursued vs with such furie as that we were glad to flee from them. The 16 we arriued at Brians Island, which lyeth 5 leagues West from the Island of Birds. About this Island ther is as great abundance of codds as in any place can be found. In litle more then an houre we caught with 4 hookes 250 of them. Here we caught also a great Turbut which was an elle long and a yard broad: which was so great that the hooke could not hold her into the ship: but when she was aboue water she bent the hooke & escaped. In this Island we found exceeding good ground both for corne and meadow, & great store of wood, but of final groweth. Springes of fresh water we found none in all the Island, but some standing pooles of raine water. The same day at night we weyed anker againe. The 17 we had stormy weather. The 18 we came to the Isle of Ramea, where we appointed to meet with our consort. And approaching nere vnto the harborough of Halabolina we cast anker in 3 fadomes water and sent our great boate into the harborough, with the masters mate and some dozen more of the company: who when they came in, found 4 ships. Namely 2 of Saint Malo in Britaigne, and two

The Isle of
Menego.

The 2 Islands
of Birds.

Store of
Hoyses.

In Brians
Island excel-
lent ground
for corne and
meadow.
The Isle
Ramea.

two of Sibiburo adioyning to Saint Iohn de luz being the French Kings subiects, whom they supposed to haue bene of Spaine, and so affirmed vnto vs. Whereupon wee went presently into harborough, finding but eleuen foote and an halfe of water vpon the barre and a mightie great current in, when wee had cast anker we sent presently to speake with the masters of all the ships: but those onely of Saint Malo came aboard, whom wee entertained very friendly, and demanded of whence the other two shippes were. They sayde as they thought of Saint Iohn de Luz or Sibiburo. Then we presently sent our boate for the Masters of both the sayd shippes, to request them to come aboard, and to bring with them their Charters parties and other euidences, to the ende we might knowe of whence they were. At which messlage one of the sayde Masters came aboard, with the Pilote and Masters mate of the other shippe: whom when we had examined, they sayd that they were of Sibiburo, and the French Kings subiects. We requested them for our better securitie in the harborough peaceably to deliuer vp their powder and munition: promising them that if we found them to be the French Kings subiects it shoulde be kept in safetie for them without diminishing. But they woulde not consent therunto: whereunto we replied, that welle they would consent therunto we would hold them to be our enemies. They not consenting, we sent the boate well manned to fetch their powder and munition from aboarde their ship: but straightly commanded our men not to touch any thing else in the ship vpon their further perill: which they promised to perforce. When they came aboarde the sayde ships which were moied together, they were resisted by force of armes, but quickly they got the victorie: which done, they fell presently to pillaging of the Balkes, contrary to their promise: whereupon we sent another to forbidde them; but when he came to them, none was more ready of pillage then he. Whereupon I went my selfe, and tooke away from our men whatsoeuer they had pillaged, and gaue it againe to the owners: onely I sent aboard our owne ship their powder and munition to be kept in safetie until we knew farther what they were. When I had done, I gaue the Balkes possession of their shippe againe and tolde them they shoulde not loole the balewe of one peny if they were the French Kings subiects. Then I caried away all our men, and also tooke with me two or three of the chiefest of them, and when I came aboard went to examining of them, and by circumstances found one of the ships to belong to France: whereupon I tolde the master of the said ship, that I was thoroughly satisfied that he was of France and so dismissed him in peace. Of the other ship we had great presumption that she was of Spaine, but had no certaine prooofe thereof, wherefore wee dismissed them likewise in peace. After I had thus dismissed them, our ships company fell into a mutiny, and more then half of them resolved to cary one of those ships away. But they were prevented of their euill purpose by ayde: which the sayde ships receiued from their countrey men in the other harborough: For the next morning, which was the twentieth of Iune, very early there were gathered together out of all the ships in both harboroughs, at the least 200 Frenchmen and Britons, who had planted vpon the shore three pieces of Ordnance against vs, and had prepared themselves in al readinesse to fight with vs, which so soone as we had descried them gaue the onset vpon vs with at least an hundred small shot out of the woods. There were also in a readinesse to assault vs about three hundred Sauages. But after we had skirmished a while with them, we procured a parley by one of the men of Saint Malo, whose ship rowed hard by vs: In which parley they required some of our men to come on shore vnto them: whereupon wee requested M. Ralph Hill and the Boatswaines mate to go on shore to them: whom when they had they detain'd as prisoners; and then required the powder and munition, which we had of the Balkes in possession: which we surrendered vnto them in safetie as our intent alwayes was, which done, there came aboard vnto vs one Captaine Charles, who was captaine of the great ship of Saint Malo, which rode in the other harborough: who challenged our great boate which we had at Farrillon to be his. And while we were in talke with him about the two Balkes which at first we thought to be Spaniards, wee had almost bene betray'd. For the said Captaine Charles with halfe a dozen more of his company kept themselves aboard of our ship and held vs in a talke, while thirtie or fortie others shoulde haue entered our ship vnawares from one of the ships of S. Malo, which professed to be our friend, & vnto whom we shewed all courtesie. But we perceiuing their treacherous intent, threatened to set fire on the said ship, which was then thwart our hawse, from which they would haue entered. By which resolution of ours God did discourage the from effecting their mischeiuous purposes. Now the said captaine Charles when he saw himself prevented of his wicked intents, took his boat presently to go on shore, and promised that all things shoulde be ended in peace betweene vs, and that he would send vs our two men againe. But when he was on shore he presently sent for our great boat which he claimed to be his, & withall commanded vs out of the harborough: but he sent not our men as he promised, we being now the weaker side did not only deliuer his boat but also determined to be gon

Another harborough in Ramea.

A skirmish betweene the French men and vs.

A new treason of the Britons.

and then requested them to help vs with our anker which was on shoze; but they would not. Then we desired them to cut the bent of the cable vpon the anker on shoze (for we durst not send our boat lest they should haue kept from vs both our boat and men) which they promised to do for vs, as also to send our men; but when they were on shoze, they would do neither. We therefore seeing their fallhood in euery thing, durst no longer tary for feare of farther treachery; wherefore we concluded to cut our cable in the halfe; which we did, & so departed the harborow about 9 of the clock, leauing two of our men with our cable & anker, and 20 fadoms of a new hawser behind vs. And as we were going away, they made great shewes of friendship, and thanke vnto vs from the shoze; but more for feare then loue, and requested vs to come on shoze for our men, whom then they deliuered. The same morning in passing ouer the barre before the harborowes mouth, and by that time that we had all our men aboard, our ship came on ground vpon the sands; where we lay some 8 houres: during which time, at low water we trimmed our ship without boord, and by the great prouidence of God found our leake which then we stopped. About six of the clocke at night we got our ship on float againe, and that night ankered within part of the barre, which then because of the wind we could not passe. But it pleased God to send vs faire weather all that night, and the next day by noone we had gotten our ship cleane ouer the bar. The 21 day after we got ouer the barre the wind arose at east & eastsoutheast, we blew right into the bay: which if it had come before we were cleere of the bar, we had both ship and men perished in the sands. The same day, because the wind kept vs within the bay, we went to the Isle Blanch, where the ships of the other harborow had their stages: but it was at least two leagues from their ships; where we hoped by friendship to procure a shallope & assurance of our cable and anker againe. But when we had approached nere the shoze with our ship, & weaued them with a white flag, they instead of coming vnto vs, sent the message by a bullet out of a piece of great ordnance, which they had placed on shoze of purpose against vs; so that they would neither speake with vs, nor permit vs to come nere them. Thus we departed, and would haue put to sea that night; but there was much wind at East, which kept vs within the bay, & enforced vs to come to an anker vnder Isle Blanch. The next morning being the 22, we put to sea, and about 12 of the clocke the same day, the wind being at North-east and foule weather, the master sayd he could not p'p' to Grande Coste, because of the leetheze, & the wind against vs, and therefore asked what we should do. I asked then how farre we had to the riuer of cape Briton: he sayd a little way. Then sayd I, If it be not farre, we were best to go thither to trade with the Sauages while the wind is contrary, and to take in water & halst, which we wanted. To which the master sayd, that if I would he would cary vs thither. I thinking it to be the best course, sayd I was content, so faire forth as that from thence we tooke the first faire wind for Grande Coste. Whereupon the master willed him at the helme to keepe his course southeast and southeast and by south. Presently after I asked him how many leagues we had to the sayd riuer, and from the sayd riuer to Grande Coste. He then sayd that we had 40 leagues to the riuer, and from the riuer to Grande Coste 120 leagues. Whereupon I said I would not consent to go so far out of our way, but willed him to keep his directest course for Grande Coste; which he did. Within one halfe houre afterwards the 23 day the gunner and company of the ship presented me & the master with a request in writing to returne for England or to goe for the Islands of Agores for a man of war, for they would not proceed on their voyage to Grande Coste; and therefore do what I could they turned the helme homewards. The 14 of June we sent our boat on shoze in a great bay vpon the Isle of Cape Briton for water. The 25 we arrived on the West side of the Isle of Menego, where we left some calke on shoze in a sandy bay, but could not tary for foule weather. The 26 we cast anker in another bay vpon the maine of Cape Briton. The 27 about tenne of the clocke in the morning we met with eight men of the Chancewell our consort in a shallope; who told vs that their ship was cast away vpon the maine of Cape Briton, within a great bay eightene leagues within the Cape, and vpon a rocke within a mile of the shoze, vpon the 23 of this moneth about one of the clocke in the afternoone: and that they had cleered their ship from the rocke: but being bilged and full of water, they presently did run her vp into a sandy bay, where she was no sooner come on ground, but presently after there came aboard many shallops with store of French men, who robbed and spoiled all they could lay hands on, pillaging the porze men euen to their very shirts, and vling them in sauage maner: whereas they should rather as Christians haue aided them in that distresse. Which newes when we heard, we blessed God, who by his diuine p'ouidence and vnspeakeable mercy had not onely p'serued all the men, but brought vs thither so miraculously to ayd and comfort them. So presently we put into the road where the Chancewell lay; where was also one ship of Sibiburo, whose men that holpe to pillage the Chancewell were runne away into the woods. But the master thereof which had dealt very honestly with our men

The bar of the
hauen of Ra-
mea.

They depart
from Ramea.

Isle Blanch or
the White Isle.

The riuer of
Cape Briton.

Their artsmall
in the Isle of
Cape Briton.

The Chancewell
cast away 18
leagues within
the Cape Briton.

Woods on the
Isle of Cape
Briton.

The Sauages
of Cape Briton
come aboard
of our ship.

Cibo an harbo-
row in the Isle
of Cape Briton.

New Port.

Port Ingles.

stayed in his ship, and came aboard of vs : whom we used well, not taking any thing from him that was his, but onely such things as we could finde of our owne. And when we had dispatched our businesse, we gaue him one good cable, one olde cable and an anker, one shallop with mast, sailes, and other furniture, and other things which belonged to the ship. In recompense whereof he gaue vs two hogheads of slder, one barrell of peaze, and 25 scoze of fish. The 29 betimes in the morning we departed from that road toward a great Biskaine some 7 leagues off of 300 tun, whole men dealt most doggedly with the Chancewells company. The same night we ankered at the mouth of the harborow, where the Biskaine was. The 30 betimes in the morning we put into the harborow; and approaching nere their stage, we saw it vncouered, and so suspected the ship to be gone : whereupon we sent our pinnesse on hoze with a dozen men, who when they came, found great scoze of fish on hoze, but all the men were fled : neither could they perceiue whether the ship should be gone, but as they thought to sea. This day about twelue of the clocke we tooke a Sauages boat which our men pursued : but all the Sauages ran away into the woods, and our men brought their boat on boord. The same day in the afternoone we brought our ship to an anker in the harborow : and the same day we tooke three hogheads and an halfe of traine, and some 300 of greene fish. Also in the euening three of the Sauages, whole boat we had, came vnto vs for their boat; to whom we gaue coats and kniues, and restored them their boat againe. The next day being the first of July, the rest of the Sauages came vnto vs, among whom was their king, whose name was Itarey, and their queene, to whom also we gaue coats and kniues, and other trifles. These Sauages called the harborow Cibo. In this place are the greatest multitude of lobsters that euer we heard of: for we caught at one hawle with a little draw net about 140. The fourth of July in the morning we departed from Cibo. And the fift we cast anker in a reasonable good harborow called New Port vnder an Island some eight leagues from Cibo, and within three leagues from the English port. At this place in pursuing certaine shallops of a ship of Rochel, one of them came aboard, who told vs, that the Biskainer whom we sought, was in the English port with two Biskainers more, and two ships of Rochel. Thereupon we sent one of our men in the Rochellers shallop to parle with the admiral & others our friends in the English port, requesting them ayd for the recouery of our things, which the other ship called the Santa Maria of S. Vincent (whereof was Master Iohannes de Harte, and Pilot Adame de Lauandore) had robbed from the Chancewell. To which they answered, that if we would come in vnto them in peace, they would assist vs what they might. This answer we had the first day: and the seuenth in the forenoone we arriued in the English port, and cast anker aloofe from the other ships: which done, I went aboard the Admirall, to desire the performance of his promise: who sent for Iohannes de Harte, who was contented to restore most of our things againe: whereupon I went aboard his ship to haue them restored. This day and the eighth I spent in procuring such things as they had robbed; but yet in the end we wanted a great part thereof. Then we were brieft with them, and willed them either to restore vs the rest of our things which they had, or els we would both inforce them to doe it, and also haue satisfaction for our victuals and merchandises which by their meanes were lost in the Chancewell. The ninth in the morning wee prepared our ship to goe neere vnto them. Whereupon their Admirall sent his boat aboard, and desired to speake with mee: then I went aboard vnto him, and desired to haue our things with peace and quietnesse, proffering to make him and the Masters of the two ships of Rochel our vmpires, and what they should aduise I would stand vnto. Whereupon he went aboard the other ship to make peace; but they would heare no reason, neither yet condescend to restore any thing els which they had of ours. Then I desired that as I came in peace vnto them, they would so let me aboard my ship againe: which they denied to doe, but most vniustly detained me and Stephen van Herwicke who was with me. A while after our shallop came with foure men to know how I did, and to fetch me aboard: but so soone as she came to the Admiralls ships side, his men entred, and tooke her away, detaining our men also as prisoners with vs. Then presently all the three Biskainers made toward our ship, which was not carelesse to get the winde of them all: and hauing by the mercy of God obtained the same, shee then stayed for them: but when they saw they had lost their aduantage, they presently turned their course, making as great haste in againe as they did out before. Afterwards I attempted twise to goe aboard, but was still enforced backe by the two other Biskainers, who sought our liues: so that in the end the Master of the Admirall was enforced to man his great boat to waite vs: and yet notwithstanding they bent a piece of great ordinance at vs: for we were to passe by them vnto our ship: but we rescued our shallop vnder our Masters great boat; and by that meanes passed in safety. The next morning being the tenth of the moneth, we purposed if the winde had serued our turne, to haue made them to repent their euill

euill dealing, and to restore vs our owne againe, or els to haue suncke their ships if we could. But the winde serued not our turne for that purpose; but caried vs to sea: so that the same morning wee tooke our course toward the bay of S. Laurence in Newfoundland: where wee hoped to finde a Spanish ship, which as we had intelligence, did lye at that place. The thirteenth day we had sight of S. Peters Islands. And the foureteenth day being foggy and misty weather, while we made towards the land, we sent our shallop before the shippe to discouer dangers: but in the fogge, through the mens negligence which were in her, she lost vs: yet we kept on our course, thinking that although we could not see them, yet they might see our ship: and comming into sixteene fathoms water we cast anker, supposing our selues to be neere the shore: and in the evening it pleased God to giue vs for the space of one quarter of an houre cleere weather, by which we found our selues to be imbayed, and also had sight of our shallop, which was at the point of a land about one league from vs. The same night we went further into the same bay, where we had very good riding. The fifteenth we went on shore, and in that place found footing of deere, and before we returned we killed one. The eighteenth we departed toward S. Laurence: the same evening we had sight of S. Laurence, and sent off our boat in the night with our Master and sixteene men to surpriſe the Spanyard, which lay in Little S. Laurence: who presently vpon the entrance of our men surrendered by their ship and goods. The nineteenth in the morning before day, the Master of our ship with two more, and three Spanyards, tooke a boat and came forth to meet our shippe, but being foggy, he cast anker by the mouth of the harborow (thinking in faire weather to put out to our ship, which through the current and foggy weather was put five or six leagues to leeward: & while they were at anker in the boat they were surpris'd again by certaine Barks of S. Iohn de Luz who were in Great S. Laurence hard by. These Barks with their forces (hauing receiued intelligence by one of the Spanyards, who sleeping on shore, escaped vnto them ouerland) on the sudden surpris'd the sayd boat with our Master and others: and then presently made vnto the ship; but our men aboord defended them off. In the end they threatned that vntill they would yeeld, they would kill M. Craſton and our other men before their eyes. So at last vpon M. Craſtons intreaty and our mens, to saue their liues, they yeelded by the ship againe, vpon condition, that they should not inury any of our men, but should let them all with their weapons peaceably depart: yet when our men had yeelded, they brake their couenant, profering them great violence, threatening to kill them, disarming them, stripping their clothes from their backs, and bling them more like dogs then men. After they had thus robbed our men of their prize and weapons, they presently towed the shippe with their boats out of that harborow into Great S. Laurence, where their owne shippes did ride, and within lesse then an houre after they had caried our prize away, our shippe arrived in the bay: where after we had bene a while at anker, our shallop came aboord vnto vs, with most part of our sixteene men, who tolde vs the whole story before recited, as also that captaine Laurence had caried away our Master, and Stephen van Herwicke prisoners, and turned the rest of our men on shore in the woods, without either meat, drinke, or almost any apparell. The 20 all our men came aboord, except the two prisoners: and the same day we tooke with our boats three of the Spanyards shallops, with five hogheads of traine oile in each of them, & in one boat foure Spanyards; but the men of the other two shallops fled on shore. The same day also we tooke the Master of one of the ships which was in the harborow with three other of his men, whom we detained prisoners to ranſome M. Craſton & Stephen van Herwick. The 22 captaine Laurence sent them aboord, and we also released all our prisoners, except one Spanyard, who was boatſwaine of the Spanish ship, whom we kept with vs: and the same day we set saile fro thence. The 24 we had aduice of our Spanyard of certain Leagers which were in the harborow of cape S. Mary. Whereupon the same night, being within five or six leagues of the harborow, I sent off our two shallops with thirty men to discouer the harborow, and to surpris the enemy. The 25 in the morning we approached the harborow with our ship, and in the mouth thereof we espied three shallops, two whereof were ours, and the third of a ship of Rochel, which they had surpris'd with foure men in her: who tolde them that there were but two ships in the harborow, whereof one was of Rochel, and the other of Bell isle. And as we were discoursing with the Rochellers, we had sight of the ships: whereupon we sent our boat aboord the the Rocheller to certifie him that we were his friends, and to request him not to hinder our fight with the enemy. This message being sent, we made all the haste we could vnto the ship of Bell isle, which first began with vs with three great shot, one whereof hit our maintopſaile, but both the other missed vs. And we also sent one vnto them: then being approached nere vnto them ten or twelue of vs went in a shallop to enter them, and we caried also a warpe with vs to make fast vnto their ship, where by our ship might the better come vp to ayd vs. And when we boorded them in our boat, they be-

They departed from Cape Briton.

S. Peters Islands.

A Spanish ship taken.

M. Craſton.

The harborow of Cape S. Marie.

the Briton ship
of 200 tunnes;
taken.

cooke themselves to their close fights, playing chiefly vpon vs with shot & pikes out at two portes, between which we entred very dangerously, escaping neere dangers both by shot & pike. Some of our men were wounded, but no great harme was done. And mine owne piece in entring, was shot out of my hand into the sea; which shot also burst one side of the ladder, by which I entred. We had not long bene aboord, but through the helpe of God we caused them to yeeld vnto our mercy. There were of them in the ship about forty men, most whereof we sent aboord of our shippe, there to be kept in holde, with order to our chyrurgion to dresse the wounded men, one of which was wounded vnto death. That done, we had then time to view our prize, which we found of great defence, and a notable strong ship, almost two hundred tun in burden, very well appointed, and in all things fitted for a man of warre. They had also foureteene or fiftene men more, which were then absent from the ship; otherwise we shoulde haue had the hotter fight. The same day we got our sailes to the yard, and our top masts on end, and rigged the shippe what we could. The 26 day we got some oile aboord, and there we taried vntill the second of August, sitting our selues for the sea, and getting fish aboord as weather serued vs. During our abode there we diuided our men, and appointed to each ship their company, my selfe and my friends being resolved to take our passage in the prize; wherein when we were shipped, and the company, there arose great enmity against vs by the other shippe, which afterward was quieted. The second day of August, hauing taken in water and wood, we put to sea from that harborow in company of the Hopewell, with purpose to go directly to Parlican, which is an harborow in the North part of Newfoundland, where we expected another prize. But when we came to sea we found our sailes so olde, our ropes so rotten, and our prouision of bread and drinke so short, as that we were constrained to make our resolution directly for England; whereupon we dyed out our reasons the fourth day of August, and sent them aboord the Hopewell, to certifie them the cause of our resolution for England: wherat they were generally offended, thinking and saying, that we in the prize went about to coulin and deceiue them. To conclude, they sent vs word that they would keepe vs company for England. But I had giuen William Crafston commission befoze to go for the Islands of the Agores, and there to spend his victuals for a man of warre. The next day being the fift of August, hauing a faire winde, we put off from the coast of Newfoundland, and kept our course directly for England, the Hopewell keeping vs company vntill midday, when as hauing lost vs in a fogge, she shot off two pieces of ordinance, and we answered her with thre: afterwards we spake not with her, supposing that she went for the Islands. The 27 of August, drawing neere the coast of England, we sounded and found ground at seuenty fadoms. Some of the mariners thinking we were in Bristow channell, and other in Silly channell: so that through variety of iudgements, and euill mariner ship we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together, sometimes running to the Northeast, sometimes to the Southeast, then againe to the East, and Eastnortheast. Thus did we spend faire winds, and lose our time vntill the last of August. And then it pleased God that we fell with the Island of Lundy within the channell of Bristol; from whence we shaped our course: and after diuers dangers, the thirde of September we met with the Tramontane of the Queene off of Dartmouth; to the captaine whereof we gaue certaine things that he had need of. The fift of September I landed on the outside of the Isle of Wight, and within few dayes after it pleased God to bring the ship in safety to London, where she was made prize as belonging to the enemies of this land.

Certaine obseruations touching the countreys and places where we travelled.

The Newfoundland we found very subiect to fogs and mists. The ground of it is very rocky: and vpon it there is great store of fire trees, and in some places red: and about the shore it hath great abundance of cod-fish. We were on land in it in foure severall places: 1 At Caplin bay and Farrillon: 2 At Cape Rase: 3 At the harborow of Lano which lieth foure leagues to the West beyond Cape Laurence: 4 At S. Marie port.

The Island of Menego for the soile is much like Newfoundland, but the fish about it, as also thorowout the Grande Bay within Cape Briton, is much larger and better then that of the Newfoundland. This Island is scant two leagues long, and very narrow. In the midd of it, a great way within the wood is a great poole. Here we were thise on shore: once at the East side, and twise at the West.

The three Islands of birds are sandy red, but with the multitude of birds vpon them they looke white. The birds sit there as thicke as stones lie in a paved street. The greatest of the Islands is about

about a mile in compasse. The second is little lesse. The third is a very little one, like a small rocke. At the second of these three lay on the shoze in the Sunshine about thirty or forty sea-oren or mozles; which when our boat came nere them, presently made into the sea, and swam after the boat.

Brions Island wee found to be very good, and sandy ground. It hath in it store of firre trees. It is somewhat moze then a league long, and about three leagues in compasse. Here we were on land once, and went from the one side of it to the other.

The Island of Ramea we tooke to be like ground as Brions Island, hauing also abundance of firre trees. It seemeth to be in length about twelue or thirteene leagues at least. We were there in harborow, but not on shoze, which we much desired, and hoped to haue bene: but the conflict which we had there with the Barks and Britons, mentioned before, prevented vs.

The Isle Blanche likewise seemeth in quality of the ground and bignesse of it to be much like Brions Island aforesayd, but somewhat lesse. We were not on shoze vpon it, but rode before it at anker.

The land of Cape Briton we found to be somewhat like the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the West end of it we saw the clouds lie lower then the hills: as we did also at Cape Laurence in Newfoundland. The Easterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing so high land, as the West. We went on shoze vpon it in five places: 1 At the bay where the Chancewell was cast away: 2 At Cibo: 3 At a little Island betweene Cibo and the New port: 4 At the New port: And 5 at Port Ingles, or the English port.

Concerning the nature and fruitfulness of Brions Island, Isle Blanche, and of Ramea, they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great store of wild cozne like barley, strawberries, gooseberries, mulberries, white roses, and store of wilde peason. Also about the sayd Islands the sea yeeldeth great abundance of fish of diuers sorts. And the sayd Islands also seeme to proffer, thzough the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hempe, and other necessary commodities.

Charles Leigh.

CERTAIN VOYAGES CONTAINING THE

Discouerie of the Gulfe of Saint Laurence to the West of New-

foundland, and from thence vp the riuer of Canada, to Hochelaga, Sa-

guenay, and other places: with a description of the temperature of the

climate, the disposition of the people, the nature, com-

modities, and riches of the soile, and other

matters of speciall moment.

The first relation of Iaques Carthier of S. Malo, of the new land cal-

led New France, newly discovered in the yere of our Lord 1534.

How M. Iaques Carthier departed from the Port of S. Malo, with two ships, and came to Newfoundland, and how he entred into the Port of Buona Vista.



After that Sir Charles of Mouy knight lord of Meylleraye, & Admirall of France had caused the Capitaines, Masters, and Mariners of the shippes to be sworn to behaue themselves truly and faithfully in the seruice of the most Christian King of France, vnder the charge of the sayd Carthier, vpon the twentieth day of April 1534. we departed from the Port of S. Malo with two ships of threescore tun apiece burden, and 61 well appointed men in ech one: and with such prosperous weather we sailed onwarde, that vpon the tenth day of May we came to Newfoundland, where we entred into the Cape of Buona Vista, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a halfe, and in longitude 7. But because of the great store of the ice that was alongst the sayd land, we were constrained to enter into an haven called S. Katherins haven, distant from the other Port about five leagues toward Southsouth-east: there did we stay tenne dayes looking for faire weather; and in the meane while we mended and dressed our boats,

How we came to the Island of Birds, and of the great quantity of birds that there be.

The Isle of
Birds.

Vpon the 21 of May the winde being in the West, we hoised saile, and sailed toward North and by East from the cape of Buona Vista until we came to the Island of Birds, which was environed about with a banke of ice, but broken and crackt: notwithstanding the sayd banke, our two boats went thither to take in some birds, whereof there is such plenty, that vntlesse a man did see them, he would thinke it an incredible thing: for albeit the Island (which containeth about a league in circuit) be so full of them, that they seeme to haue bene brought thither, and sowed for the nonce, yet are there an hundred folde as many hovering about it as within; some of the which are as big as tapes, blacke and white, with beaks like unto crows: they lie alwayes vpon the sea; they cannot flie very high, because their wings are so little, and no bigger then halfe ones hand, yee do they flie as swiftly as any birds of the aire leuell to the water; they are also exceeding fat; we named them Aporath. In lesse then halfe an houre we filled two boats full of them, as if they had bene with stones: so that besides them which we did eat fresh, euery ship did powder and salt, five or sixe barrells full of them.

Of two sorts of birds, the one called *Godetz*, the other *Margaulx*; and how we came to *Carpunt*.

A great white
beare.

Besides these, there is another kinde of birds which houer in the aire, and ouer the sea, lesser then the others; and these doe all gather themselves together in the Island, and put themselves under the wings of other birds that are greater: these we named *Godetz*. There are also of another sort, but bigger, and white, which bite euen as dogs: those we named *Margaulx*. And albeit the sayd Island be 14 leagues from the maine land, notwithstanding beares come swimming thither to eat of the sayd birds: and our men found one there as great as any cow, and as white as any swan, who in their presence leapt into the sea; and vpon Whitsunnunday (following our voyage toward the land) we met her by the way, swimming toward land as swiftly as we could saile. So soone as we saw her, we pursued her with our boats, and by maine strength tooke her, whose flesh was as good to be eaten as the flesh of a calfe of two yeres olde. The Wednesday following, being the 27 of the moneth, we came to the entrance of the bay of the Castles; but because the weather was ill, and the great store of ice we found, we were constrained to enter into an harborow about the sayd entrance called *Carpunt*, where, because we could not come out of it, we stayed till the ninth of June, what time we departed, hoping with the helpe of God to saile further then the sayd *Carpunt*, which is in latitude 51 degrees.

Le Chasseur.

Carpunt.

The description of *Newfoundland*, from *Cape Razo* to *Cape Degrad*.

The land from *Cape Razo* to *Cape Degrad*, which is the point of the entrance of the bay that trendeth from head to head toward Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. All this part of land is parced into Islands one so nere the other, that there are but small riuers betweene them; thow the which you may passe with little boats, and therefore there are certaine good harborows, among which are those of *Carpunt* and *Degrad*. In one of these Islands that is the highest of them all, being the top of it you may plainly see the two low Islands that are nere to *Cape Razo*, from whence to the port of *Carpunt* they count it five and twenty leagues; and there are two entrances thereat, one on the East, the other on the South side of the Island. But you must take heed of the side & point of the East, because that euery where there is nothing els but shelues, and the water is very shallow: you must go about the Island toward the West the length of halfe a cable or thereabout, and then to goe toward the South to the sayd *Carpunt*. Also you are to take heed of three shelues that are in the channell vnder the water: and toward the Island on the East side in the channell, the water is of three or foure fademe deepe, and cleere ground. The other trendeth toward Eastnortheast, and on the West you may go on shore.

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Of the Island which now is called *S. Katherins Island*.

Coming from the point *Degrad*, and entring into the sayd bay toward the West & by North: there is some doubt of two Islands, that are on the right side, one of the which is distant from the sayd point three leagues, and the other seuen, either more or lesse then the first, being a low and plaine land, and it seemeth to be part of the maine land. I named it *Saint Katherins Island*; in which, toward the Northeast there is very dry soile; but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground, so that you must go a little about. The sayd Island & the Port of Castles

trend

trend toward North northeast, and South southwest, and they are about 15 leagues asunder. From the said port of Castles to the port of Gutter, which is in the northerne part of the said Bay, that trendeth toward East northeast, and West southwest, there are 12 leagues and an halfe: and about two leagues from the port of Balances, that is to say, the third part athwart the saide Bay the depth being sounded it is about 38 fadomes: and from the said port of Balances to the white Sands toward West southwest there is 15 leagues, but you must take heed of a helke that lyeth about 3 leagues outward fro the said white Sands on the Southwest side about water like a boat.

Blanc Sablon, or
white Sands.

Of the place called *Blanc Sablon*, or the white Sand: of the Iland of *Brest*, and of the Iland of *Birds*, of the sorts and quantitie of birds that there are found: and of the Port called the *Islettes*.

White Sand is a Road in the which there is no place guarded from the South, nor south-east. But toward South southwest from the saide road there are two Ilands, one of the which is called *Brest* Iland, and the other the Iland of *Birds*, in which there is great store of Gooetz, and crows with red beakes and red feete: they make their nestes in holes under the ground euen as *Carnies*. A point of land being passed about a league from white Sand, there is a Port and passage found called the *Islettes*, a better place then white Sand: and there is great fishing. From the said Port of the *Islettes* unto another called *Brest*, the circuit is about ten leagues. This Port is in latitude 51 degrees and 55 minutes, and in longitude*. From the *Islettes* to that place there are many other Ilands: and the saide Port of *Brest* is also amongst those Ilands. Howeuer the Ilands do compasse more then 3 leagues from the said *Brest*, being low, and ouer them are the other lands aboue mentioned scene.

Brest a place to
the North in
Newfound land.

How we with our ships entred into the Port of *Brest*, and sayling onward toward the West we passed amidst the *Islettes*, which were so many in number, that it was not possible to tell them: and how we named them the *Islettes*.

Vpon the 10. of June wee with our ships entred into the Port of *Brest*, to furnish our selues with water and wood, and to make vs ready to passe the saide Bay. Upon S. Barnabas day Seruice being heard, we with our boats went beyond the said Port toward the west, to see what harboroughes were there: wee passed through the midst of the *Islettes*, which were so many in number that it was not possible they might be tolde, for they continued about 10 leagues beyond the said Port. We to rest our selues staped in one of them a night, and there we found great store of ducke egges, and other birds that there do make their nests, we named them all The *Islettes*.

Of the Port called *S. Antonies Port*, *S. Seruans Port*, *James Cartiers Port*: of the riuer called *S. James*: of the customes and apparell of the inhabitants in the Iland of *White Sand*.

The next day we passed the said Ilands, and beyond them all we found a good haueu, which we named *S. Antonies Haueu*, and one or two leagues beyond we found a little riuer toward the Southwest coast, that is betweene two other Ilands, and is a good harborough. There we set up a Crosse, and named it *S. Seruans Port*: and on the Southwest side of the said Port and riuer, about one league there is a small Iland as round as an *Ouen*, enuironed about with many other litle Ilands that giue notice to the said Ports. Further about two leagues there is another greater riuer, in which we tooke good store of salmon, that we named *S. James his Riuer*. Being in the said riuer, we saw a ship of *Rochel* that the night before had passed the Port of *Brest*, where they thought to haue gone a fishing: but the Mariners knew not where they were. We with our boats approached neere vnto it, and did direct it to another Port one league more toward the West then the said riuer of *S. James*, which I take to be one of the best in all the world, and therefore wee named it *James Cartiers Sound*. If the soile were as good as the harboroughes are, it were a great commoditie: but it is not to be called The new Land, but rather stones and wilde craggies, and a place fit for wilde beastes, for in all the North Iland I did not see a Cart-load of good earth: yet went I on shoare in many places, and in the Iland of *White Sand*, there is nothing else but mosse and small thornes scattered here and there, withered and dry. To be short, I beleeue that this was the land that God allotted to *Caine*. There are men of an indifferent good stature and bignes, but wilde and burly: they weare their haire tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pinne within it, or any other such thing in stead of a naile, and with them they binde certaine birdes feathers. They are clothed with beastes skimes as well the men as women, but that the women go somewhat straiter and closer in their garments then the men do, with their waistes girded: they paint themselves with certaine Roan colours: their boates are made of

The riuer of S.
laques.

Boats made
of the barkes of
Birch trees.

of the barkes of birch trees, with the which they fish and take great store of Seales, and as farre as we could vnderstand since our comming thither, that is not their habitation, but they come from the maine land out of hotter countreys, to catch the saide Seales and other necessities for their liuing.

Of certaine Capes, that is to say, *The double Cape*, *The pointed Cape*, *Cape Royal*, and *The Cape of Milke*: of the mountaines of *Granges*: of the Ilands of *Doue houses*: and of the great fishing of Cods.

Vpon the 13. of that moneth we came to our ships againe with our boats on purpose to saile forwarde because the weather was faire, and vpon Sunday we caused Seruice to be saide: then on munday being the 15. of the moneth we departed from Brest and sailed toward the South to take a view of the lands that there wee had seene, that seemed vnto vs to bee two Ilands: but when we were amidst the Bay, we knew it to be firme land, where was a great double Cape one aboue the other, and therefore wee named it *The double Cape*. In the entrance of the Bay wee sounded, and found it to be an hundred fadome round about vs. From Brest to *The double Cape* there is about 20. leagues, and about five or six leagues beyond we sounded againe and found 40 fadome water. The said land lieth North-east and South-west. The next day being the 16. of the moneth we sailed along the said coast toward the South-west, and by South about 35 leagues from the double Cape, where we found very steepe and wilde hilles, among the which were seene certaine smal cabbans, which we in the countrey call *Granges*, and therefore we named them *The hilles of the Granges*. The other lands and mountaines are all craggie, cleft and cut, and betwixt them and the Sea, there are other Ilands, but low. The day before through the darke mists and fogges of the weather, we could not haue sight of any land, but in the euening we spied an entrance into the land, by a riuer among the said Hilles of *Granges*, and a Cape lying toward the South-west about 3 leagues from from vs. The said Cape is on the top of it blunt-pointed, and also toward the Sea it endeth in a point, wherefore wee named it *The pointed Cape*, on the North side of which there is a plaine Iland. And because we would haue notice of the said entrance, to see if there were any good hauens, we strooke saile for that night. The next day being the 17. of the moneth we had stormie weather from North-east, wherefore we tooke our way toward the South-west vntill thursdai morning, and we went about 37 leagues, till wee came athwart a Bay full of round Ilands like doue houses, and therefore wee named them *The doue houses*. And from the Bay of *S. Julian*, from the which to a Cape that lieth South and by West, which wee called *Cape Roial*, there are 7. leagues, and toward the West south-west side of the saide Cape, there is another that beneath is all craggie, and aboue round. On the North side of which about halfe a league there lieth a low Iland: that Cape we named *The Cape of milke*. Betweene these two Capes there are certaine low Ilands, aboue which there are also certaine others that shew that there be some riuers. About two leagues from *Cape royall* wee sounded and found 20 fadome water, and there is the greatest fishing of Cods that possible may be: for staying for our company, in lesse then an houre we tooke aboue an hundred of them.

Of certaine Ilands that lie betweene *Cape Royal*, and *The Cape of milke*.

The next day being the 18. of the moneth, the winde with such rage turned against vs, that we were constrained to go backe toward *Cape Royal*, thinking there to finde some harborough, and with our boates went to discover betweene the *Cape Royal*, and the *Cape of Milke*, and found that aboue the low Ilands there is a great and very deepe gulfe, within which are certaine Ilands. The said gulfe on the South side is shut vp. The foresaid low grounds are on one of the sides of the entrance, and *Cape Royal* is on the other. The saide low grounds doe stretch themselves more then halfe a league within the Sea. It is a plaine countrey, but an ill soile: and in the midst of the entrance thereof, there is an Iland. The saide gulfe in latitude is fourtie eight degrees and an halfe, and in longitude *. That night we found no harborough, and therefore wee lancht out into the Sea, leauing the Cape toward the West.

Of the Iland called *S. Iohn*.

From the said day vntill the 24. of the moneth being *S. Iohns day* we had both stormie weather and winde against vs, with such barkenelle and mists, that vntill *S. Iohns day*, we could haue no sight of any land, and then had we sight of a Cape of land, that from *Cape Royal* lieth South-west about 35 leagues, but that day was so foggie and mistie, that we could not come neere land, and because it was *S. Iohns day*, we named it *Cape S. Iohn*.

Of

Of certaine Ilands called the Ilands of *Margaulx*, and of the kinds of beasts and birds that there are found. Of the Iland of *Brion*, and *Cape Dolphin*.

The next day being the 25. of the moneth, the weather was also stormie, darke, and windy, but yet we sailed a part of the day toward West North west, and in the euening wee put our selues athwart vntill the second quarter; when as we departed, then did we by our compasse know that we were North west & by West about seuen leagues and an halfe from the Cape of S. Iohn, and as wee were about to hoist saile, the winde turned into the North west, wherefore wee went Southeast, about 15. leagues, and came to three Ilands, two of which are as steepe and vpright as any wall, so that it was not possible to climbe them: and betweene them there is a little rocke. These Ilands were as full of birds, as any field or medow is of grasse, which there do make their nestes: and in the greatest of them, there was a great and infinite number of those that wee call *Margaulx*, that are white, and bigger then any geese, which were leuered in one part. In the other were onely *Goderz*, but toward the shoare there were of those *Goderz*, and great *Apponatz*, like to those of that Iland that we aboue haue mentioned: we went downe to the lowest part of the least Iland, where we killed about a thousand of those *Goderz*, and *Apponatz*. We put into our boates so many of them as we pleased, for in lesse then one houre we might haue filled thirtie such boats of them: we named them The Ilands of *Margaulx*. About five leagues fro the said Ilands on the West, there is another Iland that is about two leagues in length, and so much in breadth: there did we stay all night to take in water and wood. That Iland is enuironed round about with sand, and hath a very good road about it three or foure fadome deepe. Those Ilands haue the best soile that euer we saw, for that one of their fields is moze worth then all the New land. We found it all full of goodly trees, medowes, fields full of wild corne and peason bloomed, as thick, as ranke, and as faire as any can be seene in Britaine, so that they seemed to haue bene plowed and sowed. There was also great store of gooseberies, strawberies, damaske roses, parselley, with other very sweete and pleasant hearbes. About the said Iland are very great beastes as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouths like vnto Elephants teeth, & liue also in the Sea. We saw one of them sleeping vpon the banke of the water: wee thinking to take it, went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard vs, he cast himselfe into the Sea. We also saw beares & wolues: we named it *Brions Iland*. About it toward Southeast, and North west, there are great lakes. As farre as I could gather and comprehend, I thinke that there be some passage betweene New found land, and *Brions Iland*. If so it were, it would be a great shortning, alwel of the time as of the way, if any perfection could be found in it. About foure leagues from that Iland toward West-Southwest is the firme land, which seemeth to be as an Iland compassed about with little Ilands of sands. There is a goodly Cape which we named *Cape Dolphin*, for there is the beginning of good grounds. On the 27. of Iune we compassed the said lands about that lie West Southwest: and a farre off they seeme to be little hilles of sand, for they are but low landes: wee could neither goe to them, nor land on them, because the winde was against vs. That day we went 15. leagues.

Three Ilands.

The Ilands of Margaulx.

Morses of Sea-oren.

Brions Iland.

Of the Iland called *Alezai*, and of the cape of *S. Peter*.

The next day we went along the said land about 10. leagues, till we came to a Cape of redde land, that is all craggie, within the which there is a bracke looking toward the North. It is a very low countrey. There is also betweene the Sea and a certaine poole, a plaine field: and from that Cape of land and the poole vnto another Cape, there are about 14 leagues. The land is fashio- ned as it were halfe a circle, all compassed about with sand like a ditch, ouer which as farre as ones eye can stretch, there is nothing but marriish grounds and standing pooles. And before you come to the first Cape, very neere the maine land there are two little Ilands. About five leagues from the second Cape toward the Southwest, there is another Iland very high and pointed, which we named *Alezai*. The first Cape we named *S. Peters Cape*, because vpon that day we came thither.

Of the Cape called *Cape Orleans*: of the Riuer of Boates: of *Wilde mens Cape*: and of the qualitie and temperature of the countrey.

From *Brions Iland* to this place there is good anchorage of sand, and hauing sounded toward South west euen to the shoare about five leagues, wee found twentie and five fadome water, and within one league twelue fadome, and very neere the shoare sixe fadome, rather moze then lesse, and also good anchorage. But because wee would bee the better acquainted with this soule and rockie ground, wee strooke our sailes lowe and athwart. The next day being the last of the moneth saue one, the winde blew South and by East. We sailed Westward vntill Tuesday morning at Sunne rising, being the last of the moneth, without any sight or knowledge of

An exceeding
goodly land.

A varietie of
goodly trees.

of any lande, except in the euening toward Sunne set, that wee discouered a lande which seemed to be two Ilands, that were beyond vs West south west, about nine or tenne leagues. All the next day till the next morning at Sunne rising wee sailed Westward about fourtie leagues, and by the way we perceiued that the land we had seene like Ilands, was firme land, lying South southeast, and North north west, to a very good Cape of land called Cape Orleans. Al the said land is low and plaine, and the fairest that may possibly be seene, full of goodly medowes and trees. True it is that we could finde no harborough there, because it is all full of shelles and sands. Wee with our boates went on shore in many places, and among the rest wee entred into a goodly riuer, but very shallow, which we named The riuer of boats, because that there wee saw boates full of wild men that were crossing the riuer. Wee had no other notice of the said wild men: for the wind came from the sea, and so beat vs against the shore, that wee were constrained to retire our selues with our boates toward our ships. Till the next day morning at Sunne rising, being the first of July, we sailed North east, in which time there rose great mists and stormes, and therefore wee stricke our sailes till two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the weather became cleare, & there we had sight of Cape Orleans, and of another about seven leagues from vs, lying North and by East, and that we called Wilde mens Cape. On the North side of this Cape about halfe a league, there is a very dangerous shelve, and banke of stones. Whilest wee were at this Cape, we sawe a man running after our boates that were going along the coast, who made signes vnto vs that we should returne toward the said Cape againe. Wee seeing such signes, began to turne toward him, but he seeing vs come, began to flee: so soone as we were come on shoare, we set a knife before him and a woollen girdle on a litle staffe, and then came to our ships againe. That day we trended the said land about 9. or 10. leagues, hoping to finde some good harborough, but it was not possible: for as I haue said already, it is a very low land, and enuironed round about with great shelles. Nevertheless we went that day on shore in foure places to see the goodly and sweete smelling trees that were there: we found them to be Cedars, ewetrees, Pines, white elmes, albes, willowes, with many other sorts of trees to vs vnknown, but without any fruit. The grounds where no wood is, are very faire, and all full of peason, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackeberies, and wilde corne, euen like vnto Rie, which seemed to haue bene sowne and plowed. This countrey is of better temperature then any other that can be seene, and very hote. There are many thrushes, stockdoves, and other birds: to be short, there wanteth nothing but good harboroughs.

Of the Bay called *S. Lunario*, and other notable Bayes and Capes of land, and of the qualitie, and goodnesse of those grounds.

The next day being the second of July we discouered and had sight of land on the Northerne side toward vs, that did ioine vnto the land abouesaid, al compassed about, and we knew that it had about * in depth, and as much athwart, we named it *S. Lunarios Bay*, and with our boats we went to the Cape toward the North, and found the shore so shallow, that for the space of a league from land there was but a fadome water. On the North east side from the said Cape about 7. or 8. leagues there is another Cape of land, in the midst whereof there is a Bay fashioned trianglewise, very deepe, & as farre off as we could ken from it the same lieth North east. The said Bay is compassed about with sands and shelles about 10. leagues from land, and there is but two fadome water: from the said Cape to the bank of the other, there is about 15. leagues. Wee being a crosse the said Capes, discouered another land and Cape, and as farre as we could ken, it lay North and by East. All that night the weather was very ill, and great winds, so that wee were constrained to beare a smal saile vntil the next morning, being the thirde of July when the winde came from the West: and we sailed Northward to haue a sight of the land that we had left on the North east side, aboue the low lands, among which high and low lands there is a gulfe or breach in some places about 55. fadome deepe, and 15. leagues in bredth. By reason of the great depth and bredth of the gulfe, and change of the lands, we conceiued hope that wee should finde a passage, like vnto the passage of The Castles. The said gulfe lieth East North east, and West south west. The ground that lieth on the South side of the said gulfe, is as good and easie to be manured, and full of as goodly fields and meadowes, as any that euer wee haue seene, as plaine and smooth as any die: and that which lyeth on the North is a countrey altogether hilly, full of woods, and very high and great trees of sundry sorts: among the rest there are as goodly Ceders, and Firre trees, as possibly can be seene, able to make mastes for ships of three hundred Tonne: neither did we see any place that was not full of the saide trees, except two onely that were full of goodly medowes, with two very faire lakes. The midst of the said Bay is 47. degrees and halfe in latitude.

The passage
des Chasteaux.

Trees able to
mast ships of
300. tonnes.

Of the *Cape D'Esperance*, or the *Cape of Hope*, and of *S. Martins Creeke*, and how 7. boats full of wilde men comming to our boat, would not retire themselves, but being terrified with our Culuerins which we shot at them, and our lances, they fled with great hast.

The *Cape* of the said South land was called The *Cape of Hope*, through the hope that there we had to finde some passage. The fourth of July we went along the coast of the said land on the Northerly side to finde some harborough, where wee entred into a creeke altogether open toward the South, where there is no succour against the wind: we thought good to name it *S. Mar- rines Creeke*. There we stayed from the fourth of July until the twelfth: while we were there, on Monday being the sixth of the moneth, Seruice being done, wee with one of our boates went to discover a *Cape* and point of land that on the Westerne side was about seven or eight leagues from vs, to see which way it did bend, and being within halfe a league of it, wee sawe two compa- nies of boates of wilde men going from one land to the other: their boates were in number about fourtie or fiftie. One part of the which came to the said point, and a great number of the men went on shore making a great noise, beckening vnto vs that wee should come on land, shewing vs cer- taine skinner upon pieces of wood, but because we had but one onely boat, wee would not goe to them, but went to the other side lying in the Sea: they seeing vs flee, prepared two of their boats to follow vs, with which came also five more of them that were comming from the Sea side, all which appoched neere vnto our boate, dancing, and making many signes of ioy and mirth, as if we were desiring our friendship, saying in their tongue *Napeu tondamen asurtah*, with many other words that we vnderstood not. But because (as we haue said) we had but one boat, wee would not stand to their courtesie, but made signes vnto them that they should turne back, which they would not do, but with great furie came toward vs: and suddenly with their boates compassed vs about: and because they would not away from vs by any signes that we could make, we shot off two pie- ces among them, which did so terrifie them, that they put themselves to flight toward the sayde point, making a great noise: and hauing staid a while, they began anew, euen as at the first to come to vs againe, and being come neere our boat wee stricke at them with two lances, which thing was so great a terrour vnto them, that with great hast they beganne to flee, and would no more follow vs.

Fortie or 50
boates of
Saluages.

How the said wilde men comming to our ships, and our men going toward them, both par- ties went on land, and how the said wilde men with great ioy began to trafique with our men.

The next day part of the saide wilde men with nine of their boates came to the point and en- trance of the Creeke, where we with our ships were at roade. We being aduertised of their comming, went to the point where they were with our boates: but so soone as they saw vs, they began to flee, making signes that they came to trafique with vs, shewing vs such skinner as they cloth themselves withall, which are of small value. We likewise made signes vnto them, that we wished them no euill: and in signe thereof two of our men ventured to go on land to them, and ca- ry them knives with other Iron wares, and a red hat to giue vnto their Captaine. Which when they saw, they also came on land, and brought some of their skinner, and so began to deale with vs, seeming to be very glad to haue our iron wares and other things, stil dancing with many other ce- remonies, as with their hands to cast Sea water on their heads. They gaue vs whatsoeuer they had, not keeping any thing, so that they were constrained to goe backe againe naked, and made vs signes that the next day they would come againe, and bring more skinner with them.

How that we hauing sent two of our men on land with wares, there came about 300. wilde men with great gladnesse. Of the qualitie of the countrey, what it bringeth forth, and of the Bay called *Baia du Chaleur*, or *The Bay of heat*.

Vpon Thursday being the eight of the moneth, because the winde was not good to go out with our ships, we set our boates in a readinesse to goe to discover the said Bay, and that day wee went 25. leagues within it. The next day the wind and weather being faire, we sailed until noone, in which time we had notice of a great part of the said Bay, and how that ouer the low lands, there were other lands with high mountaines: but seeing that there was no passage at all, wee began to turne back againe, taking our way along the coast: & sayling, we sawe certaine wilde men that stood vpon the shore of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and smokes: wee went thither, & found that there was a chanel of the sea that did enter into the lake, and setting our boats at one of the banks of the chanel, the wilde men with one of their boates came vnto vs, and brought

Three hundred gentle
Savages.

Baye du Chaleur, or the
Bay of heat.

brought up pieces of Seales ready sodden, putting them upon pieces of wood: then retiring themselves, they would make signes unto vs, that they did giue them vs. Wee sent two men vnto them with hatchets, knives, beads, & other such like ware, whereat they were very glad, and by and by in clusters they came to the shore where wee were, with their boates, bringing with them Skinnies and other such things as they had, to haue of our wares. They were more then 300. men, women and children: some of the women which came not ouer, wee might see stand by to the knees in water, singing and dancing: the other that had passed the riuer where we were, came very friendly to vs, rubbing our armes with their owne handes, then would they lift them vp toward heauen, shewing many signes of gladnesse: and in such wise were wee assured one of another, that we very familiarly began to trafique for whatsoever they had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies; for they gaue vs all whatsoever they had, and that was but of small value. We perceiued that this people might very easily be conuerted to our Religion. They goe from place to place. They liue onely with fishing. They haue an ordinarie time to fish for their prouision. The countrey is hotter then the countrey of Spaine, and the fairest that can possibly be found, altogether smooth, and leuel. There is no place be it neuer so little, but it hath some trees (yea albeit it be sandie) or else is full of wilde corne, that hath an eare like vnto Rie: the corne is like oates, and smal peason as thicke as if they had bene sown and plowed, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackberies, white and red Roses, with many other floures of very sweet and pleasant smell. There be also many goodly medowes full of grasse, and lakes wherein great plentie of salmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue Cochi, and a knife Bacon: we named it The bay of heat.

¶ Of another nation of wilde men: of their maners, liuing and clothing.

BEING certified that there was no passage through the said Bay, we hoisted saile, and went from St. Martines Creeke vpon Sunday being the 12. of July, to goe and discouer further beyond the said Bay, and went along the sea coast Eastward about eightene leagues, til we came to the Cape of Prato, where we found the tide very great, but shallow ground, and the Sea stormie, so that we were constrained to draw toward shore, betweene the said Cape and an Island lying Eastward, about a league from the said Cape, where we cast anchor for that night. The next morning we hoisted saile to trend the said coast about, which lyeth North North-east. But there rose such a stormie and raging winde against vs, that we were constrained to come to the place againe, from whence we were come: there did we stay all that day til the next that we hoisted vp saile, and came to the middest of a riuer five or six leagues from the Cape of Prato Northward, and being ouerswift the said Riuer, there arose againe a contrary winde, with great fogges and stormes. So that we were constrained vpon Tuesday being the fourteenth of the moneth to enter into the riuer, and there did we stay till the sixteenth of the moneth looking for faire weather to come out of it: on which day being Thursday, the winde became so raging that one of our ships lost an anchor, and we were constrained to goe vp higher into the riuer seuen or eight leagues, into a good harborough and ground that we with our boates found out, and through the euill weather, tempest, and darkenesse that was, wee stayed in the said harborough till the five and twentieth of the moneth, not being able to put out: in the meane time wee sawe a great multitude of wilde men that were fishing for mackerels, whereof there is great store. Their boates were about 40. and the persons what with men, women & children two hundred, which after they had hunted our company a while, they came very familiarly with their boats to the sides of our ships. We gaue them knives, combs, beads of glasse, and other trifles of small value, for which they made many signes of gladnesse, lifting their hands vp to heauen dancing and singing in their boates. These men may very well and truly be called Wilde, because there is no poorer people in the world. For I thinke all that they had together, besides their boates and nets was not worth five souce. They goe altogether naked saving the r. priuities, which are couered with a little skinnie, and certaine olde skinnies that they cast vpon them. Neither in nature nor in language, doe they any whit agree with them which we found first: their heads be altogether shaven, except one bush of haire which they suffer to grow vpon the top of their crowne as long as a horse taile, & then with certaine leather strings binde it in a knot vpon their heads. They haue no other dwelling but their boates, which they turne vpside downe, and vnder them they lay themselves all along vpon the bare ground. They eate their flesh almost raw, saue onely that they beate it a little vpon timbers of coales, so doe they their fish. Vpon Magdalens day we with our boates went to the bancke of the riuer, and freely went on shore among them, whereat they made many signes, and all their men in two or three companies began to sing and dance, seeming to be very glad of our comming. They had caused all the pong women to flee into the wood, two or three excepted, that stayed with them, to ech of which we

we gaue a combe, and a little bell made of Tinne, for which they were very glad, thanking our Captaine, rubbing his armes and breasts with their hands. When the men saw vs giue something vnto those that had stayed, it caused al the rest to come out of the wood, to the end they should haue as much as the others: These women were about twenty, who altogether in a knot fell vpon our Captaine, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their manner of cherishing and making much of one, whogaue to each of them a little Tinne bell: then suddenly they began to dance, and sing many songs. There we found great store of Hackrels, that they had taken vpon the boie, with certaine nets that they make to fish, of a kind of Hempe that groweth in that place where ordinarily they abide, for they neuer come to the sea, but onely in fishing time. As farre as I vnderstand, there groweth likewise a kinde of Millet as big as Peason, like vnto that which groweth in Bresil, which they eate in stead of bread. They had great store of it. They call it in their tongue Kapaige. They haue also Prunes, (that is to say Damslins) which they dry for winter as we doe, they call them Honesta. They haue also Figs, Nuts, Apples, and other fruits, and Beans, that they call Sahu, their nuts Cahehya. If we shewed them any thing that they haue not, nor know not what it is, shaking their heads, they will say Nohda, which is as much to say, they haue it not, nor they know it not. Of those things they haue, they would with signes shew vs how to dreffe them, and how they grow. They eate nothing that hath any taste of salt. They are very great theues, for they will filch and steale whatsoever they can lay hold of, and all is fish that commeth to net.

Hempe.

Mais.

Damslins, figs,
nuts, apples.

¶ How our men set vp a great Crosse vpon the point of the sayd Porte, and the Captaine of those wild men, after a long Oration, was by our Captain appeased, and contented that two of his Children should goe with him.

Vpon the 24 of the moneth, wee caused a faire high Crosse to be made of the height of thirty foote, which was made in the presence of many of them, vpon the point of the entrance of the sayd hauen, in the middest whereof we hanged by a Shield with three Floure de Lucies in it, and in the top was carued in the wood with Anticke letters this posie, *Vine le Roy de France*. Then before them all we set it vpon the sayd point. They with great heed beheld both the making and setting of it vp. So soone as it was vp, we altogether kneeled downe before them, with our hands toward Heauen, peelding God thanks: and we made signes vnto them, shewing them the Heauens, and that all our saluation dependeth onely on him which in them dwelleth: whereat they shewed a great admiration, looking first one at another, and then vpon the Crosse. And after wee were returned to our ships, their Captaine clad with an old Beares skin, with three of his sonnes, and a brother of his with him, came vnto vs in one of their boates, but they came not so neere vs as they were wont to doe: there he made a long Oration vnto vs, shewing vs the crosse we had set vp, and making a crosse with two fingers, then did he shew vs all the Countrey about vs, as if he would say that all was his, and that wee should not set vp any crosse without his leaue. His talke being ended, we shewed him an Are, faining that we would giue it him for his skin, to which he listned, for by little and little hee came neere our ships. One of our fellows that was in our boate, tooke hold on theirs, and suddenly leapt into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships, wherat they were greatly astonished. But our Captain did straightwaies assure them, that they should haue no harne, nor any iniurie offered them at all, & entertained them very friendly, making them eate and drinke. Then did we shew them with signes, that the crosse was but onely set vp to be as a light and leader which wayes to enter into the port, and that wee would shortly come againe, and bring good store of iron wares & other things, but that we would take two of his children with vs, & after ward bring them to the sayd port againe: and so wee clothed two of them in shirts, and coloured coates, with red cappes, and put about euery ones necke a copper chaine, whereat they were greatly contented: then gaue they their old clothes to their fellows that went backe againe, and we gaue to each one of those three that went backe, a hatchet, and some kniues, which made them very glad. After these were gone, and had told the newes vnto their fellows, in the after noone there came to our ships six boates of them, with five or six men in euery one, to take their farewells of those two we had detained to take with vs, and brought them some fish, uttering many wordes which we did not vnderstand, making signes that they would not remoue the crosse we had set vp.

This hauen
seemeth to be
Gaspay.

Two sauages
taken.

¶ How after we were departed from the sayd porte, following our voyage along the sayd coast, we went to discover the land lying Southeast, and Northwest.

The next day, being the 25 of the moneth, we had faire weather, and went from the said port: and being out of the riuer, we sailed Eastnortheast, for after the entrance into the said riuer,

S

the

the land is enuironed about, and maketh a bay in maner of halfe a circle, where being in our ships, we might see all the coast sayling behind, which we came to seeke, the land lying Southeast and North-west, the course of which was distant from the riuer about twentie leagues.

Of the Cape *S. Aluise*, and Cape *Memorancie*, and certaine other lands, and how one of our Boates touched a Rocke and suddenly went ouer it.

Fifty degrees
of latitude.

On Monday being the 27 of the moneth, about sunne-set we went along the said land, as we haue said, lying Southeast & North-west, till Wednesday that we saw another Cape where the land beginneth to bend toward the East: we went along about 15 leagues, then doeth the land begin to turne Northward. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we sounded, and found 24 fadome water. The said lands are plaine, and the fairest and most without woods that we haue seene, with goodly greene fields and meowes: we named the sayd Cape *S. Aluise Cape*, because that was his day: it is 49 degrees and a halfe in latitude, and in longitude *. On Wednesday morning we were on the East side of the Cape, and being almost night we went North-westward for to appoach neere to the sayd land, which trendeth North and South. From *S. Aluise Cape* to another called Cape *Memorancie*, about fifteene leagues, the land beginneth to bend North-west. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we would needes sound, but wee could finde no ground at 150 fadome, yet went we along the said land, about tenne leagues, to the latitude of 50 degrees. The Saturday following, being the first of August, by Sunne rising, wee had certaine other landes, lying North and North-east, that were very high and craggie, and seemed to be mountaines: betweene which were other low landes with woods and riuers: wee went about the sayd landes, as well on the one side as on the other, still bending North-west, to see if it were either a gulfe, or a passage, untill the fift of the moneth. The distance from one land to the other is about fifteene leagues. The middle betweene them both is 50 degrees and a cerce in latitude. We had much adoe to goe five miles farther, the winds were so great, and the tide against vs. And at five miles end, we might plainly see and perceiue land on both sides, which there beginneth to spread it selfe, but because we rather fell, then got way against the wind, we went toward land, purposing to goe to another Cape of land, lying Southward, which was the farthermost out into the sea that we could see, about five leagues from vs, but so soone as we came thither, we found it to be naught else but Rockes, stones, & craggie cliffes, such as we had not found any where since we had sailed Southward from *S. Johns Cape*: and then was the tide with vs, which caried vs against the wind Westward, so that as we were sayling along the sayd coast, one of our boats touched a Rocke, and suddenly went ouer, but we were constrained to leape out for to direct it on according to the tide.

How after we had agreed and consulted what was best to be done, we purposed to returne: and of *S. Peters Streight*, and of Cape *Tiennot*.

The Streite of
S. Peter.

After we had sailed along the sayd coast, for the space of two houres, behold, the tide began to turne against vs, with so swift and raging a course, that it was not possible for vs with 13 oares to row or get one stone cast farther, so that we were constrained to leaue our boates with some of our men to guard them, and 10 or 12 men went ashore to the sayd Cape, where we found that the land beginneth to bend South-west, which hauing seene, we came to our boats againe, and so to our ships, which were still ready vnder saile, hoping to go forward: but for all that, they were fallen more then foure leagues to leeward from the place where we had left them, where so soone as we came, wee assembled together all our Captaines, Masters, and Mariners, to haue their aduice and opinion what was best to be done: and after that euery one had said, considering that the Easterly winds began to beare sway, and blow, & that the flood was so great, that we did but fall, and that there was nothing to be gotten, and that stormes and tempests began to reigne in Newfoundland, and that we were so farre from home, not knowing the perils and dangers that were behind, for either we must agree to returne home againe, or els to stay there all the yeere. Moreouer, we did consider, that if the Northerne winds did take vs, it were not possible for vs to depart thence. All which opinions being heard and considered, we altogether determined to adresse our selues homeward. Nowe because vpon Saint Peters day wee entred into the sayd Streite, wee named it Saint Peters Streite. Wee sounded it in many places, in some wee found 150 fadome water, in some 100, and neere the shoare firtie, and cleere ground. From that day till Wednesday following, we had a good and prosperous gale of winde, so that we trended the said North shore East, Southeast, West North-west: for such is the situation of it, except one Cape of low landes that bender more toward the Southeast, about twenty five leagues from the

the Streight. In this place we saw certaine smokes, that the people of the countrey made vpon the sayd cape: but because the wind blewe vs toward the coast, we went not to them, which when they saw, they came with two boates and twelue men vnto vs, and as freely came vnto our ships, as if they had bene French men, and gaue vs to vnderstand, that they came from the greate gulfe, and that Tiennot was their Captaine, who then was vpon that Cape, making signes vnto vs, that they were going home to their Countreys whence we were come with our ships, and that they were laden with Fish. We named the sayd Cape, Cape Tiennot. From the said Cape all the land trendeth Eastsoutheast, and Westnorthwest. All these lands lie low, very pleasant, enuironed with sand, where the sea is entermingled with marishes and shallowes, the space of twentie leagues: then doth the land begin to trend from West to Eastnortheast altogether enuironed with Islands two or thre leagues from land, in which as farre as we could see, are many dangerous shelles more then foure or fise leagues from land.

Cape Tiennot.

How that vpon the ninth of August wee entered within *White Sands*, and vpon the fift of September we came to the port of *S. Malo*.

From the sayd Wednesday vntill Saturday following, we had a great wind from the South-west, which caused vs to run Eastnortheast, on which day we came to the Easterly partes of Newfoundland, between the Granges and the Double Cape. There began a great stormie winds comming frō the East with great rage: wherefore we coasted the Cape Northnorthwest, to search the Northerne part, which is (as we haue sayd) all enuironed with Islands, and being neere the said Islands and land, the wind turned into the South, which brought vs within the sayd gulfe, so that the next day being the 9 of August, we by the grace of God entered within the *White Sands*. And this is so much as we haue discovered. After that, vpon the 15 of August, being the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, after that we had heard seruice, we altogether departed from the porte of *White Sands*, and with a happy and prosperous weather we came into the middle of the sea, that is between Newfoundland and *Bricanie*, in which place we were tost and turmoyled three dayes long with great stormes and windy tempests comming from the East, which with the ayde and assistance of God we suffered: then had we faire weather, and vpon the fift of September, in the sayd yere, we came to the port of *S. Malo* whence we departed.

The language that is spoken in the Land newly discovered, called *New France*.

God		Gold	
the Sunne	Isnez	the priue members	benyosco
the Heauen	camel	an Arrow	assegnega
the Day		a greene Tree	caeta
the Night	aiagla	an earthen dish	haneda
Water	ame	a Bow	vndaco
Sand	estogaz	Brasse	aignetaze
a Sayle	aganie	the Brow	ansce
the Head	agonaze	a Feather	yco
the Throate	conguedo	the Moone	casnogaz
the Nose	hehonguesto	the Earth	conda
the Teeth	hesangue	the Wind	canus
the Nayles	agerascu	the Raine	onnoscon
the Feet	ochedasco	Bread	cacacomy
the Legs	anoudasco	the Sea	amet
a dead man	amocdaza	a Ship	casacomy
a Skinne	aionasca	a Man	vndo
that Man	yca	the Haires	hoc hosco
a Hatchet	asogne	the Eyes	ygasa
a Cod fish	gadagomfere	the Mouth	heche
good to be eaten	guesande	the Eares	hontasco
Flesh		the Armes	agescu
Almonds	amongaza	a Woman	enraseco
Figs	asconda	a sicke Man	alonedecche

Shooes	<i>atta</i>	a Mackrell	<i>agedoneta</i>
a skinne to couer a	<i>oncozon</i>	Nurtes	<i>cabeya</i>
mans priuy mebers	<i>vondico</i>	Apples	<i>honestia</i>
red cloth	<i>caboneta</i>	Beanes	<i>sabe</i>
a Knife	<i>agoheda</i>	a Sword	<i>achefeo</i>

A shorte and brieft narration of the Nauigation made by the commandement of the King of France, to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and diuers others which now are called New France, with the particular customes, and maners of the inhabitants therein.

Chap. 1.

In the yeere of our Lord 1535, vpon Whitsunday, being the 16 of May, by the commandement of our Captaine Iames Cartier, and with a common accord, in the Cathedrall Church of S. Malo we deuoutly each one confessed our selues, and receiued the Sacrament: and all entring into the Quier of the sayd Church, wee presented our selues before the Reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Bishop of S. Malo, who blessed vs all, being in his Bishops robes. The Wednesday following, being the 19 of May, there arose a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoysed sayle with three ships, that is to say, the great Hermina, being in burden about a hundred, or a hundred and twenty tunne, wherein the foresaid Captaine Iames Cartier was Generall, and master Thomas Frosmont chiefe Master, accompanied with master Claudius de Pont Briand, sonne to the Lord of Montceuell, and Cup-bearer to the Dolphin of France, Charles of Pomeraiies, Iohn Powlet, and other Gentlemen. In the second ship called the little Hermina, being of threescore tunne burden, were Captaines vnder the sayd Cartier, Mace Salobert, and master William Marie. In the third ship called the Hermerillon, being of forty tunne in burden, were Captains M. William Britton, and M. Iames Maingarc. So we sayled with a good and prosperous wind, vntill the 20 of the said moneth, at which time the weather turned into stormes and tempests, the which with contrary winds, and darkenesse, endured so long that our ships being without any rest, suffered as much as any ships that euer went on seas: so that the 25 of June, by reason of that foule and foggie weather, all our ships lost sight one of another againe till wee came to Newfound land where we had appointed to meete. After we had lost one another, wee in the Generals ship were with contrary windes tost to and fro on the sea, vntill the seuenth of July, vpon which day we arriued in Newfound land, and came to the Island called The Island of Birds, which lyeth from the maine land 14 leagues. This Island is so full of birds, that all our ships might easily haue bene freighted with them, & yet for the great number that there is, it would not seeme that any were taken away. We to victuall our selues filled two boats of them. This Island hath the Pole eleuated 49 degrees, and 40 minutes. Vpon the eight of the sayd moneth we sailed further, & with a prosperous weather came to the Port called The Port of white sands, that is in the Bay called The Bay of Castels, where we had purposed to meete & stay together the 15 of the said moneth. In this place therefore we looked for our fellows, that is to say, the other two ships, till the 26 of the moneth, on which day both came together. So soone as our fellows were come, we set our ships in a readiness, taking in both water, wood, & other necessaries. And then on the 29 of the sayd moneth, early in the morning we hoised saile to passe on further, & sayling along the Northerne coast that runneth Northeast and Southwest, til two houres after Sun-set or thereabouts, then we crossed a long two Islands, which doe stretch further forth then the others, which we called S. Williams Islands, being distant about 20 leagues or more from the Port of Brest. All the coast from the Castels to that place lieth East & West, Northeast & Southwest, hauing betweene it sundry little Islands, altogether barren and full of stones, without either earth or trees, except certain valleys only. The next day being the 30 of July, we sailed on Westward to find out other Islands which as yet we had not found 12 leagues and a halfe, among which there is a great Bay toward the North all full of Islands and great creekes where many good harboroughs seeme to be: them we named S. Marthas Islands, from which about a league and a halfe further into the sea there is a dangerous shallow, wherein are five rockes, which lie from Saint Marthas Islands about seven leagues as you passe into the sayd Islands, on the East & on the West side, to which we came the sayd day an houre after noone, & from that houre vntill midnight we sailed about fiftene leagues athwart a cape of the lower Islands, which we named S. Germans Islands Southeastward, from which place about three leagues, there is a very dangerous shallow. Likewise betweene S. Germans cape and Saint Marthas, about two leagues from the sayd Islands, there lyeth a banke

The Isle of
birds in 49 de-
grees 40 mi-
nutes.

The Bay des
Chasteaux of
The Grand Bay.

of

of land, vpon which banke the water is but foure sadome deepe, and therfore seeing the danger of the coast, we stricke saile and went no further that night: The next day being the last of July, we went all along the coast that runneth East and West, and somewhat Southeasterly which is all enuironed about with Islands and dyie sands, and in trueth is very dangerous. The length from Germans Cape to the said Islands is about 17 leagues and a halfe, at the end of which there is a goodly plot of ground full of huge and high trees, albeit the rest of the coast be compalled about with sands without any signe of shew of harboroughs, till we came to Cape Thiennot, which stretcheth North west about seuen leagues from the foresaid Islands, which Cape Thiennot we noted in our former voyage, and therfore we sailed on all that night West and Westnorthwest, till it was day, and then the wind turned against vs, wherefore we went to seeke a haven wherein we might harbour our ships, and by good hap, found one fit for our purpose, about seuen leagues and a halfe beyond Cape Thiennot, & that we named S. Nicholas Haven, it lieth amidst 4 Islands that stretch into the sea: Vpon the neerest wee for a token set by a wooden crosse. But note by the way, that this crosse must be brought North east, & then bending toward it, leaue it on the left hand and you shall find sixe sadome water, and within the haven foure. Also you are to take heede of two shelues that leane outward halfe a league. All this coast is full of shoulbs and very dangerous, albeit in sight many good hauens seeme to be there, yet is there nought else but shelues and sands. We staid and rested our selues in the sayd haven, vntill the seuenth of August being Sondag: on which day we hoysed sayle, and came toward land on the South side toward Cape Rabast, distant from the sayd haven about twentie leagues Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest: but the next day there rose a stormie and a contrary winde, and because we could find no haue there toward the South, thence we went coasting along toward the North, beyond the abouesayd haven about ten leagues, where we found a goodly great gulfe, full of Islands, passages, and entrenches toward what wind soeuer you please to bend: for the knowledge of this gulfe there is a great Island that is like to a Cape of lande, stretching somewhat further forth than the others, and about two leagues within the land, there is an hill fashioned as it were an heape of corne. We named the sayd gulfe Saint Laurence his bay. The twelfth of the sayd moneth wee went from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, or gulfe, sayling Westward, and discouered a Cape of land toward the South, that runneth West and by South, distant from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, about five and twenty leagues. And of the two wilde men which wee tooke in our former voyage, it was tolde vs, that this was part of the Southerne coaste, & that there was an Island, on the Southerly parte of which is the way to goe from Honguedo (where the peere befoze we had taken them) to Canada, and that two dayes tourney from the sayd Cape, and Island began the Kingdome of Saguenay, on the North shore extending toward Canada, and about thre leagues athwart the sayd Cape, there is aboue a hundred sadome water. Moreouer I beleue that there were neuer so many Whales seen as wee saw that day about the sayd Cape. The next day after being our Ladie day of August the fifteenth of the moneth, hauing passed the Straight, we had notice of certaine lands that wee left toward the South, which landes are full of very great and high hills, and this Cape wee named The Island of the Assumption, and one Cape of the said high countreys lyeth Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest, the distance betweene which is about five and twenty leagues. The Countreys lying North may plainly be perceiued to be higher then the Southerly, more then thirty leagues in length. We trended the sayd landes about toward the South: from the sayd day vntill Tuesday noone following, the winde came West, and therfore wee bended toward the North, purposing to goe and see the land that we befoze had spied. Being arriued there, we found the sayd landes, as it were toynd together, and low toward the Sea. And the Northerly mountaines that are vpon the sayd low lands stretch East, and West, and a quarter of the South. Our wild men told vs that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that it was land inhabited, and that thence cometh the red Copper, of them named Caignetdaze. There is betweene the Southerly landes, and the Northerly about thirte leagues distance, and more then two hundred sadome depth. The sayd men did moreouer certifie vnto vs, that there was the way and beginning of the great riuer of Hochelaga and ready way to Canada, which riuer the further it went the narrower it came, euen vnto Canada, and that then there was fresh water, which went so farre upwards, that they had neuer heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other passage but with small boates. Our Captaine hearing their talke, and how they did affirme no other passage to be there, would not at that time pproceede any further, till he had seene and noted the other landes, & coast toward the North, which he had omitted to see from S. Laurence his gulfe, because he would know, if betweene the landes toward the North any passage might be discouered.

Cape Thiennot.

Port S. Nicholas.

Cape Rabast.

The gulfe of S. Laurence.

A Cape of the Isle of Assumption.

A mighty skull of Whales.

The Isle of Assumption.

The mouth of the riuer of Hochelaga about thirty leagues broad.

How our Captaine caused the ships to returne backe againe, only to know if in *Saint Lawrence* gulfes there were any passage toward the North.

Chap. 2.

The seven
Isles.

A swift river.

Sea-horses.

The Isle of As-
sumption, or Na-
uiscotec.

A haven on the
Southerne
coast.

A great river.

S. Johns Isles.

This is the ri-
uer of Tadaseu,
or of Saguenay.

Vpon the 18 of August being Wednesday, our Captaine caused his shippes to wind backe, and bend toward the other shore, so that we trended the said Northerly coast, which runneth Northeast and Southwest, being fashioned like vnto halfe a bowe, and is a very high land, but yet not so high as that on the South parts. The Thursday following we came to seven very high Islands, which we named The round Islands. These Islands are distant from the South shore about 40 leagues, and stretch out into the sea about 3 or 4 leagues. Against these there are goodly low grounds to be seene full of goodly trees, which we the Friday following, with our boats compassed about. Querthwart these lands there are diuers sandy shelles more then two leagues into the sea, very dangerous, which at a low water remaine almost dry. At the furthest bounds of these lowe lands, that containe about ten leagues, there is a riuer of fresh water, that with such swiftnesse runneth into the sea, that for the space of one league within it the water is as fresh as any fountaine water. We with our boates entred into the sayd riuer, at the entrance of which we found about one fadome & a halfe of water. There are in this riuer many fishes shaped like horses, which as our wild men told vs, all the day long lie in the water, and the night on land: of which we saw therein a great number. The next day being the 21 of the moneth, by breake of day we holed saile, and sailed so long along the said coast, that we had sight of the rest of the sayd Northerne coast, which as yet we had not seene, and of the Island of the Assumption which wee went to discouer, departing from the sayd land: which thing so soone as we had done, & that we were certified no other passage to be there, we came to our ships againe, which we had left at the said Islands, where is a good harborough, the water being about nine or ten fadome. In the same place by occasion of contrary winds & foggie mists, we were constrained to stay, not being either able to come out of it, or hoise saile, till the 24 of the moneth: On which day we departed & came to a haven on the Southerly coast about 80 leagues from the said Islands. This haven is ouer against three flat Islands that lie amidst the riuer, because on the midway betweene those Islands, & the sayd haven toward the North, there is a very great riuer that runneth betweene the high and lowe landes, and more then three leagues into the sea it hath many shelles, & there is not altogether two fadome water, so that the place is very dangerous: and neere vnto the said shelles, there is either fiftene or 20 fadomes from shore to shore. All the Northerly coaste runneth Northeast and by North, and Southwest & by South. The said haven wherein we stayed on the South side, is as it were but a fluce of the waters that rise by the flood, & but of final accompe: we named them S. Johns Isles, because we found them, & entred into them the day of the beheading of that Saint. And before you come to the said haven, there is an Island lying Eastward about 5 leagues distant from the same: betweene which and the land there is no passage sauing only for small boats. The haven of S. Johns Isles dyeth by all the waters that rise by flowing, although they flow two fadome at the least. The best place to harborough ships therein is on the South part of a little Island that is ouer against the said haven, whereby the hancke or shore of the Island killeth. Upon the first of September we departed out of the said haven, purposing to go toward Canada, & about 15 leagues from it toward the West, & Westsouthwest, amidst the riuer, there are three Islands, ouer against the which there is a riuer which runneth swift, and is of a great depth, & it is that which leadeth, and runneth into the countrey and kingdome of Saguenay, as by the two wild men of Canada it was told vs. This riuer passeth and runneth along very high and steepe hills of bare stone, where very little earth is, & not withstanding there is great quantity of sundry sorts of trees that grow in the said bare stones, euen as vpon good & fertile ground, in such sort that we haue seene some so great as wel would suffice to make a mast for a ship of 30 tunne burden, and as greene as possibly can be, growing in a stony rocke without any earth at all. At the entrance of the sayd riuer we met with 4 boats full of wild men, which as far as we could perceiue, very fearfully came toward vs, so that some of them went backe againe, & the other came as neere vs as easily they might heare & understand one of our wild men, who told them his name, and then tooke acquaintance of them, vpon whose word they came to vs. The next day being the 2 of September, we came out of the sayd riuer to go to Canada, and by reason of the seas flowing, the tide was very swift and dangerous, for that on the South part of it there lie two Islands, about which, more then three leagues compass, lie many rocks and great stones, & but two fadome water: and the flowing amidst those Islands is very vnconstant and doubtful, so that if it had not bene for our boats, we had been in great danger to lose our Pinnelle: & coasting along the said drie sands, there is more then 30 fadome water.

About

About five leagues beyond the river of Saguenay Southwest, there is another Island on the Northside, wherein are certaine high lands, and thereabouts we thought to have cast anchor, on purpose to stay the next tide, but we could sound no ground in a 120 fadome, within a slight shoot from shoze, so that we were constrained to winde backe to the said Island, where wee sounded againe and found 35 fadome. The next morning we hoysed saile and went thence, sayling further on, where we had notice of a certaine kind of fish neuer before of any man seene or knowen. They are about the bignesse of a Porpole, yet nothing like them, of body very well proportioned, headed like Grapounds, altogether as white as snow without any spot, within which river there is great quantitie of them: they doe liue altogether betweene the Sea and the fresh water. These people of the Countrey call them Adhothuys, they tolde vs that they be very sauoy and good to be eaten. Whereouer they affirme none to be found elsewhere but in the mouth of that river. The sixth of the month, the weather being calme and faire, we went about 15 leagues more upward into the river, and there lighted on an Island that looketh Northward, and it maketh a little haven or creeke wherein are many and innumerable great Tortoyzes, continually lying about that Island. There are likewise great quantitie of the said Adhothuys taken by the inhabitants of the countrey, and there is as great a current in that place as is at Bordeaux in France at euery tide. This Island is in length about three leagues, and in bredth two, and is a goodly and fertile plot of ground, replenished with many goodly and great trees of many soyes. Among the rest there are many Filberd-trees, which we found hanging full of them, somewhat bigger and better in sauour then ours, but somewhat harder, and therefore we called it The Island of Filberds. The seventh of the moneth being our Ladies euen, after service we went from that Island to goe vp higher into the river, and came to 14 Islands seuen or eight leagues from the Island of Filberds, where the countrey of Canada beginneth, one of which Islands is ten leagues in length, and five in bredth, greatly inhabited of such men as onely liue by fishing of such sortes of fishes as the river affordeth, according to the season of them. After we had cast anchor betweene the said great Island, & the Northerly coast, we went on land and tooke our two wild men with vs, meeting with many of those countrey people, who would not at all approach vnto vs, but rather fled from vs, untill our two men began to speake vnto them, telling them that they were Taignoagny and Domagaia, who so soone as they had taken acquaintance of them, beganne greatly to reioyce, dancing and shewing many sortes of ceremonies: and many of the chieftest of them came to our boats & brought many Eeles and other sortes of fishes, with two or three burdens of great Miller wherewith they make their bread, and many great muske millions. The same day came also many other boates full of those countrey men and women, to see and take acquaintance of our two men, all which were as courteously receiued and friendly entertained of our Captaine, as possibly could be. And to haue them the better acquainted with him, and make them his friends, hee gaue them many small gifts, but of small value: neuerthelesse they were greatly contented with them. The next day following, the Lord of Canada (whose proper name was Donnacona, but by the name of Lord they call him Agouhanna) with twelve boates came to our ships, accompanied with many people, who caulding ten of his boates to goe backe with the other two, approached vnto vs with fiftene men. Then beganne the said Agouhanna ouer against the smallest of our ships, according to their maner and fashion, to frame a long Oracion, mouing all his bodie and members after a strange fashion, which thing is a ceremonie and signe of gladnesse and securitie among them, and then comming to the Generals ship, where Taignoagny and Domagaia were, he spake with them & they with him, where they began to tell and shew vnto him what they had seene in France, and what good entertainment they had had: hearing which things the said Lord seemed to be very glad thereof, and prayed our Captaine to reach him his arme, that he might kisse it, which thing he did: their Lord taking it, laid it about his necke, for so they vse to doe when they will make much of one. Then our Captaine entred into Agouhannas boat, causing bread and wine to be brought to make the said Lord and his companie to eate and drinke, which thing they did, and were greatly thereby contented and satisfied. Our Captaine for that time gaue them nothing, because he looked for a fitter opportunity. These things being done, ech one tooke leaue of others, and the said Lord went with his boates againe to his place of abode. Our Captaine then caused our boates to be set in order, that with the next tide he might goe vp higher into the river, to find some safe harbrough for our ships: and we passed vp the river against the streame about tenne leagues, coasting the said Island, at the end whereof, we found a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little river and haven, where by reason of the flood there is about three fadome water. This place seemed to vs very fit and commodious to harbour our ships therein, and so we did very safely, we named it the holy Crosse, for on that day we came thither. Neere vnto it, there is a village, whereof

The river of Saguenay.

Innumerable Tortoyzes.

The Ile of Coudres of Filberds.

This great Island is called The Ile of Orleans.

Maix.

Saint Croix.

Stadacona.

Goodly hemp

whereof Donnacona is Lord, and there he keepeth his abode: it is called Stadacona, as goodly a plot of ground as possibly may be seene, and therewithall very fruitfull, full of goodly trees euen as in France, as Oks, Elmes, Ashes, Walnut trees, Haple trees, Cyprons, Vines, and white Thornes, that bring forth fruit as bigge as any damsons, and many other sortes of trees, vnder which groweth as faire tall hempe, as any in France, without any seede or any mans worke or labour at all. Hauing considered the place, and finding it fit for our purpose, our Captaine withdrew himselfe on purpose to returne to our ships: but behold, as we were comming out of the riuer we met comming against vs one of the Lords of the said village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others, as men, women, and children, who after the fashion of their countrey, in signe of mirth and ioy, began to make a long Oracion, the women still singing and dancing vp to the knees in water. Our Captaine knowing their good will and kindnesse toward vs, caused the boat wherein they were, to come vnto him, and gaue them certaine trifles, as kniues, and beades of glasse, whereat they were maruellous glad, for being gone about thre leagues from them, for the pleasure they conceiued of our comming, we might heare them sing, and see them dance for all they were so farre.

How our Captaine went to see and note the bignesse of the Iland, and the nature of it, and then returned to the ships, causing them to be brought to the riuer of The holy Crosse,

Chap. 3.

The Ile of Bacchus, or the Ile of Orleans.

After we were come with our boats vnto our ships againe, our Captaine caused our barks to be made readie to goe on land in the said Iland, to note the trees that in the w^{ch} seemed so faire, and to consider the nature and qualitie of it: which thing we did, and found it full of goodly trees likes to ours. Also we saw many goodly Vines, a thing not befoze of vs seene in those countreies, and therefore we named it Bacchus Iland. It is in length about twelue leagues, in sight very pleasant, but full of woods, no part of it manured, vnlesse it be in certaine places, where a few cottages be for Fishers dwellings as befoze we haue said. The next day we departed with our ships to bring them to the place of the holy Crosse, and on the 14 of that moneth we came thither, and the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with 25 boats full of those people, came to meete vs, comming from the place whence we were come, and going toward Stadacona, where their abiding is, and all came to our ships, shewing sundry and diuers gestures of gladnesse and mirth, except those two that we had brought, to wit, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, who seemed to haue altered and changed their mind and purpose, for by no meanes they would come vnto our ships, altho it sundry times they were earnestly desired to doe it, whereupon we began to mistrust somewhat. Our Captaine asked them if according to promise they would go with him to Hochelaga? They answered yea, for so they had purposed, and then ech one withdrew himselfe. The next day being the fiftenth of the moneth, our Captaine went on shore, to cause certaine poles and piles to be driuen into the water, and set vp, that the better and safer we might harbour our ships there: and many of those countrey people came to meete vs there, among whom was Donnacona and our twomen, with the rest of their company, who kept themselves aside vnder a point or nooke of land that is vpon the shore of a certaine riuer, and no one of them came vnto vs as the other did that were not on their side. Our Captaine vnderstanding that they were there, commanded part of our men to follow him, and he went to the saide point where he found the said Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and diuers other: and after salutations giuen on ech side, Taignoagny settled himselfe for most to speake to our Captaine, saying that the Lord Donnacona did greatly grieue and sorrow that our Captaine and his men did weare warlike weapons, and they not. Our Captaine answered, that albeit it did grieue them, yet would not he leaue them off, and that (as he knew) it was the maner of France. But for all these words our Captaine and Donnacona left not off to speake one to another, and friendly to entertaine one another. Then did we perceiue, that whatsoever Taignoagny spake, was onely long of himselfe and of his fellow, for that befoze they departed thence our Captaine and Donnacona entred into a maruellous stedfast league of friendship, whereupon all his people at once with a loude voyce, cast out thre great cryes, (a horrible thing to heare) and each one hauing taken leaue of the other for that day, we went aboard againe. The day following we brought our two great shippes within the riuer and harborough, where the waters being at the highest, are thre fadome deepe, and at the lowest, but halfe a fadome. We left our Pinelle without the road to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So soone as we had safely placed our ships, behold we saw Donnacona, Taignoagny & Domagaia, with more then fife hundred persons, men, women and children, and the said Lord with ten or twelue of the chiefest of the countrey came aboard of our ships, who were all

all courteously receiued, and friendly entertained both of our Capitaine and of vs all: and diuers gifts of small value were giuen them. Then did Taignoagoy tell our Capitaine, that his Lord did greatly sorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any meanes permit that any of them should goe with him, because the riuer was of no importance. Our Capitaine answered him, that for all his saying, he would not leaue off his going thither, if by any meanes it were possible, for that that he was commanded by his king to goe as farre as possibly he could: and that if he (that is to say Taignoagoy) would goe with him, as he had promised, he should be very well entertained, beside that, he should haue such a gift giuen him, as he should well content himselfe: for he should doe nothing else but goe with him to Hochelaga and come againe. To whom Taignoagoy answered, that he would not by any meanes goe, and thereupon they sodainly returned to their houses. The next day being the 17 of September, Donnacona and his company returned euen as at the first, and brought with him many Beles, with sundry sorts of other fishes, whereof they take great store in the said riuer, as more largely hereafter shall be shewed. And as soone as they were come to our ships, according to their wonted vse they beganne to sing and dance. This done, Donnacona caused all his people to be set on the one side: then making a round circle vpon the land he caused our Capitaine with all his people to enter therein, then he began to make a long Oracion, holding in one of his hands a maiden child of ten or twelue yeeres old, which he presented vnto our Capitaine: then sodainly beganne all his people to make three great shrieks or howles, in signe of ioy and league of friendship: presently vpon that he did present vnto him two other young male children one after another, but y.inger then the other, at the giuing of which, euen as before they gaue out shrieks and howles very loud, with other ceremonies: for which presents, our Capitaine gaue the saide Lord great and hearty thankses. Then Taignoagoy told our Capitaine, that one of the children was his owne brother, and that the maiden child was daughter vnto the said Lords owne sister, and the presents were only giuen him to the end he should not goe to Hochelaga at all: to whom our Capitaine answered, that if they were onely giuen him to that intent, if so he would, he should take them againe, for that by no meanes he would leaue his going off, for as much as he was so commanded of his King. But concerning this, Domagaia told our Capitaine that their Lord had giuen him those children as a signe and token of good will and security, and that he was contented to goe with him to Hochelaga, vpon which talke great wordes arose betweene Taignoagoy and Domagaia, by which we plainly perceived that Taignoagoy was but a craftie knaue, and that he intended but mischief and treason, as well by this dede as others that we by him had seene. After that our Capitaine caused the said children to be put in our ships, and caused two Swords and two copper Basons, the one wrought, the other plaine, to be brought vnto him, and then he gaue to Donnacona, who was therewith greatly contented, peeing most heartie thankses vnto our Capitaine for them, and presently vpon that he commaunded all his people to sing and dance, and desired our Capitaine to cause a peece of artillerie to be shot off, because Taignoagoy and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them maruellous things, and also, because they had neuer heard nor seene any before: to whom our Capitaine answered, that he was content: and by and by he commanded his men to shoot off twelue cannons charged with bullets into the wood that was hard by those people and ships, at whose noyse they were greatly astonished and amazed, for they thought that heauen had fallen vpon them, and put themselves to flight, howling, crying, and shrieking, so that it seemed hell was broken loose. But before we went thence, Taignoagoy caused other men to tell vs, that those men which we had left in our Pinelle in the road, had slaine two men of their company, with a peece of ordinance that they had shot off, whereupon the rest had put themselves all to flight, as though they should all haue bene slaine: which after ward we found vntue, because our men had not shot off any peece at all that day.

How Donnacona and Taignoagoy with others, deuised a prettie sleight or pollicie: for they caused three of their men to be attired like Diuels, sayning themselves to be sent from their God *Cudragny*, onely to hinder our voyage to *Hochelaga*.

Chap. 4.

The next day being the eighteenth of September, these men still endeououred themselves to seeke all meanes possible to hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and deuised a prettie guile, as hereafter shalbe shewed. They went and dressed three men like Diuels, being wrapped in dogges skinner white and blacke, their faces besmeared as blacke as any coales, with hoyses on their heads more then a pard long, and caused them secretly to be put in one of their boates, but came not neere our ships as they were wont to doe, for they lay hidden within the wood for the

the space of two houres, looking for the rive, to the end the boat wherein the Diuels were, might approach and come neere vs, which when time was, came, and all the rest issued out of the wood coming to vs, but yet not so neere as they were wont to do. There began Taignoagny to salute our Captaine, who asked him if he would haue the boate to come for him; hee answered, not for that time, but after a while he would come vnto our ships: then presently came that boat rushing out, wherein the three counterfeite Diuels were with such long hornes on their heads, and the middlemost came making a long Oration and passed along our ships without turning or looking toward vs, but with the boat went toward the land. Then did Donnacona with all his people pursue them, and lay hold on the boat and Diuels, who so soone as the men were come to them, fell prostrate in the boate euen as if they had beene dead: then were they taken by and carried into the wood, being but a stones cast off, then euery one withozew himselfe into the wood, not one staying behind with vs, where being, they began to make a long discourse, so loud that we might heare them in our ships, which lasted about halfe an houre, & being ended we began to espie Taignoagny and Domagaia coming towards vs, holding their hands vppward ioyned together, carying their hats vnder their vpper garment, shewing a great admiration, and Taignoagny looking vp to heauen, cryed three times Iesus, Iesus, Iesus, and Domagaia doing as his fellow had done before, cryed, Iesus Maria, Iames Cartier. Our Captaine hearing them, and seeing their gestures and ceremonies, asked of them what they ayled, and what was happened or chanced anew; they answered, that there were very ill tydings befallen, saying in French, *Nenni est il bon*, that is to say, it was not good: our Captaine asked them againe what it was, then answered they, that their God Cudruaigny had spoken in Hochelaga: and that he had sent those three men to shewe vnto them that there was so much yce and snow in that countrey, that whosoever went thither should die, which wordes when we heard, we laughed and mocked them saying, that their God Cudruaigny was but a foole and a noddie, for he knew not what he did or said: then bade we them shew his messengers from vs, that Christ would defend them all from colde, if they would beleue in him. Then did they aske of our Captaine if he had spoken with Iesus: he answered no, but that his Priests had, and that he had tolde them they should haue faire weather: which wordes when they had heard, they thanked our Captaine, and departed toward the wood to tell those newes vnto their felowes, who sodainly came all rushing out of the wood, seeming to be very glad for those wordes that our Captaine had spoken, and to shew that thereby they had had, and felt great ioy, so soone as they were before our ships, they altogether gaue out three great shriekes, and thereupon beganne to sing and dance, as they were wont to doe. But for a resolution of the matter Taignoagny and Domagaia tolde our Captaine, that their Lord Donnacona would by no meanes permit that any of them should goe with him to Hochelaga, vnlesse he would leaue him some hostage to stay with him: our Captaine answered them, that if they would not goe with him with a good will, they should stay, and that for all them he would not leaue off his iourney thither.

How our Captaine with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners departed with our Pinnesse, and the two boates from Canada to goe to Hochelaga: and also there is described, what was seene by the way vpon the said riuier.

Chap. 5.

The next day being the 19 of September we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and two boates departed to goe by the riuier with the flood, where on both shores of it we beganne to see as goodly a countrey as possibly can with eye be seene, all replenished with very goodly trees, and vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the riuier, which rather seemed to haue bin planted by mans hand than otherwise. True it is, that because they are not dressed and wrought as they should be, their bunches of grapes are not so great nor sweete as ours: also we sawe all along the riuier many houses inhabited of fishers, which take all kindes of fishes, and they came with as great familiaritie and kindnesse vnto vs, as if we had beene their Countrey men, and brought vs great store of fish, with other such things as they had, which we exchanged with them for other wares, who lifting vp their hands toward heauen, gaue many signes of ioy: we stayed at a place called Hochelai, about fife and twentie leagues from Canada, where the riuier waxeth very narrow, and runneth very swift, wherefore it is very dangerous, not onely for that, but also for certaine great stones that are therein: Many boates and barkes came vnto vs, in one of which came one of the chiefe Lords of the countrey, making a long discourse, who being come neere vs, did by euident signes and gestures shew vs, that the higher the riuier went, the more dangerous it was, and bade vs take heede of our selues. The said Lord presented and gaue vnto our Captaine two of his owne children, of which our Captaine tooke one being a wench 7 or 8 eight yeres

Vines laden
with grapes.

Hochelay.

peres old, the man child he gaue him againe, because it was too young, for it was but two or three peeres old. Our Captaine as friendly and as courteously as he could did entertaine and receiue the said Lord and his company, giuing them certaine small trifles, and so they departed toward the shore againe. Afterwards the sayd Lord and his wife came vnto Canada to visite his daughter, bringing vnto our Captaine certaine small presents. From the nineteenth vntill the eight and twentieth of September, we sailed vp along the saide riuer, neuer losing one houre of time, all which time we saw as goodly and pleasant a countrey as possible can be wished for, full (as we haue said before) of all sortes of goodly trees, that is to say, Oakes, Elmes, Walnut-trees, Cedars, Firres, Ashes, Beye, Willowes, and great store of Vines, all as full of grapes as could be, so that if any of our fellowes went on shore, they came home laden with them: there are likewise many Cranes, Swannes, Geese, Duckes, Feasants, Partridges, Chyulhes, Blackbirds, Turcles, Finches, Redbreasts, Nightingales, Sparrowes of diuerse kindes, with many other sortes of Birds, euen as in France, and great plentie and store. Upon the 28 of September, we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the riuer five or six leagues broad, and twelue long, all that day we went against the tide, hauing but two fadome water, still keeping the sayd scantling: being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could espie no passage or going out, nay, rather it seemed to haue bene closed and shut vp round about, and there was but a fadome and an halfe of water, little more or lesse. And therefore we were constrained to cast anker, and to stay with our Pinnesse, and went with our two boates to seeke some going out, and in one place we found foure or five branches, which out of the riuer come into the lake, and they came from Hochelaga. But in the said branches, because of the great fiercenesse and swiftnesse wherewith they breake out, and the course of the water, they make certaine barres and shoulds, and at that time there was but a fadome water. Those Shouldes being passed, we found foure or five fadome, and as farre as we could perceiue by the flood, it was that time of the yeere that the waters are lowest, for at other times they flowe higher by three fadomes. All these foure or five branches do compasse about five or six Islands very pleasant, which make the head of the lake: about fiftene leagues beyond, they doe all come into one. That day we landed in one of the saide Islands, and met with five men that were hunting of wilde beastes, who as freely and familiarly came to our boates without any feare, as if we had euer bene brought vp together. Our boates being somewhat neere the shore, one of them tooke our Captaine in his armes, and caried him on shore, as lightly and as easily as if he had bene a child of five peeres old: so strong and sturdie was this fellow. We found that they had a great heape of wilde Rats that liue in the water, as bigge as a Conny, and very good to eate, which they gaue vnto our Captaine, who for a recompence gaue them kniues and glasse Beades. We asked them with signes if that was the way to Hochelaga, they answered yea, and that we had yet three dayes sayling thither.

The lake of Angolme.

Wild rats as big as Conies.

How our Captaine caused our boates to be mended and dressed to goe to Hochelaga: and because the way was somewhat difficult and hard, we left our Pinnesse behinde: and how we came thither, and what entertainment we had of the people,

Chap. 6.

The next day our Captaine seeing that for that time it was not possible for our Pinnesse to goe on any further, he caused our boates to be made readie, and as much munition and victuals to be put in them, as they could well beare: he departed with them, accompanied with many Gentlemen, that is to say, Claudius of Ponte Briand, Cup-beater to the Lord Dolphin of France, Charles of Pommeraye, John Gouion, John Powler, with twentie & eight Partners: and Mace Iallobert, and William Briton, who had the charge vnder the Captaine of the other two ships, to goe vp as farre as they could into that riuer: we sayled with good and prosperous weather vntill the second of October, on which day we came to the towne of Hochelaga, distant from the place where we had left our Pinnesse five and fortie leagues. In which place of Hochelaga, and all the way we went, we met with many of those countriemen, who brought vs fish and such other vicuals as they had, still dancing and greatly reioycing at our comming. Our Captaine to lure them in, and to keepe them our friends, to recompence them, gaue them kniues, beades, and such small trifles, wherewith they were greatly satisfied. So soone as we were come neere Hochelaga, there came to meete vs aboue a thousand persons, men, women and children, who afterward did as friendly and merily entertaine and receiue vs as any father would doe his child, which he had not of long time seene, the men dauncing on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on another: after that they brought vs great store of fish, & of their bread made

They leave their Pinnesse behind.

Hochelaga distant from the lake of Angolme 45 leagues.

made

made of Millet, casting them into our boates so thicke, that you would haue thought it to fall from heauen. Which when our Captaine saw, he with many of his company went on shore: so soone as euer we were aland they came clustring about vs, making very much of vs, bringing their young children in their armes, onely to haue our Captaine and his company to touch them, making signes and shewes of great mirth and gladnesse, that lasted more than halfe an houre. Our Captaine seeing their louing kindnesse and entertainment of vs, caused all the women orderly to be set in aray, and gaue them Beades made of Tinne, and other such small trifles, and to some of the men he gaue knives: then he returned to the boates to supper, and so passed that night, all which while all those people stood on the shore as neere our boates as they might, making great fires, and dauncing very merily, still crying Aguiaze, which in their tongue signifieth Mirth and Saferie.

How our Captaine with five Gentlemen and twentie armed men all well in order, went to see the towne of *Hochelaga*, and the situation of it.

Chap. 7.

The third of
October.

Hochelaga five
miles from
the river side.

This Millet is
Maiz.

The descripti-
on of Hochelaga

Maiz, pease,
beanes, musk-
millions, cu-
cumbers, and
other fruits.
Plentie of fish
and the preser-
uing thereof.

Our Captaine the next day very earely in the morning, hauing very gorgeously attired himselfe, caused all his company to be set in order to go to see the towne and habitation of those people, and a certaine mountaine that is somewhat neere the citie: with whom went also five Gentlemen and twentie Hariners, leauing the rest to keepe and looke to our boates: we tooke with vs three men of *Hochelaga* to bring vs to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be, the fairest and best countrey that possibly can be seene, full of as goodly great Dkes as are in any wood in France, vnder which the ground was all couered ouer with faire *Akozues*. After we had gone about foure or five miles, we met by the way one of the chiefest Lords of the citie, accompanied with many moe, who so soone as he sawe vs beckned and made signes vpon vs, that we must rest vs in that place where they had made a great fire and so we did. After that we had rested our selues there a while, the said Lord began to make a long discourse, euen as we haue saide aboue, they are accustomed to doe in signe of mirth and friendship, shewing our Captaine and all his company a ioyfull countenance, and good will, who gaue him two hat-bets, a paire of knives and a crosse which he made him to kisse, and then put it about his necke, for which he gaue our Captaine heartie thanks. This done, we went along, and about a mile and a halfe farther, we began to finde goodly and large fieldes, full of such corne as the countrie yeeldeth. It is euen as the Millet of *Bresil*, as great and somewhat bigger then small peason, wherewith they liue euen as we doe with ours. In the midst of those fieldes is the citie of *Hochelaga*, placed neere, and as it were ioyned to a great mountaine that is tilted round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may see very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of *Hochelaga* is round, compassed about with timber, with three courtes of Rampires, one within another framed like a sharpe Spire, but laide acrosse aboue. The middlemost of them is made and built as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and fashioned with peeces of timber, layd along on the ground, very well and cunningly ioyned together after their fashion. This enclosure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes, and barres. Duer it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get by, all full of stones, for the defence of it. There are in the towne about fiftie houses, about fiftie paces long, and twelue, or fiftene broad, built all of wood, couered ouer with the bark of the wood as broad as any boord, very finely and cunningly ioyned together. Within the said houses, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the midst of euery one there is a great Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They liue in common together: then doe the husbands, wiues and children each one retire themselves to their chambers. They haue also on the top of their houses certaine garrets, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall: they call it *Carraconny*, which they make as hereafter shall follow. They haue certaine peeces of wood, made hollow like those whereon we beat our hempo, and with certaine beetles of wood they beat their corne to powder: then they make paste of it, and of the paste, cakes or wreathes, then they lay them on a broad and hote stone, and then couer it with hote stones, and so they bake their bread in stead of Ovens. They make also sundry sorts of pottage with the said corne and also of pease and of beanes, whereof they haue great store, as also with other fruits, as *Bulke-Millions*, and very great Cucumbers. They haue also in their houses certaine vessels as bigge as any But or Tun, wherein they preserve and keepe their fish, causing the same in Sommer to be dried in the sunne, and liue therewith in winter, whereof they make

make great prouision, as we by experience haue seene. All their viands and meates are without any tast or sauour of salt at all. They sleepe vpon barkes of trees laide all along vpon the ground being ouer-spread with the skinnes of certaine wilde Beastes, wherewith they also cloth and couer themselves. The thing most precious that they haue in all the world they call Esurgny: it is as white as any snow: they take it in the said riuer of Cornibotz, in the maner folowing. When any one hath deserued death, or that they take any of their enemies in Marrres, first they kill him, then with certaine kniues they giue great slashes and strokes vpon their buttocks, flanks, thighs, and shoulders: then they cast the same bodie so mangled downe to the bottoome of the riuer, in a place where the said Esurgny is, and there leaue it ten or 12 houres, then they take it vp againe, and in the cuts find the said Esurgny of Cornibotz. Of them they make beads, and weare them about their necks, euen as we doe chaines of gold and siluer, accounting it the preciouslest thing in the world. They haue this vertue and propertie in them, they will stop or stanch bleeding at the nose, for we haue proued it. These people are giuen to no other exercise, but onely to husbandrie and fishing for their sustenance: they haue no care of any other wealth or commoditie in this world, for they haue no knowledge of it, and that is, because they neuer trauell and go out of their countrey, as those of Canada and Saguenay doe, albeit the Canadians with eight or nine Villages more alongst that riuer be subiects vnto them.

Esurgny good to stanch blood.

How we came to the Towne of *Hochelaga*, and the entertainment which there we had, and of certaine gifts which our Captaine gaue them, with diuers other things.

Chap. 8.

SO soone as we were come neere the Towne, a great number of the inhabitants thereof came to present themselves before vs after their fashion, making very much of vs: we were by our guides brought into the midst of the town. They haue in the middlemost part of their houses a large square place, being from side to side a good stones cast, whither we were brought, and there with signes were commanded to stay: then suddenly all the women and maidens of the Towne gathered themselves together, part of which had their armes full of young children, and as many as could came to rubbe our faces, our armes, and what part of the bodie soeuer they could touch, weeping for very joy that they saw vs, shewing vs the best countenance that possibly they could, desiring vs with their signes, that it would please vs to touch their children. That done, the men caused the women to withdraue themselves backe, then they euery one fate downe on the ground round about vs, as if they would haue shewen and rehearsed some Comedie or other shew: then presently came the women againe, euery one bringing a fouresquare Matte in manner of Carpets, and spreading them abroad on the ground in that place, they caused vs to sit vpon them. That done, the Lord & King of the countrey was brought vpon 9 or 10 mens shoulders, (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna) sitting vpon a great Stagges skinne, and they laide him downe vpon the foresaid mats neere to the Captaine, euery one beckning vnto vs that hee was their Lord and King. This Agouhanna was a man about fiftie yeeres old: he was no whit better apparelled then any of the rest, onely excepted, that he had a certaine thing made of the skinnes of Hedgehogs like a red wreath, and that was in stead of his Crowne. He was full of the pallie, and his members shronke togither. After he had with certaine signes saluted our Captaine and all his companie, and by manifest tokens bid all welcome, he shewed his legges and armes to our Captaine, and with signes desired him to touch them, and so he did, rubbing them with his owne hands: then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crowne he had about his head, and gaue it vnto our Captaine: that done they brought before him diuerse diseased men, some blinde, some cripple, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the haire of their eyelids came downe and couered their cheekes, and layd them all along before our Captaine, to the end they might of him be touched: for it seemed vnto them that God was descended and come downe from heauen to heale them. Our Captaine seeing the misery and deuotion of this poore people, recited the Gospel of Saint Iohn, that is to say, In the beginning was the word; touching euery one that were diseased, praying to God that it would please him to open the hearts of this poore people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receiue Baptisme and Christendome: that done, he tooke a Seruice-booke in his hand, and with a loud voyce read all the passion of Christ, word by word, that all the standers by might heare him: all which while this poore people kept silence, & were maruellously attentiu, looking vp to heauen, and imitating vs in gestures. Then he caused the men all orderly to be set on one side, the women on another, & likewise the children on another, & to the chiefest of them he gaue hatchets, to the other kniues, & to the women beads & such other small trifles. Then where y children were, he cast rings, counters, & bzooches made of Tin,

T

whereat

Mount Roial.

A ridge of
mountaines
to the North
of Hochelaga,
and another to
the South.

The 3 fautes of
falles of water
in 44. degrees
of latitude.

The river of
Saguenay com-
meth from the
West, where
there is gold
and silver.

Red copper in
Saguenay.

whereat they seemed to be very glad. That done, our Captaine commanded Trumpets and other muscicall instruments to be sounded, which when they heard, they were very merie. Then we tooke our leaue and went to our boate: the women seeing that, put themselves befoze to stay vs, and brought vs out of their meates that they had made readie for vs, as fish, portage, beanes, and such other things, thinking to make vs eate, and dine in that place: but because the meates had no sauour at all of salt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with signes gaue them to vnderstand that we had no neede to eate. When wee were out of the Towne, diuerse of the men and women followed vs, and brought vs to the toppe of the foresaid mountaine, which wee named Mount Roial, it is about a league from the Towne. When as we were on the toppe of it, we might discern and plainely see thirtie leagues about. On the Northside of it there are many hilles to be scene running West and East, and as many more on the South, amongst and betweene the which the Countrey is as faire and as pleasant as possibly can be scene, being leuell, smooch, and very plaine, fit to be husbanded and culled: and in the midst of those fieldes we saw the riuer further vp a great way then where we had left our boates, where was the greatest and the swiftest fall of water that any where hath bene scene, and as great, wide, and large as our sight might discern, going Southwest along three faire and round mountaines that wee sawe, as we iudged about fiftene leagues from vs. Those which brought vs thither tolde and shewed vs, that in the sayd riuer there were three such falles of water more, as that was where we had left our boates: but because we could not vnderstand their language, we could not knowe how farre they were one from another. Moreover they shewed vs with signes, that the said three fals being past, a man might sayle the space of three monethes more alongst that Riuer, and that along the hilles that are on the North side there is a great riuer, which (euen as the other) commeth from the West, we thought it to be the riuer that runneth through the Countrey of Saguenay: and without any signe or question moued or asked of them, they tooke the chayne of our Captaines whistle, which was of silver, and the dagger-haft of one of our fellow Mariners, hanging on his side being of yelow copper guilt, and shewed vs that such stuffe came from the said Riuer, and that there be Agouionda, that is as much to say, as euill people, who goe all armed euen to their fingers ends. Also they shewed vs the manner and making of their armour: they are made of cordes and wood, finely and cunningly wrought together. They gaue vs also to vnderstande that those Agouionda doe continually warre one against another, but because we did not vnderstand them well, we could not perceiue how farre it was to that Countrey. Our Captaine shewed them redde Copper, which in their language they call Caignetadze, and looking towarde that Countrey, with signes asked them if any came from thence, they shaking their heads answered no: but they shewed vs that it came from Saguenay, and that lyeth cleane contrary to the other. After we had heard and scene these things of them, we dreyne to our boates accompanied with a great multitude of those people: some of them when as they sawe any of our fellows weary, would take them vp on their shoulders, and carry them as on horsebacke. So soone as we came to our boates we hoysed saile to goe toward our Pinnesse, doubting of some mischance. Our departure grieved and displeased them very much, for they followed vs along the riuer as farre as they could: we went so fast that on munday being the fift of the moneth, we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and boates departed from thence toward the Province of Canada, to the port of the Holy Crosse, where we had left our ships. The seuenth day we came against a riuer that commeth from the North, and entered into that riuer, at the entrance whereof are foure little Ilands full of faire and goodly trees: we named that riuer The riuer of Fouertz: But because one of those Ilandes stretcheth it selfe a great way into the riuer, our Captaine at the point of it caused a goodly great Crosse to be set vp, and commanded the boates to be made readie, that with the next tide he might goe vp the saide riuer, and consider the qualitie of it, which wee did, and that day went vp as farre as we could: but because we found it to be of no importance, and very shal- low, we returned and sayled downe the riuer.

How we came to the Port of the *Holy Crosse*, and in what state we found our ships: and how the Lord of the Countrey came to visite our Captaine, and our Captaine him: and of certaine particular customes of the people.

Chap. 9.

Vpon Monday being the 11 of October we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, where our ships were, and found that the Masters and Mariners we had left there, had made and

reared

reared a trench before the ships, altogether closed with great peeces of timber set by right and very well fastened together: then had they beset the said trench about with peeces of Artillerie and other necessarie things to shield and defend themselves from the power of all the countrey. So soone as the Lord of the countrey heard of our comming, the next day being the twelfth of October, he came to visite vs, accompanied with Taignoagny, Domagaia and many others, saying to be very glad of our comming, making much of our Captaine, who as friendly as he could, entertained them, albeit they had not deserved it. Donnacona their Lord desired our Captaine the next day to come and see Canada, which he promised to doe: for the next day being the 13 of the moneth, he with all his Gentlemen and sistré Mariners very well appointed, went to visite Donnacona and his people, about a league from our ships. The place where they make their abode is called Stadacona. When we were about a stones cast from their houses, many of the inhabitants came to meete vs, being all set in a ranke, and (as their custome is) the men all on one side, & the women on the other, still dancing and singing without any ceasing: and after we had saluted and receiued one another, our Captaine gaue them knives and such other sleight things: then he caused all the women and childzen to passe along before him, giuing ech one a ring of Tin, for which they gaue him hearty thanks: that done, our Captaine was by Donnacona and Taignoagny, brought to see their houses, which (the qualitie considered) were very well provided, and stored with such victuals as the countrey yeeldeth, to passe away the winter withall. Then they shewed vs the skins of five mens heads spread upon boords as we doe vse parchment: Donnacona told vs that they were skins of Toudamani, a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre against them. Moreover they told vs, that it was two yeeres past that those Toudamans came to assault them, yea euen into the said riuer, in an Island that lyeth ouer against Saguenay, where they had bin the night before, as they were going a warfaring in Hognedo, with 200 persons, men, women, and childzen, who being all asleepe in a Fort that they had made, they were assaulted by the said Toudamans, who put fire round about the Fort, and as they would haue come out of it to saue themselves, they were all slaine, only five excepted, who escaped, for which losse they yet sorrowed, shewing with signes, that one day they would be reuenged: that done, we came to our ships againe.

Stadacona.

Toudamani
dwelling
Southward
of Canada.

The manner how the people of that Countrey liue: and of certaine conditions: of their faith, maners, and customes.

Chap. 10.

This people beleue no whit in God, but in one whom they call Cudruaigni: they say that often he speaketh with them and telleth them what weather shal follow, whether good or bad. Moreover they say, that when he is angry with them he casteth dust into their eyes: they beleue that when they die they go into the stars, & thence by litle & litle descend downe into the Horizon, euen as the stars doe, & that then they go into certaine greene fields full of goodly faire & precious trees, flowers, & fruits. After that they had giuen vs these things to vnderstand, we shewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceiue them, for he is but a Diuell & an euill spirit: affirming vnto them, that there is but one onely God, who is in heauen, and who giueth vs all necessities, being the Creatour of all himselfe, and that onely we must beleue in him: moreover, that it is necessarie for vs to be baptised, other wise wee are damned into hell. These and many other things concerning our faith and religion we shewed them, all which they did easily beleue, calling their Cudruaigni, Agouiada, that is to say, naught, so that very earnestly they desired and prayed our Captaine that he would cause them to be baptised, and their Loyre, and Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the towne came vnto vs, hoping to be baptised: but because we did not thoroughly know their minde, and that there was no bodie could teach them our beliefe & religion, we excused our selues, desiring Taignoagny & Domagaia to tell the rest of their countrey men, that he would come againe another time, & bring Priests & ch: some with vs, for without them they could not be baptised: which they did easily beleue, for Domagaia & Taignoagny had seene many children baptised in Brittain whiles they were there. Which promise when they heard they seemed to be very glad. They liue in common together, and of such commodities as their countrey yeeldeth they are indifferently well stored, the inhabitants of the countrey cloth themselves with the skins of certaine wilde beasts, but very miserably. In winter they weare hosen and shoes made of wilde beasts skins, and in Sommer they goe barefooted. They keepe and obserue the rites of matrimonie, sauing that euery one weddeth 2 or 3 wives, which (their husbands being dead) do neuer marrie againe, but for the death of their husbands weare a certaine blacke weede all the daies of their life, besmearing al their faces with cole-dust & grease mingled together as thicke as the backe of a knife, and by that they are knowne to be widowes.

They desire to
be baptized.

Their Dais.

Tabacco described.

They haue a filthy and detestable vse in marryng of their maidens, and that is this, they put them all (after they are of lawfull age to marry) in a common place, as harlots free for euery man that wil haue to doe with them, vntill such time as they find a match. This I say, because I haue seene by experience many houses full of those Damoises, euen as our schooles are full of children in France to learne to reade. Moreouer, the misrule and riot that they keepe in those houses is very great, for very wantonly they sport and dally together, shewing whatsoeuer God hath sent them. They are no men of great labour. They digge their grounds with certaine peeces of wood, as bigge as halfe a sword, on which ground groweth their corne, which they call *Offici*: it is as bigge as our small peason: there is great quantitie of it growing in Breill. They haue also great store of *Muske-millions*, *Pompiens*, *Courds*, *Cucumbers*, *Peason* and *Beanes* of euery colour, yet differing from ours. There groweth also a certaine kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great prouision for all the peere, making great account of it, and euery men vse of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beasts skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe: then when they please they make powder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire vpon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it cometh out of their mouth and nostrils, euen as out of the *Tonnell* of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and in health: they neuer goe without some of it about them. We our selues haue tryed the same smoke, and hauing put it in our mouthes, it seemed almost as hot as *Pepper*. The women of that countrey doe labour much more then the men, as well in fishing (where to they are greatly giuen) as in tilling and husbanding their grounds, and other things: as well the men as women and children, are very much moze able to resist cold then sauage beasts, for we with our owne eyes haue seene some of them, when it was coldest (which cold was extreme raw and bitter) come to our ships starke naked going vpon snow & yce, which thing seemeth incredible to them that haue not seene it. When as the snow and yce lyeth on the ground, they take great store of wilde beasts, as *Faunes*, *Stags*, *Beares*, *Harterus*, *Hares* & *Foxes*, with diuers other sorts whose flesh they eate raw, hauing first dried it in y^e sunne or smoke, and so they doe their fish. As farre forth as we could perceiue and vnderstand by these people, it were a very easie thing to bring them to some familiaritie & ciuility, and make them learne what one would. The Lord God for his mercies sake set therunto his helping hand when he seeth cause. Amen.

Of the greatnesse and depth of the said river, and of the sorts of beasts, birdes, fishes, and other things that we haue seene, with the situation of the place.

Chap. II.

It is now found to be but 200 leagues.

The said river beginneth beyond the Island of The Assumption, ouer against the high mountaines of *Hoguedo*, and of the seven Islands. The distance ouer from one side to the other is about 35 or 40 leagues. In the middelt it is about 200 fadome deepe. The surest way to sayle vpon it is on the South side. And toward the North, that is to say, from the said 7 Islands, from side to side, there is seven leagues distance, where are also two great rivers that come downe from the hills of *Saguenay*, and make diuers very dangerous shelles in the sea. At the entrance of those two rivers we saw many & great store of *Whales* and *Sea horses*. Quertwart the said Islands there is another little river that runneth along those marish grounds about 3 or 4 leagues, wherein there is great store of water foules. From the entrance of that river to *Hochelaga* there is about 300 leagues distance: the originall beginning of it is in the river that cometh from *Saguenay*, which riseth and springeth among high & steepe hills: it entreteth into that river before it cometh to the Province of *Canada* on the North side. That river is very deepe, high, and streight, wherefore it is very dangerous for any vessel to goe vpon it. After that river followeth the Province of *Canada*, wherein are many people dwelling in open boroughes and villages. There are also in the circuit and territorie of *Canada*, along, and within the said river, many other Islands, some great, & some small, among which there is one that containeth about ten leagues in length, full of goodly and high trees, and also many *Vines*. You may goe into it from both sides, but yet the surest passage is on the South side. On the shore or banke of that river Westward, there is a goodly, faire, and delectable bay or creeke, conuenient and fit for to harborough ships. Hard by there is in that river one place very narrow, deepe, & swift running, but it is not passing the third part of a league, ouer against the which there is a goodly high peece of land, with a towne therein: and the countrey about it is very well tilled & wrought, & as good as possibly can be seene. That is the place and abode of *Donnacona*, and of our two men we tooke in our first voyage, it is called *Stadacona*. But before we come to it, there are 4 other peopled townes, that is to say, *Ayraste*, *Starnatan*,

Starnatan, Tailla, which standeth vpon a hill, Sciradin, and then Stadagona, vnder which towne toward the North the riuer and port of the holy crosse is, where we staid from the 15 of September, vntill the 16 of May 1536, and there our ships remained dry, as we haue said before. That place being past, we found the habitation of the people called Teguenondahi, standing vpon an high mountaine, and the valley of Hochelay, which standeth in a Champaigne countrey. All the sayd countrey on both sides of the riuer as farre as Hochelay & beyond, is as faire and plaine as euer was seene. There are certaine mountaines farre distant from the said riuer, which are to be seene aboue the foresaid townes, from which mountaines diuers riuers descend, which fall into the said great riuer. All that countrey is full of sundry sorts of wood and many Vines, vnlesse it be about the places that are inhabited, where they haue pulled vp the trees to till and labour the ground, and to build their houses and lodgings. There is great store of Stags, Deere, Beares, and other such like sorts of beasts, as Conies, Hares, Martens, Foxes, Otters, Beuers, Weasels, Badgers, and Rats exceeding great, and diuers other sortes of wilde beasts. They cloth themselves with the skinnies of those beasts, because they haue nothing else to make them apparell withall. There are also many sorts of birdes, as Cranes, Swannes, Bustards, wilde Geese white and gray, Duckes, Thrushes, Black-birdes, Turtles, wilde Pigeons, Linnets, Finches, Red-breasts, Stares, Nightingales, Sparrowes, and other Birdes, euen as in France. Also, as we haue said before, the said riuer is the plentifullest of fish that euer hath of any man bene seene or heard of, because that from the mouth to the end of it, according to the it seasons, you shall finde all sorts of fresh water fish and salt. There are also many Whales, Porpoises, Seahorses, and Adhothuis, which is a kind of fish that we had neuer seene nor heard of before. They are as great as Porpoises, as white as any snow, their bodie and head fashioned as a graphound, they are wont alwaies to abide betwene the fresh & salt water, which beginneth betwene the riuer of Saguenay and Canada.

Riuers falling from mountaines.

Beasts.

Birdes.

Fishes.

Of certaine aduertisements and notes giuen vnto vs by those countrey men, after our returne from Hochelaga.

Chap. 12.

After our returne from Hochelaga, we dealt, traffickt, and with great familiaritie and loue were conuersant with those that dwelt neere vnto our ships, except that sometimes we had strife and contention with certaine naughtie people, full sore against the will of the others. Wee vnderstood of Donnacona and of others, that the said riuer is called the riuer of Saguenay, and goeth to Saguenay, being somewhat more then a league farther Westnorthwest, and that 8 or 9 dayes iourneys beyond, it will beare but small boats. But the right and readie way to Saguenay is vp that riuer to Hochelaga, and then into another that cometh from Saguenay, and then entereth into the foresaid riuer, & that there is yet one moneths sayling thither. Whereupon, they told vs and gaue vs to vnderstand, that there are people clad with cloth as we are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they haue great store of Gold and red Copper: and that about the land beyond the said first riuer to Hochelaga and Saguenay, is an Island enuironed round about with that and other riuers, and that beyond Saguenay the said riuer entereth into two or 3 great lakes, and that there is a Sea of fresh water found, and as they haue heard say of those of Saguenay, there was neuer man heard of that found out the end thereof: for, as they told vs, they themselves were neuer there. Whereupon they told vs, that where we had left our Pinnesse when we went to Hochelaga, there is a riuer that goeth Southwest, from whence there is a whole moneths sayling to goe to a certaine land, where there is neither yce nor snow seene, where the inhabitants do continually warre one against another, where is great store of Oranges, Almonds, Nuts, and Apples, with many other sortes of fruits, and that the men and women are clad with beasts skinnies euen as they: we asked them if there were any gold or red copper, they answered no. I take this place to be toward Florida, as farre as I could perceiue and vnderstand by their signes and tokens.

The right way to Saguenay.

Store of golde & red copper.

Two or three great lakes. Mare dulcium aquarum.

The riuer of Irrouacas falling into the lake of Angoulême.

Of a strange and cruell disease that came to the people of Stadacona, wherewith because we did haunt their company, we were so infected, that there died 25 of our company.

Chap. 13.

In the moneth of December, wee vnderstood that the pestilence was come among the people of Stadacona, in such sort, that before we knew of it, according to their confession, there were dead aboue 50: whereupon we charged them neither to come neere our Fort, nor about our ships, or vs. And albeit we had giuen them from vs, the said vnknoen sickness began to spread it selfe amongst

amongst vs, after the strangest sort that euer was eyther heard of or seene, insomuch as some did lose all their strength, and could not stand on their feete, then did their legges swell, their sinnowes shrink as blacke as any cole. Others also had all their skins spotted with spots of blood of a purple colour: then did it ascend by to their ankels, knees, thighes, shoulders, armes, and necke: their mouth became stincking, their gummes so rotten, that all the flesh did fall off, euen to the rootes of the teeth, which did also almost all fall out. With such infection did this sicknesse spread it selfe in our three ships, that about the middle of February, of a hundred and tenne persons that we were, there were not ten whole, so that one could not helpe the other, a most horrible and pitifull case, considering the place we were in, forsomuch as the people of the countrey would dayly come befoze our fort, and saw but few of vs. There were already eight dead, and more then fifty sicke, and as we thought, past all hope of recovery. Our Captaine seeing this our misery, & that the sicknesse was gone so farre, ordained and commanded, that euery one should deuoutly prepare himselfe to prayer, and in remembrance of Christ, caused his Image to be set vpon a tree, about a flight shot from the fort amidst the yce and snow, giuing all men to vnderstand, that on the Sunday following, seruice should be said there, and that whosoever could goe, sicke or whole, should goe thither in Procession, singing the seuen Psalmes of Dauid, with other Letanies, praying most heartily that it would please the said our Christ to haue compassion vpon vs. Seruice being done, and as well celebrated as we could, our Captaine there made a vow, that if it would please God to giue him leaue to returne into France, he would go on Pilgrimage to our Ladie of Rocquemado. That day Philip Rougemont, bozne in Amboise, died, being 22 yeeres olde, and because the sicknesse was to vs vnknown, our Captaine caused him to be ripped to see if by any meanes possible we might know what it was, and so seeke meanes to saue and preserve the rest of the company: he was found to haue his heart white, but rotten, and more then a quart of red water about it: his liuer was indifferent faire, but his lungs blacke and mortified, his blood was altogether shrinked about the heart, so that when he was opened great quantitie of rotten blood issued out from about his heart: his milt toward the backe was somewhat perished, rough as if it had bene rubbed against a stone. Moreouer, because one of his thighes was very blacke without, it was opened, but within it was whole and sound: that done, as well as we could he was buried. In such sort did the sicknesse continue and encrease, that there were not aboue three sound men in the ships, and none was able to goe vnder hatches to draw drinke for himselfe, nor for his fellowes. Sometimes we were constrained to bury some of the dead vnder the snow, because we were not able to digge any graues for them the ground was so hard frozen, and we so weake. Besides this, we did greatly feare that the people of the countrey would perceiue our weakenesse and miserie, which to hide, our Captaine, whom it pleased God alwayes to keepe in health, would go out with two or three of the company, some sicke and some whole, whom when he saw out of the Fort, he would throw stones at them and chide them, faigning that so soone as he came againe, he would beate them, and then with signes shewe the people of the countrey that hee caused all his men to worke and labour in the ships, some in calking them, some in beating of chalke, some in one thing, and some in another, and that he would not haue them come forth till their worke was done. And to make his tale seeme true and likely, he would make all his men whole & sound to make a great noise with knocking stickes, stones, hammers, and other things together, at which time we were so oppressed and grieved with that sicknesse, that we had lost all hope euer to see France againe, if God of his infinite goodnesse and mercie had not with his pitifull eye looked vpon vs, and reuealed a singular and excellent remedie against all diseases vnto vs, the best that euer was found vpon earth, as hereafter shall follow.

How long we stayed in the Port of the holy Crosse amidst the snow and yce, and how many died of the said disease, from the beginning of it to the midst of March.

Chap. 14.

From the midst of Nouember vntill the midst of March, we were kept in amidst the yce aboue two fadomes thicke, and snow aboue foure foote high and more, higher then the sides of our ships, which lasted till that time, in such sort, that all our drinckes were frozen in the Vessels, and the yce through all the ships was aboue a hand-breadth thicke, as well aboue hatches as beneath, and so much of the riuer as was fresh, euen to Hochelaga, was frozen, in which space there died five and twentie of our best and chiefe men, and all the rest were so sicke, that wee thought they should neuer recouer againe, only three or foure excepted. Then it pleased God to cast his pitifull eye vpon vs, and sent vs the knowledge of remedie of our healthes and recovery, in such maner as in the next Chapter shall be shewed.

How

How by the grace of God we had notice of a certaine tree, whereby we all recovered our health: and the maner how to vse it.

Chap. 15.

Our Captaine considering our estate (and how that sicknesse was encreased and hot amongst vs) one day went forth of the Foze, and walking vpon the yce, hee saw a troupe of those Countrey men comming from Stadacona, among which was Domagaia, who not passing ten or twelue dayes afore, had bene very sicke with that diseale, and had his knees swolne as bigge as a child of two yeres old, all his sinews shrunke together, his teeth spoyled, his gummies rotten, and sinking. Our Captaine seeing him whole and sound, was thereat maruellous glad, hoping to vnderstand and know of him how he had healed himselfe, to the end he might ease and help his men. So soone as they were come neere him, he asked Domagaia how he had done to heale himselfe: he answered, that he had taken the iuice and sappe of the leaues of a certaine Tree, and therewith had healed himselfe: for it was a singular remedy against that diseale. Then our Captaine asked of him if any were to be had thereabout, desiring him to shew him, for to heale a seruant of his, who whilest he was in Canada with Donnacona, was stricken with that diseale: That he did because he would not shew the number of his sicke men, Domagaia straight sent two women to fetch some of it, which brought ten or twelue branches of it, and therewithall shewed the way how to vse it, and that is thus, to take the barke and leaues of the sayd tree, and boile them together, then to drinke of the sayd decoction euery other day, and to put the dregs of it vpon his legs that is sicke: moreover, they told vs, that the vertue of that tree was, to heale any other diseale: the tree is in their language called Ameda or Hanneda, this is thought to be the Sassafras tree. Our Captain presently caused some of that drinke to be made for his men to drinke of it, but there was none durst tast of it, except one or two, who ventured the drinking of it, only to tast & proue it: the other seeing that did the like, and presently recovered their health, and were deliuered of that sickenes, & what other diseale soener, in such sorte, that there were some had bene diseased and troubled with the French Pockes foure or fife yeres, and with this drinke were cleane healed. After this medicine was found and proued to be true, there was such strife about it, who should be first to take of it, that they were ready to kill one another, so that a tree as big as any Oake in France was spoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in fife or sixe daies, and it wrought so wel, that if all the phisicians of Mountpelier and Louaine had bene there with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not haue done so much in one yere, as that tree did in sixe dayes, for it did so preuaile, that as many as used of it, by the grace of God recovered their health.

A perfect remedy against the french Pockes.

How the lord Donnacona accompanied with Taignoagny and diuers others, faining that they would goe to hunt Stags, and Deere, taried out two moneths, and at their returne brought a great multitude of people with them, that we were not wont to see before.

Chap. 16.

While that diseale lasted in our ships, the lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, with many others went from home, faining that they would goe to catch Stags and Deere, which are in their tongue called Aiounesta, and Asquenoudo, because the yce and snow was not so broken along the riuer that they could sayle: it was told vs of Domagaia and others, that they would stay out but a fortnight, & we beleueed it, but they stayed about two moneths, which made vs mistrust that they had bene gone to raise the countrey to come against vs, and do vs some displeasure, we seeing our selues so weake & faint. Albeit we had used such diligence and policie in our Foze, that if all the power of the countrey had bene about it, they could haue done nothing but looke vpon vs: and whilest they were forth, many of the people came dayly to our ships, and brought vs fresh meat, as Stags, Deere, fishes, with diuers other things, but held them at such an excellent price, that rather then they would sell them any thing cheape, many times they would carie them backe againe, because that yere the Winter was very long, and they had some scarcity and neede of them.

A long winter

How Donnacona came to Stadacona againe with a great number of people, and because he would not come to visit our Captaine, fained himselfe to be sore sicke, which he did only to haue the Captaine come see him.

Chap. 17.

On the one and twentieth day of April Domagaia came to the shore side, accompanied with diuers lusty and strong men, such as we were not wont to see, and tolde vs that their lord Donnacona

Donnacona would the next day come and see vs, and bring great store of Deeres flesh, and other things with him. The next day he came and brought a great number of men to Stadacona, to what end, and for what cause wee knew not, but (as the proverbe sayth) he that takes heed and shields himselfe from all men, may hap to scape from some: for we had need to looke about vs, considering how in number we were diminished, and in strength greatly weakened, both by reason of our sicknesse and also of the number that were dead, so that we were constrained to leaue one of our ships in the Port of the Holy Crosse. Our Captaine was warned of their comming, and how they had brought a great number of men with them, for Domagaia came to tell it vs, and durst not passe the riuer that was betwixt Stadacona and vs, as he was wont to doe, whereupon we mistrusted some treason. Our Captaine seeing this, sent one of his seruants to them, accompanied with Iohn Poulet being best beloued of those people, to see who were there, and what they did. The sayd Poulet & the other fained themselues onely to be come to visit Donnacona, & bring him certaine presents, because they had bene together a good while in the sayd Donnaconas Towne. So soone as he heard of their comming, he got himselfe to bed, faining to bee very sicke. That done, they went to Taignoagny his house to see him, and wheresoeuer they went, they saw so many people, that in a maner one could not stirre for another, and such men as they were neuer wont to see. Taignoagny would not permit our men to enter into any other houses, but still kept them company, and brought them halfe way to their ships, and tolde them that if it would please our captaine to shew him so much fauour as to take a Lord of the Countrey, whose name was Agonna, of whom hee had receiued some displeasure, and carie him with him into France, he should therefoze for euer be bound vnto him, and would doe for him whatsoeuer hee would command him, and bade the seruant come againe the next day, and bring an answer. Our Captain being aduertised of so many people that were there, not knowing to what end, purposed to play a prettie pvancke, that is to say, to take their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and some moze of the chiefest of them prisoners, in so much as before hee had purposed, to bring them into France, to shew vnto our King what he had seene in those Westerne parts, and maruels of the world, for that Donnacona had told vs, that he had bene in the Countrey of Saguenay, in which are infinite Rubies, Gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who clothe themselves with woollen cloth euen as we doe in France. Howeuer he reported, that hee had bene in another countrey of a people called Picquemians, and other strange people. The sayd Lord was an olde man, and euen from his childehood had neuer left off nor ceased from traauailing into strange Countreys, as well by water and riuers, as by lande. The sayd Poulet, and the other hauing tolde our Captaine their Embassage, and shewed him what Taignoagny his will was, the next day he sent his seruant againe to bid Taignoagny come and see him, and shew what hee should, for he should be very well entertained, and also part of his will should be accomplished. Taignoagny sent him word, that the next day hee would come and bring the Lord Donnacona with him, and him that had so offended him, which hee did not, but stayed two dayes, in which time none came from Stadacona to our shippes, as they were wont to doe, but rather fled from vs, as if we would haue slaine them, so that then wee plainly perceiued their knauery.

Rubies, Gold,
and woollen
cloth with o-
ther riches in
Saguenay.

A people cal-
led Picquemians

The towne of
Sidatin,

But because they vnderstood, that those of Sidatin did frequent our company, and that we had forsaken the bottome of a ship which we would leaue, to haue the olde nailes out of it, the third day following they came from Stadacona, and most of them without difficulty did passe from one side of the riuer to the other with small Skiffes: but Donnacona would not come ouer, at last they came to speake with our Captaine. There Taignoagny prayed him that hee would cause the foresayd man to be taken and caried into France. Our Captaine refused to doe it, saying, that his King had forbidden him to bring any man or woman into France, onely that he might bring two or three yong boyes to learne the language, but that he would willingly carie him to Newfoundland, and there leaue him in an Island. Our Captaine spake this, onely to assure them, that they should bring Donnacona with them, whom they had left on the other side: which wordes, when Taignoagny heard, hee was very glad, thinking hee should neuer returne into France againe, and therefore promised to come the next day, which was the day of the Holy Crosse, and to bring Donnacona and all the people with him.

How

How that vpon Holyrood day our Captaine caused a Crosse to be set vp in our Forte : and how the Lord *Donnacona*, *Taignoagny*, *Domagaia*, and others of their company came : and of the taking of the sayd Lord.

Chap. 18.

The third of May being Holyroode day, our Captaine for the solemnitie of the day, caused a goodly fayre crosse of 35 foote in height to bee set vp, vnder the crosse of which hee caused a shield to be hanged, wherein were the Armes of France, and ouer them was witten in antique letters, *Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum Rex regnat.* And vpon that day about noone, there came a great number of the people of *Stadacona*, men, women, and children, who told vs that their Lord *Donnacona*, *Taignoagny*, and *Domagaia* were comming, whereof we were very glad, hoping to retaine them. About two of the clocke in the afternoone they came, & being come neere our ships, our Captaine went to salute *Donnacona*, who also shewed him a mery countenance, albeit very fearefully his eyes were still bent toward the wood. Shortly after came *Taignoagny*, who bade *Donnacona* that he should not enter into our Forte, and therefore fire was brought forth by one of our men, & kindled where their Lord was. Our Captaine prayed him to come into our ships to eate & drinke as hee was wont to do, and also *Taignoagny*, who promised, that after a while he would come, and so they did, & entred into our ships : but first it was told our Captain by *Domagaia*, that *Taignoagny* had spoken ill of him, & that he had bid *Donnacona* hee should not come aboord our ships. Our Captaine perceiuing that, came out of the Forte, and saw that onely by *Taignoagny* his warning the women ran away, and none but men stayed in great number, wherefore he straight commanded his men to lay hold on *Donnacona*, *Taignoagny*, and *Domagaia*, & two more of the chiefeest whom he pointed vnto : then he commanded them to make the other to retire. Presently after, the said lord entred into the Fort with the Captaine, but by & by *Taignoagny* came to make him come out againe. Our Captaine seeing that there was no other remedy, began to call vnto them to take them, at whose crie and voice all his men came forth, and tooke the sayd Lord with the others, whom they had appointed to take. The Canadians seeing their Lord taken, began to run away, euen as sheepe before the wolfe, some crossing ouer the riuer, some through the woods, each one seeking for his owne aduantage. That done, we retired our selues, and laid by the prisoners vnder good guard and safety.

Donnacona,
Taignoagny, &
Domagaia taken.

How the said Canadians the night following came before our ships to seeke their men, crying and howling all night like Woolues : of the talke and conclusion they agreed vpon the next day : and of the gifts which they gaue our Captaine.

Chap. 19.

The night following they came before our ships, (the riuer being betwixt vs) striking their breasts, and crying and howling like woolues, still calling *Agouhanna*, thinking to speake with him, which our Captaine for that time would not permit, neither all the next day till noone, whereupon they made signes vnto vs, that we had hanged or killed him. About noone, there came as great a number in a cluster, as euer we saw, who went to hide themselves in the Forrest, except some, who with a loud voice would call and crie to *Donnacona* to speake vnto them. Our Captaine then commanded *Donnacona* to be brought vp on high to speake vnto them, and bade him be merrie, for after he had spoken, and shewed vnto the King of France what hee had seene in *Saguenay* and other countreys, after ten or twelue moneths, he should retorne againe, and that the King of France would giue him great rewards, whereat *Donnacona* was very glad, and speaking to the others, told it them, who in token of ioy, gaue out three great cries, and then *Donnacona* and his people had great talke together, which for want of interpreters, cannot be described. Our Captaine bade *Donnacona* that hee should cause them to come to the other side of the riuer, to the end they might better talke together without any feare, & that he should assure them : which *Donnacona* did, and there came a boate full of the chiefeest of them to the ships, and there anew began to talke together, giuing great praise to our captaine, and gaue him a present of foure and twenty chaines of *Esurgny*, for that is the greatest and preciouslest riches they haue in this world, for they esteeme more of that, then of any gold or silver. After they had long talked together, and that their Lord sawe that there was no remedy to auoide his going into France, hee commanded his people the next day, to bring him some victuals to serue him by the way. Our Captaine gaue *Donnacona*, as a great present, two Fryng pannes of copper, eight Hatchets, and other small trifles, as *Knives*, and *Beades*, whereof hee seemed to be very glad, who sent them

Foure and
twenty chaines
of *Esurgny*.

them to his wives and childzen. Likewise, he gaue to them that came to speake with Donacona, they thanked him greatly for them, and then went to their lodgings.

How the next day, being the fift of May, the sayd people came againe to speake vnto their Lord, and how foure women came to the shore to bring him victuals.

Chap. 20.

Vpon the fift of May, very early in the morning, a great number of the sayd people came againe to speake vnto their Lord, and sent a Boate, which in their tongue they call *Cashoni*, wherein were onely foure women, without any man, for feare their men should be retained.

These women brought great store of victuals, as great *Miller*, which is their cozne that they liue withall, flesh, fish, and other things after their fashion.

These women being come to our shippes, our Captaine did very friendly entertaine them. Then *Donnacona* prayed our Captaine to tell those women that hee should come againe after ten or twelue moneths, and bring *Donnacona* to Canada with him: this hee sayd onely to appease them, which our captaine did: wherefore the women, as well by words as signes, seemed to be very glad, giuing our Captaine thanks, and told him, if he came againe, and brought *Donnacona* with him, they would giue him many things: in signe whereof, each one gaue our Captaine a chaine of *Esurgny*, and then passed to the other side of the riuer againe, where stood all the people of *Stadacona*, who taking all leaue of their Lord, went home againe. On Saturday following, being the sixt of the moneth, we departed out of the sayd Port of *Santa Croix*, and came to harborough a little beneath the Island of *Orleans*, about twelue leagues from the Port of the Holy Crosse, and vpon Sunday we came to the Island of *Filberds*, where wee stayed vntill the sixteenth of that moneth, till the fiercenelle of the waters were past; which at that time ranne too swift a course, and were too dangerous to come downe along the riuer, and therefore we stayed till faire weather came. In the meane while many of *Donnaconas* subiects came from the riuer of *Saguenay* to him, but being by *Domagaia* aduertised, that their Lord was taken to bee carped into France, they were all amazed: yet for all that they would not leaue to come to our ships, to speake to *Donnacona*, who told them that after twelue moneths he should come againe, and that he was very well vsed by the Captaine, Gentlemen, and Partners. Which when they heard, they greatly thanked our Captaine and gaue their Lord three bundles of *Beauers*, and sea *Woolues* skinnies, with a great knife of red copper that cometh from *Saguenay*, and other things. They gaue also to our Captaine a chayne of *Esurgny*, for which our Captaine gaue them ten or twelue *Datchets*, and they gaue him hearty thanks, and were very well contented. The next day, being the sixteenth of May, we hoysed sayle, and came from the said Island of *Filberds*, to another about fiftene leagues from it, which is about fife leagues in length, and there, to the end we might take some rest the night following, we stayed that day, in hope the next day we might passe and auoide the dangers of the riuer of *Saguenay*, which are great. That euening we went aland and found great store of Hares, of which we tooke a great many, and therefore we called it The Island of Hares: in the night there arose a contrary winde, with such stormes and tempest, that wee were constrained to returne to The Island of *Filberds* againe, from whence wee were come, because there was none other passage among the sayde *Islandes*, and there we stayed till the one and twentieth of that moneth, till faire weather and good winde came againe: and then wee sayled againe, and that so prosperously, that wee passed to *Honguedo*, which passage vntill that time had not bene discourred: wee caused our ships to course athwart *Cape Prat* which is the beginning of the Port of *Chaleur*: and because the winde was good and conuenient, we sayled all day and all night without staying, and the next day we came to the middle of *Brions* Island, which we were not minded to doe, to the end wee might shorten our way. These two lands lie Northwest, and Southeast, and are about fiftie leagues one from another. The sayd Island is in latitude 47 degrees and a halfe. Upon Thursday being the twenty sixe of the moneth, and the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, we coasted ouer to a land and *Shallow* of lowe landes, which are about eight leagues Southwest from *Brions* Island, about which are large *Champaines*, full of trees and also an enclosed sea, whereas we could neither see, nor perceiue any gappe or way to enter thereinto. On Friday following, being the 27 of the moneth, because the wind did change on the coast, we came to *Brions* Island againe, where wee stayed till the beginning of June, and toward the Southeast of this Island, wee sawe a lande, seeming vnto vs as an Island, we coasted it about two leagues and a halfe, and by the way we had notice

The Ile of
Orleans.
Ile de Coudres.

A knife of red
copper brought
from Saguenay.

The Ile of Hares

The Ile of
Brion.

notice of three other high Islands, lying toward the Sands: after wee had knowen these things we returned to the Cape of the sayd land, which doeth deuide it selfe into two or three very high Capes: the waters there are very deepe, and the flood of the sea runneth so swift, that it cannot possibly be swifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in forty seven degrees and a halfe toward the South: on which cape there is a low land, and it seemeth that there is some entrance of a riuer, but there is no hauen of any worth. Aboue these lands we saw another cape toward the South, we named it Saint Paules Cape, it is at 47 degrees and a quarter.

The Sunday following, being the fourth of June, and Whitsunday, wee had notice of the coaste lying Eastsoutheast, distant from the Newfoundland about two and twenty leagues: and because the wind was against vs, wee went to a Hauen, which wee named S. Spiritus Porte, where we stayed till Tuesday that we departed thence, sayling along that coast vntill wee came to Saint Peters Islands. Wee found along the sayd coast many very dangerous Islands and Helues, which lye all in the way Eastsoutheast and Westnorthwest, about three and twenty leagues into the sea. Whilist we were in the sayd Saint Peters Islands we met with many ships of France and of Britaine, wee stayed there from Saint Barnabas day, being the eleuenth of the moneth, vntil the sixteenth that we departed thence & came to Cape Rasc, and entred into a Port called Rognos, where weooke in fresh water, and wood to passe the sea: there wee left one of our boates. Then vpon Monday, being the nineteenth of June, we went from that Port, and with such good and prosperous weather we sailed along the sea, in such sozte, that vpon the sixt of July 1536 we came to the Port of S. Malo, by the grace of God, to whom we pray, here ending our Navigation, that of his infinite mercy he will grant vs his grace and fauour, and in the end bring vs to the place of euerlasting felicitie. Amen.

Here followeth the language of the countrey, and kingdomes of *Hochelaga* and *Canada*, of vs called *New France*: But first the names of their numbers.

<i>Secada</i>	1	<i>Indahir</i>	6
<i>Tigneni</i>	2	<i>Aiaga</i>	7
<i>Hafche</i>	3	<i>Addigne</i>	8
<i>Hannaion</i>	4	<i>Madellon</i>	9
<i>Ouiscon</i>	5	<i>Assen</i>	10

Here follow the names of the chiefeft partes of man, and other words necessary to be knowen.

the Head	<i>aggonzi</i>	a Womans member	<i>castaigne</i>
the Browe	<i>begueniascon</i>	an Ecce	<i>esgueny</i>
the Eyes	<i>bigata</i>	a Snail	<i>undeguezi</i>
the Eares	<i>abontascon</i>	a Tortois	<i>henlenxima</i>
the Mouth	<i>esabe</i>	Woods	<i>conda</i>
the Teeth	<i>esgongay</i>	leaves of Trees	<i>hoga</i>
the Tongue	<i>ofnache</i>	God	<i>cudragy</i>
the Throate	<i>agonhon</i>	giue me some drink	<i>quazahoaqua</i>
the Beard	<i>hebelim</i>	giue me to breakfast	<i>quaso hoa quascabon</i>
the Face	<i>hegonascon</i>	giue me my supper	<i>quaza hoa quatfriam</i>
the Haires	<i>aganiscon</i>	let vs goe to bed	<i>casigno agnydahoa</i>
the Armes	<i>aiayascon</i>	a Man	<i>aguchum</i>
the Flanckes	<i>aissonne</i>	a woman	<i>agruaste</i>
the Stomacke	<i>agruascon</i>	a Boy	<i>addegesta</i>
the Bellie	<i>eschebenda</i>	a Wench	<i>agniaquesta</i>
the Thighes	<i>hetnegradascon</i>	a Child	<i>exiasta</i>
the Knees	<i>agochinegodascon</i>	a Gowne	<i>cabara</i>
the Legges	<i>agonguenehondo</i>	a Dublet	<i>caioza</i>
the Feete	<i>onchidascon</i>	Hosen	<i>hemondoha</i>
the Hands	<i>aignoascon</i>	Shooes	<i>atha</i>
the Fingers	<i>agenoga</i>	a Shirt	<i>amgona</i>
the Nailes	<i>agedascon</i>	a Cappe	<i>castina</i>
a Mans member	<i>ainoascon</i>	Corne	<i>ofizi</i>

Bread

Bread	<i>carraconny</i>	giue me a knife	<i>bnazahca agobeda</i>
Water	<i>ame</i>	a Hatchet	<i>adogne</i>
Flesh	<i>quahonafcon</i>	a Bow	<i>abenca</i>
Reifins	<i>queion</i>	a Darte	<i>quahetan</i>
Damsons	<i>honnefta</i>	let vs goe a hunting	<i>Cafigno donnaftat</i>
Figges	<i>abfconda</i>	a Stagge	<i>aionnefta</i>
Grapes	<i>ozoba</i>	a Sheepe	<i>afquenondo</i>
Nuttes	<i>quahoya</i>	a Hare	<i>Sourbanda</i>
a Hen	<i>fabomgahoa</i>	a Dogge	<i>agaya</i>
a Lamprey	<i>zifto</i>	a Towne	<i>canada</i>
a Salmon	<i>ondacon</i>	the Sea	<i>agogafy</i>
a Whale	<i>ainne honne</i>	the waues of the fea	<i>coda</i>
a Goose	<i>fadeguenda</i>	an Ifland	<i>cohen</i>
a Streete	<i>adie</i>	an Hill	<i>agacha</i>
Cucumber feede	<i>cafconda</i>	the yce	<i>honnefta</i>
to Morrowe	<i>achide</i>	Snow	<i>camfa</i>
the Heauen	<i>quenhia</i>	Colde	<i>arhan</i>
the Earth	<i>damga</i>	Hotte	<i>odazani</i>
the Sunne	<i>yfmay</i>	Fier	<i>azifta</i>
the Moone	<i>affomaba</i>	Smoke	<i>quea</i>
the Starres	<i>ftagnehoham</i>	a Houfe	<i>canoca</i>
the Winde	<i>coboka</i>	Beanes	<i>fab</i>
good morrow	<i>aignag</i>	Cinnamom	<i>adhorathny</i>
let vs go to play	<i>cafigno candy</i>	my Father	<i>addathy</i>
come & fpeak with	<i>affigniquaddadia</i>	my Mother	<i>adanahoe</i>
looke vpon me (me	<i>quagathoma</i>	my Brother	<i>addagrim</i>
hold your peace	<i>aifta</i>	my Sister	<i>adboaffene</i>
let vs go with y boat	<i>cafigno cafnory</i>		

They of Canada fay, that it is a moneths faying to goe to a lande where Cinnamom and Cloues are gathered.

Here endeth the Relation of Iames Cartiers difcouery and Nauigation to the Newfoundland, by him named New France.

The third voyage of difcouery made by Captaine *Iaques Cartier*, 1540. vnto the Countreys of *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, and *Saguenay*.



King Francis the first hauing heard the report of Captaine Cartier his Pilot generall in his two former Voyages of difcouery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which hee had found and feene in the Westernne partes difcouered by him in the parts of *Canada* and *Hochelaga*, and hauing alfo feene and talked with the people, which the sayd Cartier had brought out of thofe Countreys, whereof one was king of *Canada*, whose name was *Donnacona*, and others: which after that they had bene a long time in France and Britaine, were baptized at their owne defire and request, and died in the sayd countrey of Britaine. And albeit his Maieftie was aduertized by the sayd Cartier of the death and deceafe of all the people which were brought ouer by him (which were tenne in number) faving one little girle about tenne yeeres old, yet he refolved to fend the sayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe, with *Iohn Francis de la Roche*, Knight, Lord of *Roberual*, whome hee appointed his Lieutenant and Gouernour in the Countreys of *Canada* and *Hochelaga*, and the sayd Cartier Captaine generall and leader of the fhippes, that they might difcouer moze then was done befoze in the former voyages, and attaine (if it were poffible) vnto the knowledge of the Countrey of *Saguenay*, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention vnto the King, that there were great riches, and very good countreys. And the King caufed a certaine fumme of money to be deliuered to furnifh out the sayd voyage with five fhippes: which thing was perfourmed by the sayd Monsieur *Roberual* and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rigge the sayd five fhips at *Saint Malo* in Britaine, where the two former voyages had bene prepared

Ten Saunages brought into France.

Iohn Francis de la Roche, lord of *Roberual*.

Great riches & very good foile in *Saguenay*, which is bespond p faultes.

prepared and set forth. And the said Monsieur Roberual sent Cartier thither for the same purpose. And after that Cartier had caused the said five ships to be built and furnished and set in good order, Monsieur Roberual came downe to S. Malo and found the ships fallen downe to the roade, with their yards acrosse full ready to depart and set saile, staying for nothing else but the coming of the Generall, and the payment of the furniture. And because Monsieur Roberual the kings lieutenant had not as yet his artillery, powder and munitions, and other things necessary come downe, which he had provided for the voyage, in the Countreys of Champaigne and Normandie: and because the said things were very necessary, and that hee was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from S. Malo to Roan, and to prepare a ship or two at Honfleur, whither he thought his things were come: And that the said Cartier shoulde depart with the five shippes which he had furnished, and shoulde goe before. Considering also that the said Cartier had received letters from the king, whereby hee did expresse charge him to depart and set saile immediately upon the sight and receit thereof, on payne of incurring his displeasure, and to lay all the fault on him. And after the conclusion of these things, and the said Monsieur Roberual had taken muster and view of the gentlemen, souldiers, and mariners which were retained and chosen for the performance of the sayd voyage, hee gaue unto Captaine Cartier full authoritie to depart and goe before, and to gouverne all things as if he had bene there in person: and himselfe departed to Honfleur to make his farther preparation. After these things thus dispatched, the winde coming faire, the foyersayd five ships set saile together well furnished and victualled for two yeere, the 23. of May, 1540. And we sailed so long with contrary winds and continuall torments, which fell out by reason of our late departure, that wee were on the sea with our sayd five ships full three moneths before wee could arrive at the Port and Haven of Canada, without ever hauing in all that time 30. houres of good wind to serue vs to keepe our right course: so that our five shippes through those stormes lost company one of another, all saue two that kept together, to wit that wherein the Captaine was, and the other wherein went the Viscount of Beaupre, untill at length at the ende of one moneth wee met all together at the Haven of Carpont in Newfoundland. But the length of time which we were in passing betweene Britayne and Newfoundland was the cause that we stood in great neede of water, because of the cattell, as well Goates, Hogges, as other beastes which we caried for breede in the Countrey, which wee were constrained to water with Sider and other drinke. Now therefore because we were the space of three moneths in sayling on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland, wayting for Monsieur Roberual, and taking in of fresh water and other things necessary, wee arrived not before the Haven of Sainte Croix in Canada, (where in the former voyage we had remayned eight moneths) untill the 23. day of August. In which place the people of the Countrey came to our shippes, making shew of ioy for our arrivall, and namely he came thither which had the rule and government of the Countrey of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed king there by Donacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into France: And hee came to the Captaines ship with 6. or 7. boates, and with many women and childzen. And after the sayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the rest were, the Captaine answered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great Lords, and were married, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the said Agona made no shewe of anger at all these speeches: and I thinke he tooke it so well because he remained Lord and Gouvernour of the countrey by the death of the said Donacona. After which conference the said Agona tooke a peece of tanned leather of a yellow skin edged about with Esnoguy (which is their riches and the thing which they esteeme most precious, as wee esteeme gold) which was upon his head in stead of a crowne, and he put the same on the head of our Captaine, and tooke from his wrists two bracelets of Esnoguy, and put them upon the Captaines armes, colling him about the necke and shewing unto him great signes of ioy: which was all dissimulation, as afterward it wel appeared. The captaine tooke his said crowne of leather and put it againe upon his head, and gaue him and his wiues certaine smal presents, signifying unto him, that he had brought certaine new things, which afterward he would bestow upon him: for which the sayd Agona thanked the Captaine. And after that he had made him and his company eat and drinke, they departed and returned to the Shore with their boates. After which things the sayd Captaine went with two of his boates by the riuer, beyond Canada and the Port of Sainte Croix, to view a Haven and a small riuer, which is about 4. leagues higher: which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships, then the former. And therefore he returned and caused all his ships to be brought before the sayd riuer, and at a lowe water he caused his Ordnance to be planted to place his ships in more safte, which he meant to keepe and stay in the Countrey, which were three: which hee did the day following,

The kings letters to Cartier.

23. of May, 1540.

The great mischiefe of leaving the season.

Carpont Haven.

Transporting of divers sorts of cattell to be bred.

The 23. of August.

The new king of Canada.

Great dissimulation of a Savage.

A good road 4. leagues above Sainte Croix.

and the rest remaind in the roade in the middest of the riuer (In which place the victuals and other furniture were discharged, which they had brought) from the 26. of August untill the second of September, what time they departed to returne for S. Malo, in which shipps he sent backe Mace lloberte his brother in lawe, and Steuen Noel his nephew, skilfull and excellent pilots, with letters vnto the king, and to aduertise him what had bene done and found: and how Monsieur de Roberval was not yet come, and that hee feared that by occasion of contrary winds and tempests he was driuen backe againe into France.

The description of the aforesaid Riuer and Hauent.

Trees aboue
3. fathoms a
bout.
Hanneda the
most excellent
tree of the
world.

Abundance of
Vines full of
grapes.

Fruit like
Apples.

Seed spring
out of the
ground with-
in 8. dayes.

A great plaine
of very good
arable ground.

Diamants of
Canada.
In pyron Pyne.

Leaves of fine
gold as thicke
as a mans
naile found in
Canada.

Excellent and
strong hempe.

The sayd Riuer is small, not past 50. pases broad, and shippes drawing three fathoms water may enter in at a full sea: and at a low water there is nothing but a chanell of a foote deepe or there about. On both sides of the said Riuer there are very good and faire grounds, full of as faire and mightie trees as any be in the world, and diuers sorts; which are aboue tenne fathoms higher then the rest, and there is one kind of tree aboue three fathoms about, which they in the Countrey call Hanneda, which hath the most excellent vertue of all the trees of the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreover there are great store of Oakes the most excellenc that euer I saw in my life, which were so laden with Mast that they cracked againe: besides this there are faster Arables, Cedars, Beeches, and other trees, then grow in France: and hard vnto this wood on the South side the ground is all couered with Vines, which we found laden with grapes as blacke as Mulberries, but they be not so kind as those of France because the Vines bee not rilled, and because they grow of their owne accord. Moreover there are many white Thornes, which beare leaues as bigge as oken leaues, and fruit like vnto Apples. To bee short, it is as good a Countrey to plow and manure as a man should find or desire. We sowed seedes here of our Countrey, as Cabages, Raueaus, Lettises and others, which grew and sprung vp out of the ground in eight dayes. The mouth of the riuer is toward the South, and it windeth Northward like vnto a snake: and at the mouth of it toward the East there is a high and steepe cliffe, where we made a way in manner of a payze of staires, and aloft we made a Fort to keepe the nether Fort and the ships, and all things that might passe as well by the great as by this small riuer. Moreover a man may behold a great extension of ground apt for tillage, strait and handsome and somewhat enclining toward the South, as easie to be brought to tillage as I would desire, and very well replenished with faire Oakes and other trees of great beauty, no thicker then the Forrests of France. Here wee set twenty men to worke, which in one day had laboured about an acre and an halfe of the said ground, and sowed it part with Raueaus or small Turneps, which at the ende of eigh dayes, as I said before, sprung out of the earth. And vpon that high cliffe wee found a faire fountaine very neere the sayd Fort: adioynning whereunto we found good store of stones, which we esteemed to be Diamants. On the other side of the said mountaine and at the foote thereof, which is towards the great Riuer is all along a goodly Pyne of the best pyon in the world, and it reacheth euen hard vnto our Fort, and the land which we tread on is perfect refined Pyne, ready to be put into the fornaice. And on the waters side we found certaine leaues of fine gold as thicke as a mans naile. And Westward of the said Riuer there are, as hath bene said, many faire trees: and toward the water a goodly Hedow full of as faire and goodly grasse as euer I sawe in any Hedowe in France: and betweene the sayd Hedow and the Wood are great store of Vines: and beyond the said Vines the land groweth full of Hempe which groweth of it selfe, which is as good as possibly may be seene, and as strong. And at the ende of the sayd Hedow within an hundred pases there is a rising ground, which is of a kind of slate stone blacke and thicke, wherein are veines of mynerall matter, which shewe like gold and siluer: and throughout all that stone there are great graines of the sayd Pyne. And in some places we haue found stones like Diamants, the most faire, polished and excellently cut that it is possible for a man to see, when the Sunne shineth vpon them, they glister as it were sparkles of fire.

How after the departure of the two shippes which were sent backe into Britaine, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, the Capitaine prepared two boates to goe vp the great Riuer to discover the passage of the three Saults or falles of the Riuer.

The sayd Capitaine hauing dispatched two ships to returne to carry newes, according as hee had in charge from the king, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, for preservation of their

their victuals and other things, determined with the Vicount of Beaupre, and other Gentlemen, Masters, and Pilots chosen for counsaile, to make a voyage with two boates furnished with men and victuals to goe as farre as Hochelaga, of purpose, to view and vnderstand the fashion of the Sauls of water, which are to be passed to goe to Saguenay, that hee might be the readier in the spring to passe farther, and in the Winter time to make all things needefull in a readinesse for their businesse. The foresaid boates being made ready, the Capitaine and Martine de Painpont, with other Gentlemen and the remnant of the Mariners departed from the sayd place of Charlesburg Royal the seuenth day of September in the yeere aforesayd 1540. And the Vicount of Beaupre stayed behind for the garding and gouernement of all things in the Fort. And as they went by the riuer, the Capitaine went to see the Lord of Hochelag, which dwelleth betweene Canada and Hochelaga: which in the former voyage had giuen vnto the said Capitaine a little grile, and had oftentimes enformed him of the treasons which Taighoagny and Domagaya (whom the Capitaine in his former voyage had caried into France) would haue wrought against him. In regard of which his curtesie the said Capitaine would not passe by without visiting of him, and to let him vnderstand that the Capitaine thought himselfe beholding vnto him, hee gaue vnto him two yong boyes, and left them with him to learne their language, and bestowed vpon him a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yealow and white buttons of Tanne, and small belles. And withall hee gaue him two Basins of Laiton, and certaine hachets and knives: whereat the sayde Lord seemed highly to reioyce, and thanked the Capitaine. This done, the Capitaine and his company departed from that place: And wee sailed with so prosperous a wind, that we arriued the eleuenth day of the moneth at the first Saule of water, which is two leagues distant from the Towne of Tuconaguy. And after wee were arriued there, wee determined to goe and passe as farre vp as it was possible with one of the boates, and that the other should stay theretill it returned: and wee double manned her to rowe by against the course or streame of the sayde Saule. And after wee had passed some part of the way from our other boate, wee found badde ground and great rockes, and so great a current, that wee could not possibly passe any further with our Boate. And the Capitaine resolved to goe by land to see the nature and fashion of the Saule. And after that we were come on shore, wee founde hard by the water side a way and beaten path going toward the sayde Sauls, by which weeooke our way. And on the sayd way, and soone after we found an habitation of people which made vs great cheere, and entertained vs very friendly. And after that he had signified vnto them, that wee were going toward the Sauls, and that wee desired to goe to Saguenay, faire yong men went along with vs to shewe vs the way, and they brought vs so farre that wee came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell ouer against the second Saule, which came and brought vs of their victuals, as Potage and Fish, and offered vs of the same. After that the Capitaine had enquired of them as well by signes as wordes, how many more Sauls wee had to passe to goe to Saguenay, and what distance and way it was thither, this people shewed vs and gaue vs to vnderstand, that wee were at the second Saule, and that there was but one more to passe, that the Riuer was not nauigable to goe to Saguenay, and that the sayd Saule was but a third part farther then we had trauailed, shewing vs the same with certaine little stickes, which they layd vpon the ground in a certaine distance, and afterward layde other small branches betweene both, representing the Sauls. And by the sayde marke, if their saying be true, it can be but sixe leagues by land to passe the sayd Sauls.

The Vicount of Beaupre and the rest of their counsell.

The rich countrey of Saguenay situated beyond the Sauls which are in 44. deg. They depart from Charlesburg Royal the 7. of September.

They delight in red cloath.

The 11 of September, The Towne of Tuconaguy.

Bad ground, and a great current.

A Towne of friendly people.

Another village of good people which dwell ouer against the second Saule. They were at the second Saule. The riuer not nauigable to passe to Saguenay.

Here after followeth the figure of the three Sauls.

After that we had bene aduertised by the sayde people, of the things abouementioned, both because the day was farre spent, and we had neither drunke nor eaten the same day, we concluded to returne vnto our boats, and we came thither, where we found great store of people to the number of 400. persons or thereabout, which seemed to giue vs very good entertainment and reioyce of our coming: And therefore our Capitaine gaue eche of them certaine small trifles, as combs, brooches of tynne and copper, and other small toys, and vnto the chiefe men euery one his little hatchet & hooke, whereat they made certaine cries and ceremonies of ioy. But a man must not trust them for all their faire ceremonies and signes of ioy, for if they had thought they had bene too strong for vs, then would they haue done their best to haue killed vs, as we vnderstood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boats, and passed by the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelag, with whom the Capitaine had left the two youths as hee came by the riuer, thinking to haue found him: But hee coulde find no body saue one of his sonnes, who tolde the Capitaine that hee

400. persons about their boats.

Like those of new Albion.

The Sauages are great drinkers.

Maifouna.
The Sauages
conspire toge-
ther against
the French.

A very great
number of Sa-
uages assem-
bled together.

was gone to Maifouna, as our boyes also told vs, saying, that it was two dayes since he departed. But in truth hee was gone to Canada to conclude with Agona, what they should doe against vs. And when we were arriued at our Fort, wee vnderstoode by our people, that the Sauages of the Countrey came not any moze about our Fort as they were accustomed, to bring vs fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and feare of vs. Wherefore our Captaine, hauing bene aduertised by some of our men which had bene at Stadacona to visite them, that there were a wonderfull number of the Countrey people assembled together, caused all things in our fortresse to bee set in good order: &c.

The rest is wanting.

A letter written to M. Iohn Growte student in Paris, by *Iaques Noel* of S. Malo, the nephew of *Iaques Cartier*, touching the foresaid discovery.

M

After Growte, your brother in law Giles Walter shewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt an English Gentleman: wherein all the West Indies, the kingdome of New Mexico, and the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the Riuer of Canada which is described in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of *Iaques Cartier*: and that the sayd Chart doth not marke or set downe The great Lake, which is about the Sauls, according as the Sauages haue aduertised vs, which dwell at the sayd Sauls. In the foresayd Chart which you sent me hither, the Great Lake is placed too much toward the North. The Sauls or falles of the Riuer stand in 44. degrees of latitude: it is not so hard a matter to passe them, as it is thought: The water falleth not downe from any high place, it is nothing else but that in the midst of the Riuer there is bad ground. It were best to build boates about the Sauls: and it is easie to march or trauell by land to the end of the three Sauls: it is not about five leagues iourney. I haue bene vpon the toppe of a mountaine, which is at the foot of the Sauls, where I haue seene the sayd Riuer beyond the sayd Sauls, which shewed vnto vs to be broader then it was where we passed it. The people of the Countrey aduertised vs, that there are ten dayes iourney from the Sauls vnto this Great Lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a dayes iourney. At this present I cannot write vnto you more at large, because the messenger can stay no longer. Here therefore for the present I will ende, saluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to giue you your hearts desire. From S. Malo in haste this 19 day of June. 1587.

The Sauls are
in 44. deg. and
easie to passe.

But 5. leagues
iourney to
passe the 3.
Sauls.

Ten dayes
iourney from
the Sauls to
this great
Lake.

Your louing Friend, *IAQUES NOEL.*

Comin, I pray you doe me so much pleasure as to send mee a booke of the discovery of New Mexico, and one of those new Mappes of the West Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the English Gentleman, which you sent to your brother in law Giles Walter. I will not faile to informe my selfe, if there be any meane to find out those descriptions which Captaine Cartier made after his two last voyages into Canada.

Vnderneath the aforesaid vnperfite relation that which followeth is written in another letter sent to M. Iohn Growte student in Paris from *Iaques Noel* of S. Malo, the grand nephew of *Iaques Cartier*.

I

Can write nothing else vnto you of any thing that I can recouer of the writings of Captaine *Iaques Cartier* my vncle deceased, although I haue made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne: sauing of a certaine looke made in maner of a Sea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said vncle, which is in the possession of master Cremeur: which booke is passing well marked and drawne for all the Riuer of Canada, whereof I am well assured, because I my selfe haue knowledge thereof as farre as to the Sauls, where I haue bene: The height of which Sauls is in 44. degrees. I found in the sayd Chart beyond the place where the Riuer is diuided in twaine in the midst of both the branches of the said riuer somewhat neere that arme which runneth toward the North-west, these words following written in the hand of *Iaques Cartier*.

By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said, That here is the land of *Saguenay*, which is rich and wealthy in precious stones.

The Sauls are
in the latitude
of 44. deg.

And

And about an hundred leagues vnder the same I found written these two lines following in the said Carde enclining to ward the South west. Here in this Countrey are Cinamon and Cloues, which they call in their language *Canodeta*.

Touching the effect of my booke whereof I spake vnto you, it is made after the maner of a sea Chart, which I haue deliuered to my two sonnes Michael and Iohn, which at this present are in Canada. If at their returne, which will be God willing about Magdalene tyde, they haue learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not faile to aduertise you thereof.

Your louing Friend, IACQUES NOEL.

Here followeth the course from Belle Isle, Carpont, and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland vp the Riuer of Canada for the space of 230. leagues, obserued by John Alphonse of Xantloigne chiefe Pilote to Monsieur Roberual. 1542.

Belles Isles are in 51 degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. Belles Isles and Carpont are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and they are ten leagues distant. Carpont is in 52 degrees. Carpont and Bell Isle from the Grand Bay are Northeast and Southwest, and the distance from Bell Isle to the Grand Bay is 7 leagues. The midst of the Grand Bay is in 52 degrees and a halfe, and on the Northside thereof there is a rocke: halfe a league from the Isle, ouer against Carpont toward the East there is a small flat Island, and on the side toward the Northeast there is a flat rocke. And when thou comest out of the harbour of Carpont thou must leaue this rocke on the starreboord side, and also on the larboord side there are two or three small Isles: and when thou comest out on the Northeast side, ranging along the shore toward the West about two pikes length in the midway there is a shold which lieth on thy starboord side: and saile thou by the North coast, and leaue two partes of the Grand Bay toward the South: because there is a rocke which runneth 2 or 3 leagues into the sea. And when thou art come athwart the haueu of Bures, run along the North shore about one league or an halfe off, for the coast is without all danger: Bell Isle in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Isles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, neere vnto the North shore lie Northeast, West and Southwest, & the distance is 30 leagues. The Grand Bay at the entrance is but 7 leagues broad from land to land vntill it come ouer against the Bay des Chasteaux: and from thence forward it hath not past 5 leagues in breadth. And against Blanc Sablon it is 8 leagues broad from land to land. And the land on the South shore is all low land along the sea coast. The North shore is reasonable high land. Blanc Sablon is in 51 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$. The Isles of Blanc Sablon & the Isles de la Damoiselle, are Northeast, Westsouthwest, and take a little of the Westsouthwest, and they are distant 36 leagues: these Isles are in 50. deg. $\frac{1}{2}$. And there is a good haueu: & you may enter by an high Cape which lieth along toward the Northeast, and within the distance of a pike & an half, because of a rocke which lieth on your larreboord side, & you may ancre in 10 fathome water ouer against a litle nooke: and from the great headland vnto the place where thou doest ancre there is not about the length of 2 Cables. And if thou wouldest go out by the West side, thou must saile neere the Isle by the starreboord, & giue roome vnto the Isle on the larboord at the coming forth: and when thou art not past a cables length out thou must saile hard by the Isles on the larboord side, by reason of a sunken flatte which lieth on the starreboord, and thou shalt saile so on to the Southsouthwest, vntill thou come in sight of a rocke which shineth, which is about halfe a league in the sea distant from the Isles, and thou shalt leaue it on the larreboord: (and from the Isles of Damoiselle vnto Newfoundland the sea is not in breadth about 36 leagues, because that Newfoundland euen vnto Cape Briton runneth not but Northnorthwest & Southsouthwest.) Between the Isles de la Damoiselle and the Isles of Blanck Sablon there be many Isles and good harbours: and on this coast there are faulcons & haukes, and certaine foules which seeme to be seafants. The Isles de la Damoiselle & Cape Tienot are Northeast & Westsouthwest & take a little of the Northeast and southwest, & they are distant 18 leagues, Cape Tienot is in 50. deg. and $\frac{1}{2}$. And there the sea is broadest. And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Briton 70 leagues, which is the greatest breadth of this sea. And there are 6 or 7 Isles between the Isles de la Damoiselle & Cape Tienot. Cape Tienot hath in y^e sea 5 or 6 leagues distant fro it a sunke Island dangerous for ships. The Cape Tienot and the midst of the Isle of Ascension are Northeast and Southsouthwest, & they are 22 leagues distant, the midst of the Isle of Ascension is in 49 deg. & $\frac{1}{2}$. The said Isle lieth Northwest and Southeast, the Northwest end is in 50. degrees of latitude and the Southeast end is in 48. degrees and a halfe, and it is about 25. leagues long and 4. or 5. leagues

Belle Isle.
Carpont in 52
degrees.

The Grand Bay
in 52. and an
halfe.

A flatte rocke.

Bures.

The Isle of
Blanc Sablon of
white sand.
The West coast
the heads of the
Grand Bay.

Blanc Sablon in
51. deg. 2. third
parts.
The Isles de la
Damoiselle in 50
deg. 3. fourth
parts.

Many Isles &
good harbours.

Cape Tienot in
50. deg. one
fourth part.

The Isle Ascension,
Assumption
of Naskotee.

The commen-
tation of the
Ile of Ascensio.

From Cape
Briton to the
Southeast end
of the Ile of
Ascension is but
50 leagues.
The Cape of
Monts nostre
Dame.
The Bay of
Molues or Gas-
pay.
The Bay de
Chaleur or of
Heate.
The Bay of
Ognedoc.

Greater store
and better fish
then in New-
foundland.
Foules.
Trees.

The mouth of
the river of
Canada twenty
five leagues
broad.
The 7 Isles in
50 degrees and
a halfe.

The river is
here but 10
leagues broad.

The point of
Ongear in 49
degrees and a
quarter.
The Ile of Ra-
quelle in 48 de-
grees and two
third parts.
The river 8
leagues broad.

The entrance
of Saguenay.

The sea of Ca-
thay.

The river not
past 4 leagues
curr.

The Ile of
Hares in 48
and one six-
teenth part.

leagues broad: and from the North-west end of the Ile unto the firme land of the North side the Sea is not above seven leagues broad, but unto the firme land on the South side are about 15 leagues. Cape Tienot and the end of the Ile of Ascension toward the Southeast are Northeast and Southwest, and are distant 30 leagues. The said Cape of Tienot and the North-west end of the Ile of Ascension are East and West, and take a little of the Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 34 leagues. The Ile of Ascension is a goodly Ile, and a goodly champion land without any hilles, standing all upon white rocks and Alabaster, all couered with trees unto the Sea shore, and there are all sorts of trees as there be in France: and there be wild beasts, as beares, Lufers, Pokelspicks. And from the Southeast end of the Ile of Ascension unto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50 leagues. The North-west end of the Ile & the Cape des Monts nostre Dame, which is on the maine land towards the South, are Northeast and Westsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 15 leagues. The Cape is in 49 degrees, which is a very high land. The Cape and end of the Ile of Ascension toward the Southeast are East and West and there is 15 leagues distance betweene them. The Bay of Molues or Gaspay is in 48 degrees, and the coast lyeth North and South, and taketh a quarter of the Northeast and Southwest unto the Bay of Heate: and there are 3 Isles, one great one and two smal: from the Bay of Heate untill you passe the Monts nostre Dame al the land is high and good ground al couered with trees. Ognedoc is a good Bay and lyeth Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and it is a good Harbour: and you must saile along the shore on the Northside by reason of the low point at the entrance thereof: and when you are passed the point bying your selfe to an ancre in 15 or 20 fathoms of water toward the South shore, and here within this Haven are two riuers, one which goeth toward the North-west, and the other to the South-west. And on this coast there is great fishing for Coddes and other fish, where there is more store then is in Newfoundland, and better fish. And here is great store of riuer foule, as Halards, wild Geese, and others: And here are all sorts of trees, Rose trees, Raspeles, Filbird trees, Apple trees, Peare trees, and it is hotter here in Sommer then in France. The Ile of Ascension and the 7 Isles which lie on the North shore lie Southeast and Westnorthwest, and are distant 24 leagues. The Cape of Ognedoc and the 7 Isles are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, & are distant 35 leagues. The Cape of Monts nostre Dame and the 7 Isles are North and South, and the cut ouer from the one to the other is 25 leagues: and this is the breadth of this Sea, and from thence upward it beginneth to waxe narrower and narrower. The 7 Isles are in 50 degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. The 7 Isles and the point of Ongear lie Northeast and Southwest and the distance betweene them is 15 leagues, and betweene them are certaine small Islands: and the point of Ongear and the mountaines Nostre Dame, which are on the South side of the entrance of the riuer, are North and South: and the cut ouer from the one to the other is ten leagues: and this is here the breadth of the Sea. The point of Ongear and the riuer of Caen lie East and West, and they are distant 12 leagues. And all the coast from the Ile of Ascension hither is very good ground, wherein growe all sortes of trees that are in France and some fruits. The point of Ongear is in 49 degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. And the riuer of Caen and the Ile of Raquelle lie Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 12 leagues. The Ile of Raquelle is in 48 degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. In this riuer of Caen there is great store of fish. And here the Sea is not past 8 leagues broad. The Ile of Raquelle is a very low Ile, which is neere unto the South shore, hard by a high Cape which is called the Cape of Marble. There is no danger there at all. And betweene Raquelle and the Cape of Marble ships may passe. And there is not from the Ile to the South shore about one league, and from the Ile unto the North shore about foure leagues. The Ile of Raquelle and the entrance of Saguenay are Northeast Westsouthwest, and are distant 14 leagues, and there are betweene them two small Islands neere the North shore. The entrance of Saguenay is in 48 degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, and the entrance hath not past a quarter of a league in breadth, and it is dangerous toward the Southwest: and two or three leagues within the entrance it beginneth to waxe wider and wider: and it seemeth to bee as it were an arme of the Sea: And I thinke that the same runneth into the Sea of Cathay, for it sendeth forth there a great current, and there doth runne in that place a terrible rase or tyde. And here the riuer from the North shore to the South shore is not past foure leagues in breadth, and it is a dangerous passage betweene both the lands, because there lie bankes of rockes in the riuer. The Ile of Raquelle and the Ile of Hares lie Northeast and Southwest, and take $\frac{1}{4}$ of the East and the West, and they are distant 18 leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Ile of Liepueres or Hares lie Northnorthwest & Southsouthwest, and are distant 5 leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Ile of Raquelle are Northnorthwest, and Southsouthwest, and are distant three leagues. The Ile of Hares is in 48, and $\frac{1}{16}$ of a degree. From the Mountaines of Nostre

Nostre Dame vnto Canada and vnto Hochelaga, all the land on the South coast is faire, a lowe land and goodly champaigne, all couered with trees vnto the brink of the riuer. And the land on the North side is higher, and in some places there are high mountaines. And from the Ile of Hares vnto the Ile of Orleans the riuer is not past 4 or 5 leagues broad. Betweene the Ile of Hares and the high land on the North side the sea is not past a league and an halfe broad, and it is very deepe, for it is about 100 fathoms deepe in the midst. To the East of the Ile of Hares there are 2 or 3 small Isles and rockes. And from hence to the Ile Des Coudres or of Filbeards, all is nothing but Isles and rockes on the South shore: and towards the North the sea is fayre and deepe. The Ile of Hares and the Ile of Filbeards lie northeast, West and Southwest, and they are distant 12 leagues. And you must alwayes run along the high land on the north shore: for on the other shore there is nothing but rocks. And you must passe by the side of the Ile of Filbeards, and the riuer there is not past a quarter of a league broad, and you must sayle in the midst of the chanel: and in the midst runneth the best passage either at an hie or a low water, because the sea runneth there strongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had neede of good ancre and cable. The isle of Filbeards is a small isle, about one league long, and halfe a league broad, but they are all banks of sand. The isle of Filberds stands in 47. deg. and $\frac{1}{2}$. The isle of Filberds and the isle of Orleans lie northeast and southwest, and they are distant 10 leagues, and thou must passe by the high land on the north side about a quarter of a league, because that in the midst of the riuer there is nothing but holds and rocks. And when thou shalt bee ouer against a round Cape, thou must take ouer to the South shore southwest, and a quarter toward the South; and thou shalt sayle in 5, 6 and 7 fathoms: and there the riuer of Canada beginneth to bee fresh, and the salt water en- deth. And when thou shalt be athwart the point of the isle of Orleans, where the riuer beginneth to be fresh, thou shalt sayle in the midst of the riuer, and thou shalt leaue the isle on the starreboord, which is on the right hand: and here the riuer is not past a quarter of a league broad, and hath 20 and 30 fathoms water. And towards the South shore there is a ledge of Isles all couered with trees, and they end ouer against the point of the Ile of Orleans. And the point of the isle of Orleans toward the North is in 47 degrees and one tence of a degree. And the Ile of Orleans is a fayre Ile, all couered with trees euen vnto the riuers side: and it is about 5 leagues long, and a league and an halfe broad. And on the North shore there is another Riuer, which falleth into the mayne Riuer at the ende of the Island: and Shippes may very well passe there. From the midst of the Ile vnto Canada the Riuer runneth West; and from the place of Canada vnto France-Roy the riuer turneth West Southwest: and from the West ende of the Ile to Canada is but one league; and vnto France-Roy 4 leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the Ile, thou shalt see a great Riuer which falleth fiftene or twenty fathoms downe from a rocke, and maketh a terrible noyse. The Fort of France-roy stands in 47 degrees, and one sixt part of a degree.

The extention of all these lands, vpon iust occasion is called New France. For it is as good and as temperate as France, and in the same latitude. And the reason wherefore it is colder in the Winter is, because the fresh Riuer is naturally more colde then the Sea; and it is also broad and deepe: and in some places it is halfe a league and aboue in breadth. And also because the land is not tyled, nor full of people, and is all full of Woods, which is the cause of colde, because there is not store of fire nor cattel. And the sunne hath his Peridian as high as the Peridian at Rochel: and it is noone here when the Sunne is at South Southwest at Rochel. And here the north starre by the compasse standeth North northeast. And when at Rochel it is noone, it is but halfe an houre past nine at France-Roy. From the sayde place vnto the Ocean sea and the coast of New France, is not about 50 leagues distance. And from the entrance of Norumbega vnto Florida are 300 leagues: and from this place of France-Roy to Hochelaga, are about 80 leagues: and vnto the Ile of Rasus 30 leagues. And I doubt not but Norumbega entrench into the riuer of Canada, and vnto the Sea of Saguey. And from the Fort of France-Roy vntill a man come forth of the Grande Bay is not about 230 leagues. And the course is Northeast and West Southwest not about 5 degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$ difference: and reckon 16 leagues and an halfe to a degree. By the nature of the climate the lands toward Hochelaga are still better and better, and more fruitfull. And this land is fitte for figges and Peares. And I thinke that golde and siluer will be found here, according as the people of the countrey say. These landes lye ouer against Tartarie, and I doubt not but that they stretch toward Asia, according to the roundnesse of the world. And therefore it were good to haue a small Shippe of 70 tunnes to discouer the coast of New France on the backe side of Florida: for I haue bene at a Bay as farre as 42 degrees betweene Norumbega and Florida, and I haue not searched the ende thereof, and I knowe

Port

The isle of Filbeards in 47 degrees and 3 quarters.

The beginning of the fresh water. The riuer but a quarter of a league broad.

The Ile of Orleans in 47 degrees and one third part.

Canada 1 league to the West of the Ile of Orleans. The Fort of France-Roy stood in 47 degrees and one sixt part.

Why the countrey is colder in the Winter then France. A second reason.

The variation of a compasse.

From the fort of France Roy vnto the mouth of the Grand Bay 230 leagues.

Golde and siluer like to be found in Canada.

A Bay in 42 degrees giving some hope of a passage.

Trees.

Redde plums.

Fowle.

Coine.

Wheate to be
sown in
March.
The cause of
the ofte snow-
ing in Canada.

knowe not whether it passe thzough. And in all these Countreys there are okes, and boztz, ashes, elmes, arables, trees of life, pines, yussetrees, ceders, great wall nut trees, and wilde nuts, hasel-trees, wilde peare trees, wilde grapes, and there haue bene found redde plummies. And very faire cozne groweth there, and peason grow of their owne accord, guoseberries and strawberries. And there are goodly fozrests, wherein men may hunt. And there are great floze of stagges, deere, porkepicks, and the Sauages say there bee Unicornes. Fowle there are in abundance, as bustards, wilde geese, cranes, turtle doves, rauens, crows, and many other birds. All things which are sown there, are not past 2. or 3. dayes in coming vp out of the ground. I haue tolde in one eare of cozne an hundred and twenty graines, like the cozne of France. And ye neede not to sowe your Wheate untill March, and it will be ripe in the middest of August. The waters are better and perfecter then in France. And if the Countrey were tilled and replenished with people, it would be as hotte as Rochel. And the reason why it snoweth there oftener then in France is, because it raineth there but seldome: for the raine is conuerted into snowes.

All things aboue mentioned, are true.

John Alphonse made this Voyage with Monsieur Roberual.

There is a pardon to be seene for the pardoning of Monsieur de Saine terre, Lieutenant of the sayd Monsieur de Roberual, giuen in Canada in the presence of the sayd John Alphonse.

The Voyage of John Francis de la Roche, knight, Lord of Roberual,
to the Countries of Canada, Saguenai, and Hochelaga, with three tall
Ships, and two hundred persons, both men, women, and children, begun in April,
1542. In which parts he remayned the same summer, and all the next winter.



In John Francis de la Roche knight, lord of Roberual, appoynted by the king as his Lieutenant general in the countreys of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, furnished 3. tall Ships, chiefly at the kings cost: And hauing in his fleete 200. persons, aswel men as women, accompanied with diuers gentlemen of qualitie, as namely with Monsieur Saine-terre his lieutenant, l'Espiney his Ensigne, captain Guinecourt, Monsieur Noire fontaine, Dieu lamont, Frote, la Brosse, Francis de Mire, la Salle, and Roieze, and John Alphonse of Xanctoigne an excellent pilot, set sayle from Rochel the 16. of April 1542. The same

day about noone we came athwart of Chese de boys, where we were enforced to stay the night following. On Monday the seuenteenth of the sayd Moneth wee departed from Chese de boys. The winde serued vs notably for a time: but within fewe dayes it came quite contrary, which hindered our iourney for a long space: For wee were suddenly enforced to turne backe, and to seeke Harbrough in Belle Isle, on the coast of Bretaine, where wee stayed so long, and had such contrary weather by the way, that wee could not reach Newfoundland lande, vntill the seuenth of Iune. The eight of this Moneth wee entred into the Rode of Saint Iohn, where wee founde seuentene Shippes of fishers. While wee made somewhat long abode heere, Iaquies Cartier and his company returning from Canada, whither hee was sent with fise sayles the peere before, arriued in the very same Harbour. Who, after hee had done his duetie to our Generall, tolde him that hee had brought certaine Diamonts, and a quantitie of Golde ore, which was found in the Countrey. Which ore the Sunday next ensuing was tryed in a Furnace, and found to be good.

Diamonts.
Golde found.

Furthermore, hee enformed the Generall that hee could not with his small company withstand the Sauages, which went about dayly to annoy him: and that this was the cause of his returne into France. Neuerthelesse, hee and his company commended the Countrey to bee very rich and fruitfull. But when our Generall being furnished with sufficient forces, commaunded him to goe backe againe with him, hee and his company, mooued as it seemeth with ambition, because they would haue all the glory of the discouerie of those partes themselves, stole priuily away the next night from vs, and without taking their leaues departed home for Bretaine.

Iaquies Cartier
stole away.

Wes

Wee spent the greatest part of June in this Harbour of Saint Iohn, partly in furnishing our selues with fresh water, whereof wee stood in very great neede by the way, and partly in composing and taking vp of a quarrell betweene some of our Countrey men, and certaine Portugals. At length, about the last of the aforesayde Moneth, wee departed hence, and entred into the Grand Baye, and passed by the Isle of Ascension: and finally arrived foure leagues Westward of the Isle of Orleans. In this place wee found a conuenient Harbour for our shipping, where wee cast anchor, went a shoare with our people, and chose out a conuenient place to fortifie our selues in, fitte to commaund the mayne Riuer, and of strong situation against all inuasion of enemies. Thus towarde the ende of July, wee brought our victuals and other munitions and provisions on shore, and began to trauaile in fortifying of our selues,

Of the Fort of *France-Roy*, and that which was done there.

Having described the beginning, the middell, and the ende of the Voyage made by Monsieur Roberual in the Countreyes of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other Countreyes in the West partes: He sayed so farre, (as it is declared in other bookes) that hee arrived in the sayde Countrey, accompanied with two hundred persons, souldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture necessary for a Fleet. The sayde Generall at his first arrivall built a sayde Fort, neere and somewhat Westward aboute Canada, which is very beautiful to beholde, and of great force, situated vpon an high mountaine, wherein there were two courtes of buyldings, a great Towre, and another of fortie or fiftie foote long: wherein there were diuers Chambers, an Hall, a Kitchine, houses of office, Sellers high and lowe, and neere vnto it were an Ouen and Pillies, and a stooue to warme men in, and a Well before the house. And the buylding was situated vpon the great Riuer of Canada, called *France prime*, by Monsieur Roberual. There was also at the foote of the mountaine another lodging, part whereof was a great Towre of two stories high, two courtes of good buylding, where at the first all our victuals, and whatsoeuer was brought with vs was sent to be kept: and neere vnto that Towre there is another small riuer. In these two places aboute and beneath, all the meaner sort was lodged.

And in the Moneth of August, and in the beginning of September euery man was occupied in such woork as eche one was able to doe. But the fourteenth of September, our aforesayde Generall sent backe into France two Shippes which had brought his furniture, and he appointed for Admirall Monsieur de Saine-terre, and the other captaine was Monsieur Guine-coure, to carie newes vnto the King, and to come backe againe vnto him the yere next ensuing, furnished with victuals and other things, as it should please the King: and also to bring newes out of France how the King accepted certaine Diamants which were sent him, and were found in this countrey.

After these two Shippes were departed, consideration was had how they should doe, and how they might passe out the Winter in this place. First they tooke a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out short: and they were scantled so, that in eche melle they had but two loaves weighing a pound a piece, and halfe a pound of biese. They ate Bacon at dinner with halfe a pound of butter: and Biese at supper, and about two handfuls of Beanes without butter.

On the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday they did eate dry Cod, and sometimes they did eate it Greene at dinner with butter, and they ate of Porpoces and beanes at supper.

About that time the Sauages brought vs great store of Alofes, which is a fish somewhat redde like a Salmon, to get knives and other small trifles for them.

In the ende many of our people fell sicke of a certaine disease in their legges, reynes, and stomacke, so that they seemed to bee depriued of all their lymmes, and there dyed thereof about fiftie.

Note that the yce began to breake vp in April.

Monsieur Roberual vsed very good iustice, and punished euery man according to his offence. One whose name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. Iohn of Nantes was layde in yrons, and kept prisoner for his offence, and others also were put in yrons, and diuers were whipped, as well men as women: by which meanes they liued in quiet.

The length of the winter,

They had wood men with them.

The

The maners of the Sauages.

To declare vnto you the state of the Sauages, they are people of a goodly stature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked: and if they were apparelled as the French are, they would bee as white and as fayre: but they paynt themselves for feare of heat and sunne burning.

Their appa-
rell.
So haue they
of Ceuola, and
Quinira, and
Meta Incognita.
Their victu-
als.
They remoue
from place to
place.
Fith.
Beastes.
Fowle.

Their bread of
great Wheate
or Barz.
Drinke of
Seale oyle at
their great
feasts.
Their govern-
ment.

In stead of apparell, they weare skinnes vpon them like mantles: and they haue a small payze of breeches, wherewith they couer their priuities, as well men as women. They haue hosen and shooes of lether excellently made. And they haue no shirts: neither couer they their heads, but their hayre is trusted vp about the crowne of their heads, and paynted or boydd. Touching their victuals, they eate good meate, but all unsalted, but they dye it, and after ward they boyle it, as well fish as flesh. They haue no certaine dwelling place, and they goe from place to place, as they thinke they may best finde foode, as Aloes in one place, and other fish, Salmons, Sturgions, Bullets, Surnulletts, Barz, Carpes, Celes, Pinperneaur, and other fresh water fish, and store of Porpoises. They feede also of Stagges, wilde Bores, Bugles, Porkefpynes, and store of other wilde beastes. And there is as great store of Fowle as they can desire.

Touching their bread, they make very good: and it is of great myll: and they liue very well, for they take care for nothing else.

They drinke Seale oyle, but this is at their great feasts.

They haue a King in euery Countrey, and are wonderfull obedient vnto him: and they doe him honour accordyng vnto their maner and fashion. And when they trauaile from place to place, they cary all their goods with them in their boates.

The wedomen nurse their children with the bzeast, and they sit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with skinnes of furre.

The voyage of Monsieur Roberval from his Fort in Canada
vnto Saguenay, the fifth of Iune, 1543.

The 5. of Iune

The 6. of Iune.



Monsieur Roberval the Kings Lieutenant generall in the Countreies of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, departed toward the said prouince of Saguenay on the Tuesday the 5. day of Iune 1543. after supper: and he with all his furniture was imbarked to make the sayd voyage. But vpon a certaine occasion they lay in the Rode ouer against the place before mentioned: but on the Wednesday about five of the clocke in the morning they set sayle, and sayled against the streame: in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, as well great as small, and to the number of threescore and ten persons, with the aforesayd Generall.

The Generall left behinde him in the aforesayde place and Fort thirtie persons to remayne there untill his returne from Saguenay, which hee appoynted to bee the first of Iuly, or else they should returne into France. And hee left there behinde him but two Barkes to cary the sayde thirtie persons, and the furniture which was there, while hee stayed still in the Countrey.

Monsieur de
Royeze.

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his Lieutenant a gentleman named Monsieur de Royeze, to whom he gaue commission, and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandement of the sayd lieutenant.

The victuals which were left for their mayntenance untill the sayd first day of Iuly, were receiued by the sayd Lieutenant Royeze.

The 14. of
Iune.

On Thursday the 14. of Iune Monsieur de l'Espinay, la Brosse, Monsieur Frete, Monsieur Longeual, and others, returned from the Generall, from the voyage of Saguenay.

And note that eight men and one Barke were drowned and lost, among whom was Monsieur de Noirefontaine, and one named la Vasseur of Constance.

The 19. of
Iune.
Paris.
The 22. of Iuly
1543.

On Tuesday the 19. of Iune aforesayd, there came from the Generall, Monsieur de Ville-neufue, Talebot, and three others, which brought threescore pounds weight of their cozne, and letters to stay yet untill Dagdalenpde, which is the 22. day of Iuly.

The rest of this Voyage is wanting.

THE

THE VOYAGES AND NAVIGATIONS OF
the English nation to *Virginia*, and the seuerall discoueries therof
chiefly at the charges of the honourable *Sir Walter Ralegh* knight, from
33 to 40 degrees of latitude: together with the successe of the English colo-
nies there planted; as likewise a description of the Countrey, with the
Inhabitants, and the manifold commodities. Whereunto are
annexed the Patents, letters, dicourses, &c. to
this part belonging.

The letters patents, granted by the Queenes Maiestie to *M. Walter Ralegh* now Knight, for the discouering and planting of new lands and Coun-
tries, to continue the space of 6. yeeres and no more.



Lizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queene, de-
fender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shal come, gree-
ting. Knowye that of our especial grace, certaine science, & meere motion, we
hane giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors
doe giue and grant to our trusty and welbeloued seruant *Walter Ralegh* Es-
quire, and to his heires and assignes for ever, free liberty & licence from time
to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, search, finde out, and
view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys, and territories, not actually possessed of
any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to e-
uery or any of them shal seeme good, and the same to haue, holde, occupy & enioy to him, his heires
and assignes for ever, with all prerogatiues, commodities, iurisdictiōs, royalties, priuiledges, fran-
chises and preeminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our let-
ters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors haue heretofore granted to any
person or persons, bodie politique or corporate: and the said *Walter Ralegh*, his heires and as-
signes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of vs, our heires and successors, shal goe by tra-
uaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the said *Walter*
Ralegh, his heires & assignes, the statutes or act of Parliament made against fugitiues, or against
such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any o-
ther statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, meere motion, and certaine know-
ledge, for vs, our heires and successors, giue and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the
said *Walter Ralegh*, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery or any
of them, shall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and leade in the sayde
voyage, and trauaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and euery or any of them,
such, and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and euery or any of
them: and to whom also we doe by these presents, giue full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe,
and also to haue, take and employ, and vse sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportati-
ons, and Navigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them be such as
hereafter shall be restrained by vs, our heires or successors.

And further that the said *Walter Ralegh*, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, shall haue,
holde, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes, and euery of them for ever, all the soyle of
all such landes, territories, and Countreys, so to be discovered and possessed as aforesayd, and of
all such Cities, Castles, Townes, Villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties,
franchises, and iurisdictiōs, as well marine as other within the sayd landes, or Countreys, or the
seas thereunto adioyning, to be had, or vied, with full power to dispose thereof, and of euery part
in fee simple or other wise, according to the order of the lawes of England; as nere as the same
conueniently may be, at his, and their wil and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall re-
maine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and successors: reseruing alwayes to vs, our heires
and successors, for all seruices, duties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oate of golde and sil-
uer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing, shall be
there gotten and obtained: All which landes, Countreys, and territories shall for ever be holden of
the said *Walter Ralegh*, his heires and assignes, of vs, our heires and successors, by homage, and
by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part, reserued onely for all seruices.

And moreover, we do by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, giue and grant licence

to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery of them, that he, and they, and euery
 or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, for his and their
 defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist aswell by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes
 whatsoeuer, all and euery such person and persons whatsoeuer, as without the especial liking and
 licence of the sayd Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite with-
 in the sayd Countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundred leagues neere to
 the place or places within such Countreys as aforesayd (if they shall not bee before planted or
 inhabited within the limits as aforesayd with the subiects of any Christian Prince being in amitie
 with vs) where the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their,
 or any of their associats or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings
 or abidings, or that shall enterpryse or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy, eyther
 by Sea or Lande the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their,
 or any of his or their companies: giuing, and graunting by these presents further power and au-
 thoritie to the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery of them from time to time,
 and at all times for euer hereafter, to take and surpryse by all maner of meanes whatsoeuer, all
 and euery those person or persons, with their Shippes, Vessels, and other goods and furniture,
 which without the licence of the sayd Walter Ralegh, or his heires, or assignes, as aforesayd,
 shalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits
 aforesayd, (the subiects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with
 vs, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore they haue commonly vsed, or being
 driuen by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted:) and those persons, and euery of
 them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possesse as of good and law-
 full prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and
 euery, or any of them. And for vnicing in moze perfect league and amitie, of such Countreys,
 landes, and territoryes so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesayd with our Realmes of England
 and Ireland, and the better encouragement of men to these enterprises: we doe by these presents,
 graunt and declare that all such Countreys, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesayd,
 from thenceforth shall be of the allegiance of vs, our heires and successours. And wee doe
 graunt to the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and to all, and euery of them, and to
 all, and euery other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or en-
 tred in some of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the
 sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, shall in his iourneis for discouerie, or in the iourneis
 for conquest, hereafter trauaile to such lands, countreys and territoryes, as aforesayd, and to their,
 and to euery of their heires, that they, and euery or any of them, being eyther bozne within
 our sayd Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and
 which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countreys, and Territoryes, with
 such licence, (as aforesayd) shall and may haue all the priuiledges of free Denizens, and persons
 natieue of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were
 bozne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or vsage to
 the contrary notwithstanding.

Note.

Free denizati-
on granted.

And forasmuch as vpon the finding out, discouering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, coun-
 tries, and territoryes as aforesayd, it shalbe necessary for the safety of all men, that shall aduenture
 themselves in those iourneies or voyages, to determine to liue together in Christian peace, and ci-
 uill quietnesse eche with other, whereby euery one may with moze pleasure and profit enioy that
 whereunto they shall attaine with great paine and perill, wee for vs, our heires and successours, are
 likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue & grant to the said Walter Ralegh,
 his heires and assignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time
 to time for euer hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the
 seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon,
 gouerne, and rule by their and euery or any of their good discretions and policies, aswell in causes
 capitall, or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all such our subiects, as shal from time to time
 aduenture themselves in the said iourneis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite
 any such lands, countreys, or territoryes as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of
 any of the sayd place or places, where the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of
 them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the
 date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter
 Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them deuised, or established, for the better go-
 uernment of the said people as aforesayd. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances
 may

may be, as nere as conueniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, gouernement, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, now professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of the subiectes or people of those lands or places from the alleageance of vs, our heires and successours, as their immediate Soueraigne vnder God.

And further, we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, giue and grant full power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloued Counsaillour Sir William Cecill knight, Lorde Burghley, our high Treasourer of England, and to the Lorde Treasourer of England for vs, our heires and successours for the time being, and to the priuie Counsaile of vs, our heires and successours, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or Seales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him, & by themselves, or by their, or any of their sufficient Attorneys, Deputies, Officers, Ministers, Factors, and seruants, to imbarke & transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the priuie Counsaile, of vs our heires and successours for the time being (as aforesaid) shall from time to time by his or their wisdomes, or discretions thought meete and conuenient, for the better reliefe and supportation of him the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and euery or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and our wil and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any acte of vniust or vnlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subiects of vs, our heires or successours, or to any of the subiects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Gouernours, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires and successours, and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Gouernour or estate, or their subiects, wee, our heires and successours, shall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whom these our Letters patents may extende, shall within the termes to bee limited, by such Proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such iniuries done: so as both we and the said Princes, or other so complaining, may hold vs and themselves fully contented: And that if the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limited, that then it shall be lawfull to vs, our heires and successours, to put the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discovered (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our alleageance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires, assignes and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the saide places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our alleageance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subiects, nor by vs any way to be auouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or alleageance any way belonging: for that expresse mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by vs, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Raleigh, before this time made in these presents bee not expresse, or any other grant, ordinance, prouision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrary thereof, before this time, giuen, ordained, or prouided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof, wee haue caused these our letters to be made Patents. Witnesse our selues, at Westminster the five and twentic day of March, in the five and twenticth Anno 1584.
yeere of our Raigne.

The first voyage made to the coasts of *America*, with two barks, where in were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discouered part of the Countrey now called *Virginia*, Anno 1584. Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to sir *Walter Raleigh* knight, at whose charge and direction, the said voyage was set forth.



On the 27 day of Aprill, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584 we departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals, hauing receiued our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions, and commandements deliuered by your selfe at our leauing the riuer of *Thames*. And I thinke it a matter both vnnecessary, for the manifest discouerie of the Countrey, as also for tediousnesse sake, to remember vnto you the diurnall of our course, sayling thither and returning: onely I haue presumed to present vnto you this brieue discourse, by which you may iudge how profitable this land is likely to succede, as well to your selfe, (by whose direction and charge, and by whose seruantes this our discouerie hath bene performed) as also to her Highnesse, and the Common wealch, in which we hope your wisdom wilbe satisfied, considering that as much by vs hath bene brought to light, as by those final meanes, and number of men we had, could any way haue bene expected, or hoped for.

21 Southerly
course not
greatly needful
for Virginia.

The tenth of May we arr iued at the Canaries, and the tenth of June in this present yeere, we were fallen with the Ilands of the West Indies, keeping a more Southeasterly course then was needefull, because wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexcio, dis bogging betweene the Cape of Florida and Hauana, had bene of greater force then after wardes we found it to bee. At which Ilands we found the ayre very vnwholsome, and our men grew for the most part ill disposed: so that hauing refreshed our selues with sweet water, & fresh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arriual there. These Ilands, with the rest adioyning, are so well knownen to your selfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

24 Sweet smell
from the land.

The second of July, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arriued vpon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or riuer issuing into the Sea.

The first river.

The first that appeared vnto vs, we entred, though not without some difficultie, & cast anchor about thre harquebus-shot within the hauens mouth, on the left hand of the same: and after thankes giuen to God for our safe arriual thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adioyning, and "to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Maestie, as rightfull Queene, and Princessse of the same, and after deliuered the same ouer to your vse, according to her Maesties grant, and letters patents, vnder her Highnesse great Seale. Which being per formed, according to the ceremonies vsed in such enterprises, we viewed the land about vs, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea ouerflowed the m, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the land and on the Greene soile on the hills, as in the plaines, as well on euery little shrubbe, as also climbing towards the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and my selfe hauing seene those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

" July 13 poss
session taken.

Abundance of
grapes.

We passed from the Sea side towards the toppes of those hills next adioyning, being but of meane high, and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande lay stretching it selfe to the West, which after wee found to bee but an Iland of twentie miles long, and not aboue sixe miles broad. Under the banke or hill whereon we stood, we behelde the vallies replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and hauing discharged our harquebus-shot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most pat white) arose vnder vs, with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an armie of men had shotted all together.

The Isle of
Wokokon.

This Iland had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, even in the midst of Summer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscouia, or Hercynia, barren and fruidles, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Hyynes, Cypres, Saffaphras, the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of

Goodly Ce-
dars, Pines,
Cypres, Saff-
aphras.

of which Master Winter brought from the freights of Magellan, and many other of excellent
finell and qualitie. We remained by the side of this Island two whole dayes before we saw any
people of the Countrey: the third day we espyed one small boate rowing towards vs, hauing in it
three persons: this boate came to the Island side, foure harquebus shot from our shippes, and there
two of the people remaining, the third came along the shore side towards vs, and wee being then
all within boord, he walked vp and downe vpon the point of the land next vnto vs: then the Master
and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my selfe, and
others rowed to the land, whose comming this fellow attended, neuer making any shewe of feare
or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not vnderstood by vs, we brought him with his
owne good liking, aboord the ships, and gaue him a shirt, a hat & some other things, and made him
taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very well: and after hauing viewed both barks, he de-
parted, and went to his owne boate againe, which hee had left in a little Coue or Creeke adioy-
ning: as soone as hee was two bow shot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in lesse then halfe an
houre, he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could swimme, with which hee came againe to the
point of the lande, and there he deuided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the
other to the pinnelle: which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefites re-
ceaued, departed out of our sight.

Conference
with a Saunge.

A bun-
danc
of fish.

The arrivall
of the king
brother.

The next day there came vnto vs diuers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accom-
panied with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behauiour as man-
nerly and ciuill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingi-
na, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Maistie Virginia. The manner of his comming
was in this sort: hee left his boates altogether as the first man did a little from the shippes by the
shore, and came along to the place ouer against the ships, followed with fortie men. When he came
to the place, his seruants spread a long matre vpon the ground, on which he sat downe, and at the
other ende of the matre foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round
about him, somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, hee neuer
moued from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor neuer mistrusted any harme to be offered from
vs, but sitting still he beckoned vs to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set hee
made all signes of ioy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and after wardes on ours,
to shewe wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all loue, and familiaritie.
After hee had made a long speech vnto vs, wee presented him with diuers things, which hee
receiued very ioyfully, and thankfully. None of the company durst speake one worde all
the time: onely the foure which were at the other ende, spake one in the others eare very
softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reuerenced: the King himselfe in
person was at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the next
countrey, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once cleane through
the thigh, but yet he recovered: by reason whereof and for that hee lay at the chiefe towne of the
country, being sixe dayes iourney off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought hee liked, wee likewise
gaue somewhat to the other that sat with him on the matre: but presently he arole and tooke all
from them and put it into his owne basket, making signes and tokens, that all things ought to bee
deliuered vnto him, and the rest were but his seruants, and followers. A day or two after this, we
fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for Chamoyes, Buffe, and Deere
skinner: when we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he sawe, a bright
tinne dish most pleased him, which hee presently tooke vp and clapt it before his breast, and after
made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making signes that it would de-
fende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre,
with the people and King adioyning. We exchanged our tinne dish for twentie skinner, woorth
twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fifty Crownes.
They offered vs good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would haue giuen
any thing for swordes: but wee would not depart with any. After two or three dayes the Kings
brother came aboord the shippes, and dranke wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked
exceedingly thereof: and after a few dayes ouerpasted, he brought his wife with him to the ships,
his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well fauoured, of meane stature and ve-
ry bashfull: shee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to her body,
and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead shee had a bande of white Corall, and so had
her husband many times: in her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle,

Traffike with
the Saunges.

Tinne much
esteemed.

White corall
Pearles.

whereof wee deliuered your worship a little bracelet and those were of the bignes of good pease. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and some of the children of the kings brother and other noble men, haue one or tye in either eare: he himselfe had vpon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being unpolished we knew not what metal it should be, neither would he by any meanes suffer vs to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparell was as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their haire black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine aburne, and chestnut coloured haire.

Pitch trees.

*The manner
of making
their boates.*

After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, corall, diuers kindes of dyes very excellent, and exchanged with vs: but when Granganimeo the kings brother was present, none durst trade but himselfe: except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himselfe: for that is the difference betwene the noble men, and the gouernours of countreys, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you haue understood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde carry moze respect to their King, Nobilitie and Gouernours, then these doe. The Kings brothers wife, when she came to vs (as she did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes: and when she came into the shippe, she left them all on land, sauing her two daughters, her nurse and one or two moze. The Kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the shippes, so many fires would hee make on the shoare a farre off, to the end we might vnderstand with what strength and company he approached. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine, or of Pitch trees: a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They haue no edge-tooles to make them withall: if they haue any they are very fewe, and those it seemes they had twentie yeres since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wrake which happened vpon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storme and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were saued, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast vpon the land, out of whose sides they drew the nayles and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boates is thus: they burne downe some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, and putting gumme and rosen vpon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their shels, and euer where they would burne it deeper or wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber, and by this meanes they fashion very fine boates, and such as will transport twentie men. Their oares are like scoopes, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serueth.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and diuers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great bope of pearle in gage for them: but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof, untill we had vnderstoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew: which now your Worshippe doeth very well vnderstand.

He was very iust of his promise: for many times we deliuered him merchandize vpon his word, but euer he came within the day and perfozmed his promise. He sent vs euery day a brace or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world. He sent vs diuers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well tasted, and groweth three times in five moneths: in May they sow, in July they reape: in June they sow, in August they reape: in July they sow, in September they reape: onely they cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turfe with a with wooden mattock, or pickeaxe: our selues prooued the soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourtene ynches high: they haue also Beanes very faire of diuers colours and wonderfull plentie: some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so haue they both wheat and oates.

*Ranoak
Island.*

The soile is the most plentiful, sweete, fruitfull and wholsome of all the worlde: there are about foureteene seuerall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their vnderwoods are Bayes, and such like: they haue those Okes that we haue, but farre greater and better. After they had bene diuers times aboard our shippes, my selfe, with seuen moze went twentie mile into the Riuer, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which Riuer they call Occam: and the euening following, wee came to an Island, which they call Ranoak, distant from the harbour by which we entered, seuen leagues: and at the North end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially: when wee came towarde it, standing neere

neere unto the waters side, the wife of Grauganimo, the kings brother came running out to meete vs very cheerefully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; some of her people thee commanded to draw our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe: others she appointed to carry vs on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the better roome, hauing fure roomes in her house, she caused vs to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dyed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all things ordered in the best maner shee could, making great haste to dresse some meate for vs to eat.

The great
kindnes of the
kings bro-
thers wife.

After we had thus dyed our selues, she brought vs into the inner roome, where shee set on the hood standing along the house, some wheate like surmentie, sodden Lenten, and roasted fish sodden, boyled, and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of diuers kindes, and diuers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of calkes to keepe it, all the yere after they drinke water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and blacke Sinnamon, and sometimes Sallaphras, and diuers other wholesome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all loue and kindnesse, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could possibly deuise. We found the people most gentle, louing, and faithfull, void of all guile and treason, and such as liue after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soile affoordeth: there meate is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and sauorie: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweete, their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom when wee espied, we beganne to looke one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons: but as soone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much moued, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the euening and would not tary all night, she was very soyy, and gaue vs into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pottes and all, and brought vs to our boate side, in which wee lay all night, remoouing the same a prettie distance from the shoare: shee perceiuing our ielousie, was much greiued, and sent diuers men and thirtie women, to sit all night on the banke side by vs, and sent vs into our boates fine mattes to couer vs from the raine, vsing very many wordes to intreate vs to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durst not aduenture any thing, although there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde and louing people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall.

A solemne
banquet.

Their Idole.

Beyond this Island there is the maine lande, and ouer against this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great riuer called Occam by the inhabitants, on which standeth a towne called Pomeiock, & five dayes iourney from the same is situate their greatest citie, called Skicoak, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Sauages were neuer at it, only they speake of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they haue heard affirme it to bee aboute one houres iourney about.

Skicoak a great
towne.

In to this riuer falleth another great riuer, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of Muskles in which there are pearles: likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another riuer, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not subiect to the king of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they call Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the Southwest, foure dayes iourney is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southermost towne of Wingandacoa, neere unto which, five and twentie yeres past, there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saued, and those were white people, whom the countrey people preferred.

A ship cast
away.

And after ten dayes remaining in an out Island inhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan, fastened two boates of the countrey together & made masts vnto them, and sailes of their shirtes, and hauing taken into them such victuals as the countrey peeled, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weekes: but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found vpon the coast, cast a land in another Island adioyning: other then these, there was neuer any people apparelled, or white of colour, either scene, or

heard

Their weapons.

heare of amongst these people, and these aforesaid were seene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondered maruelously when we were amongst them at the whiteness of our skins, euer coueting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in maruelous admiration, & all things els were so strange vnto them, as it appeared that none of them had euer seene the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an hargubuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the strangenesse of the same: for the weapons which themselves vse are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of small canes, headed with a sharpe shell or tooth of a fish sufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their swordes be of wood hardened: likewise they vse wooden breastplates for their defence. They haue beside a kinde of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharpe hornes of a stagge, or other beast. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, of whom they aske counsel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towardes the battell in stead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their ciuill dissention which haue happened of late yeeres amongst them, the people are maruelously wasted, and in some places the countrey left desolate.

At Pananuaoc.

Adioyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adioyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newfiok, situate vpon a goodly riuer called Neus: these kings haue mortall warre with Wingina king of Wingandacoa: but about two yeeres past there was a peace made betweene the king Piamacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we haue brought with vs to England, haue giuen vs to vnderstand: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes, for many iniuries & slaughters done vpon them by this Piamacum. They invited diuers men, and thirtie women of the best of his countrey to their towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merry, & praying before their Idol, (which is nothing els but a meer illusion of the deuill) the captaine or Lord of the towne came suddenly vpon them, and slewe them euery one, reseruing the women and children: and these two haue oftentimes since perswaded vs to surprize Piamacum his towne, hauing promised and assured vs, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their perswasion be to the ende they may be reuenged of their enemies, or for the loue they beare to vs, we leaue that to the triall hereafter.

Beyond this Island called Roanoak, are manie Islands very plentifull of fruits and other naturall increases, together with many townes, and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding vpon the Islands, and some stretching vp further into the land.

When we first had sight of this countrey, some thought the first land we saw to bee the continent: but after we entred into the Hauen, we saw before vs another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundred miles in length, adioyning to the Ocean sea, and betweene the Islands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (these Islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places sixe miles broad, in some places lesse, in fewe more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles ouer, before you come vnto the continent: and in this inclosed Sea there are about an hundred Islands of diuers bignesses, whereof one is sixtene miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly Cedars, and diuers other sweete woods, full of Coyrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leasure to view. Besides this Island there are many, as I haue sayd, some of two, of three, of foure, of fife miles, some more, some lesse, most beautifull and pleasant to behold, replenished with Deere, Conies, Hares and diuers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Roanoak sixteen miles long.

Thus Sir, we haue acquainted you with the particulars of our discovery made this present voyage, as farre forth as the shortnesse of the time we there continued would affoord vs to take viewe of: and so contenting our selues with this seruice at this time, which wee hope hereafter to enlarge, as occasion and assistance shalbe giuen, we resolved to leaue the countrey and to apply our selues to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arriued safely in the West of England about the middest of September.

And whereas wee haue aboue certified you of the countrey taken in possession by vs, to her Maiesties vse, and so to yours by her Maiesties grant, wee thought good for the better assurance thereof, to recorde some of the particular Gentlemen, & men of accompt, who then were present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cauill to the title of the countrey, in her Maiesties behalfe may be preuented, which other wise, such as like not the action may vse and pretend, whose names are:

Passer

Master Philip Amadas,
Master Arthur Barlow,

} Captaines.

William Greeneuile,
John Wood,
James Browewich,
Henry Greene,
Beniamin Wood,
Simon Ferdinando,
Nicholas Periman,
John Hewes,

} Of the companie.

We brought home also two of the Sauages being lustie men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.

The voiage made by Sir Richard Greeneuile, for Sir Walter Raleigh,
to Virginia, in the yeere 1585.



The 9. day of April, in the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Plymouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seuen sailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of seuen score tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the Dorothea, a small barke: whereunto were also adioyned for speedy seruices, two small pinnesses. The principall Gentlemen of our companie, were these,

M. Ralph Lane, M. Tomas Candish, M. John Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. John Clarke, and diuers others, whereof some were Captaines, and other some Assistants for counsell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill wee fell with Lancerota and Forteventura, Isles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our course for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the West India, where-with we fell the 7. day of May, and the 10. day following wee came to an anchor at Cotesa, a little Island situate neere to the Island of S. Iohn, where we landed, and refreshed our selues all that day.

The 12. day of May wee came to an anchor in the Bay of Moskiro, in the Island of S. Iohn, within a Faulcon shot of the shoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greeneuile, and the most part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie very neere to the Sea side: the river ran by the one side of our forte, and the other two sides were inuironed with woods.

They land by
on the Island of
S. Iohn de Por.
to Rico.

The 13. day we began to build a new pinnesse within the Fort, with the timber that wee then felled in the countrey, some part whereof we set three miles by in the land, and brought it to our Fort vpon trucks, the Spaniards not daring to make or offer resistance.

The 16. day there appeared vnto vs out of the woods eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our Fort, staying about halfe an houre in viewing our forces: but as soone as they saw ten of our shot marching towards them, they presently retired into the woods.

The 19. day Master Candish, who had bene separated from our fleete in a storme in the Bay of Portugall, arrived at Cotesa, within the sight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to haue bene either a Spaniard or Frenchman of warre, thought it good to weigh anchors, and to goe roome with him, which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our comforts, for ioy of whose conning our ships discharged their ordinance, and saluted him according to the maner of the Seas.

The 22. day twentie other Spanish horsemen shewed themselves to vs vpon the other side of the river: who being seene, our Generall dispatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horsemen of ours, mounted vpon Spanish horses, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Island: they shewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made signes to haue a parle with vs: where-vpon two of our men went halfe of the way vpon the lands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began according to their Spanish proud humors, to expostulate with them about their arrivall and fortifying in their countrey, who notwithstanding by our mens discreet answers were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principall intention was onely to furnish our selues with water and victuals, and other necessaries, whereof we stood in neede, which we craued might be peeld vs with faire and friendly meanes, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to relieue our selues by the sword) the

the Spaniards in conclusion seeing our men so resolute, yielded to our requestes with large promises of all curtesie, and great fauour, and so our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinnelle was finished, and lanchèd: which being done, our Generall with his Captaines and Gentlemen, marched vp into the Countrey about the space of 4. miles, where in a plaine marsh they stayd expecting the comming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish vs with victuals: who keeping their olde custome for perurie and breach of promise, came not, whereupon our Generall fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our Fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboard to be ready to set saile the next morning.

The 29. day wee set saile from Saint Johns, being many of vs stung before vpon shoare with the Puskitos: but the same night wee tooke a Spanish Frigat, which was forsaken by the Spaniards vpon the sight of vs, and the next day in the morning very early we tooke another Frigat, with good and rich freight, and diuers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards wee ransomed for good round summes, and landed them in S. Johns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo bay vpon the Southwest side of Saint Johns, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish Pilot: as soone as hee arrived there, hee landed with his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himselfe vpon the sandes immediately, compassing one of their salte hills within the trench: who being scene of the Spaniards, there came downe towards him two or thre troopes of horsemen and footmen, who gaue him the looking, and gazing on, but durst not come neere him to offer any resistance, so that Master Lane maugre their troopes, carped their salte aboard and landed his Frigat, and so returned againe to our flecte the 29. day, which rood at S. Germans Bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day arrived in the Island of Hispaniola.

June.

The 1. day of June we anchored at Isabella, on the North side of Hispaniola.

The 3. day of June, the Gouvernour of Isabella, and Captaine of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had bene well intertained aboard our shippes by our Generall, that in our flecte were many braue and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the Gouvernour aforesayd, he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our Generall, promising within few dayes to come to him in person, which he performed accordingly.

The 5. day the aforesayd Gouvernour accompanied with a lusty Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their seruants, and Negroes, came downe to the Sea side, where our ships rood at anchor, who being scene, our Generall manned immediately the most part of his boates with the chiefe men of our flecte, every man appointed, and furnished in the best sort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spanish gouernour receiued him very courtiously, and the Spanish Gentlemen saluted our English Gentlemen, and their inferiour sort did also salute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in feare of vs, and of so many of our boates whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all feare and mistrust on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our English Generall and the Spanish Gouvernour discoursed betwixt them of diuers matters, as of the state of the Countrey, the multitude of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Island, our men prouided two banquetting houses couered with greene boughes, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the seruants, and a sumptuous banquet was brought in serued by vs all in plate, with the sound of trumpets, and consort of musicke, wherewith the Spaniards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniards in recompence of our courtesie, caused a great heard of white buls, and kyne to be brought together from the mountaines, and appoynted for euery Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horse ready sadled, and then singled out thre of the best of them to bee hunted by horsemen after their manner, so that the pastime grewe very pleasant for the space of thre houres, wherein all thre of the beasts were killed, whereof one tooke the Sea, and there was slaine with a musket. After this sport, many rare presents and gifts were giuen and bestowed on both parts, and the next day wee played the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange of diuers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kyne, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearle, tabacco, and such like commodities of the Island.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the Island of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort doe impute this great shew of friendship, and courtesie vsed towards vs by the Spaniards rather to the force that wee were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulnesse that

that was amongst vs, then to any heartie good will, or sure friendly intertainment: for doubtlesse if they had bene stronger then wee, wee might haue looked for no better curtesie at their handes, then Master Iohn Haukins receiued at Saint Iohn de Villua, or Iohn Oxnam neere the streights of Dariene, and diuers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8. day we ankred at a small Iland to take Seales, which in that place wee vnderstood to haue bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinnelle were in very great danger to haue bene all cast away, but by the helpe of God they escaped the hazard, and returned aboard the Admirall in safetie.

The 9. day we arriued and landed in the Ile of Caycos, in which Iland we searched for salte-
pouder, vpon the aduertisement and information of a Portugall: who in deede abused our Generall
and vs, deseruing a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased vs.

They land on
the Iles of
Caicos.

The 12. we ankred at Guanima, and landed.

Guanima,
Cyguato.

The 15. and 16. we ankred and landed at Cyguato.

The 20. we fell with the maine of Florida.

The 23. we were in great danger of a wracke on a beech called the Cape of Feare.

They land in
Florida.

The 24. we came to anker in a harbour, where wee caught in one tyde so much fish as would
haue peeled vs twentie pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee weighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the unskillful-
nesse of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on ground, and sunke.

The 3. we sent word of our arriuing at Wococon, to Wingina at Roanoak.

July.

The 6. P. Iohn Arundel was sent to the maine, and Manteco with him: and Captaine Aubry
and Captaine Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left
there with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some 20. dayes before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them,
to vs at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Master Iohn Arundell, Master
Stukeley, and diuers other Gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and twen-
tie others in the new pinnelle, Captaine Amadas, Captaine Clarke, with ten others in a shipboate,
Francis Brooke, and Iohn White in another ship-boate, passed ouer the water from Wococon to
the maine land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we first discouered the townes of Po-
meiok, Aquascogoc and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the Sauages Paquipe, with
diuers other places, and so returned with that discouery to our flecte.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeiok.

The 13. we passed by water to Aquascogoc.

The 15. we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Sauages.

The 16. wee returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was sent to Aquasco-
goc, to demand a silver cup which one of the Sauages had stolen from vs, and not receiuing
it according to his promise, wee burnt, and spoiled their corne, and Towne, all the people being
fled.

The 18. we returned from the discouery of Secotan, and the same day came aboard our flecte
ryding at Wococon.

The 21. our flecte ankering at Wococon, we wayed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our flecte ankered at Hatorask, and there we rested.

The 29. Grangino brother to king Wingina came aboard the Admirall, and Manteco
with him.

The 2. the Admirall was sent to Weapomeiok.

The 5. P. Iohn Arundell was sent for England.

August.

The 25. our Generall wayed anker, and set saile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spanish ship of 300. tunne richly laden, boording her with a boate
made with boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunke at the ships side, as soone as cuer he and
his men were out of it.

The 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then shipped in the prize, lost sight of September
the Tyger.

The 6. the Tyger fell with the Landes end, and the same day came to anker at Palmouth.

October.

The 18. the Generall came with the prize to Plymmouth, and was courteously receiued by di-
uers of his his worshipfull friends.

The

The names of those as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in *Virginia*, vnder the Gouvernement of Master *Ralph Lane*.

M aster Philip Amadas, Admirall of the countrey.	Thomas Rottenbury.	Richard Poore.
Master Hariot.	Roger Deane.	Robert Yong.
Master Acton.	John Harris.	Marmaduke Constable.
Master Edward Stafford.	Francis Norris.	Thomas Hesker.
Thomas Luddington.	Matthew Lyne.	William Wasse.
Master Maruyn.	Edward Kettell.	John Feuer.
Master Gardiner.	Thomas Wisse.	Daniel.
Captaine Vaughan.	Robert Biscombe.	Thomas Taylor.
Master Kendall.	William Backhouse.	Richard Humfrey.
Master Prideox.	William White.	John Wriht.
Robert Holecroft.	Henry Potkin.	Gabriel North.
Rife Courtney.	Dennis Barnes.	Bennet Chappell.
Master Hugh Rogers.	Ioseph Borges.	Richard Sare.
Master Thomas Haruie.	Dougham Gannes.	James Lacie.
Master Snelling.	William Tenche.	Smolkin.
Master Anthony Russe.	Randall Latham.	Thomas Smart.
Master Allyne.	Thomas Hulme.	Robert.
Master Michael Polifon.	Walter Mill.	John Euans.
John Cage.	Richard Gilbert.	Roger Large.
Thomas Parre.	Steuen Pomarie.	Humfrey Garden.
William Randes.	John Brocke.	Francis Whitton.
Gesserey Churchman.	Bennet Harrie.	Rowland Griffyn.
William Farthow.	James Steuenson.	William Millard.
John Taylor.	Charles Steuenson.	John Twir.
Philip Robyns.	Christopher Lowde.	Edward Seclmore.
Thomas Philips.	Jeremie Man.	John Anwike.
Valentine Beale.	James Mason.	Christopher Marshall.
Thomas Foxe.	Dauid Salter.	Dauid Williams.
Darby Glende.	Richard Ireland.	Nicholas Swabber.
Edward Nugen.	Thomas Bookener.	Edward Chipping.
Edward Kelley.	William Philips.	Siluester Beching.
John Gostigo.	Randall Mayne.	Vincent Cheyne.
Erasmus Clefs.	James Skinner.	Hance Walters.
Edward Ketcheman.	George Efeuen.	Edward Barecombe.
John Linsey.	John Chandeler.	Thomas Skeuelabs.
	Philip Blunt.	William Walters.

An extract of Master *Ralph Lane's* letter to M. *Richard Hakluyt* Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from *Virginia*.



In the meane while you shall vnderstand, that since Sir Richard Greenuils departure from vs, as also before, we haue discovered the maine to be the goodliest coyle vnder the cope of heauen, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie haue no greater, so many sorts of Apothecarie drugs, such seuerall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we haue found here *Watz* or *Guinie* wheate, whose eare yeeldeth come for bread 400. vpon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwile Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the worlde: for the continent is of an huge and vnknoen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towne, though sauagely, and the climate so wholesome, that wee had not one sicke since we touched the land here. To conclude, if *Virginia* had but houses and kinde in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme

in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities soeuer Spaine, France, Italy, or the East partes doe yeeld vnto vs, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frakenfence, corrans, sugers, and such like, these parts doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Sauages that possesse the land, they know no vse of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, haue, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most curteous, and very desirous to haue clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canuas they also like well of, but copper carpeeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I haue ioyned you both in our letter of remembrance, as two that I loue dearly well, and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almightye. From the new Fort in Virginia, this thirde of September, 1585.

The rich and manifold commodities of Virginia.

Commodities fit to carie to Virginia.

Your most assured friend RALPH LANE.

An account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenewill vnder the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. vntill the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey: sent and directed to Sir Walter Raleigh.

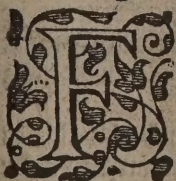


That I may proceede with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to diuide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such parts of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and supply of things necessarie did inable vs to enter into the discovery of.

The second part shall set downe the reasons generally moving vs to resolute on our departure at the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnelles, and boates with the Passers and Harriers meant by him to bee left in the Countrey for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to haue stayed there, were carped away with tempest and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shall bee declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Sauages of the maine to haue cut vs off, &c.

2. parts of this discourse.

The first part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of Virginia.



First therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you shall vnderstand that our discoverye of the same hath bene extended from the Island of Roanoak, (the same hauing bene the place of our settlement or inhabitation) into the South, into the North, into the North-west, and into the West.

The uttermost place to the Southward of any discovery was Secotan, being by estimation fourescore miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the mayne, the same being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and shoals: we had but one boate with foure oares to passe through the same, which boate could not carry about fiftene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for seuen dayes at the most: and as for our pinnelle, besides that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stirre for an oare: for these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leaue the discovery of those parts vntill our stronger supply.

To the Northward our furthest discovery was to the Chesepians, distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the bredth of the sound, and the little succour that vpon any flawe was there to be had.

But the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fiftene miles from the shoare) was for pleasantnes of seate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Walnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever.

The excellencie of the seate of Chesepiok.

There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adioyning to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Oposians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the North-west the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanoak distant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the chanell of a great depth, nauigable for good shipping, but out of the chanell full of shoals.

The

The Townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, & Merackwem: all these being under the iurisdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okisco: from Muscamunge we enter into the Riuer, and iurisdiction of Chawanook: There the Riuer beginneth to straighten untill it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betwene Westminster, and Lambeth.

Betweene Muscamunge and Chawanook vpon the left hand as wee passe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Sauages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly come field belonging vnto it: it is subiect to Chawanook,

The towne of
Chawanookable
to make 700.
men of warre.

Chawanook it selfe is the greatest Province & Seigniorie lying vpon that Riuer, and the very Towne it selfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the field, besides the forces of the Province it selfe.

The King of the sayd Province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Sauage, a very graue and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gaue mee more vnderstanding and light of the Countrey then I had receiued by all the searches and Sauages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Amongst other things he tolde me, that going three dayes iourney in a Canoe by his Riuer of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within foure dayes iourney to passe ouer land Northeast to a certaine Kings countrey, whose Province lyeth vpon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an Island situate, as hee described vnto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Island very deepe.

An Island in a
Bay.

Pearles in ex-
ceeding quan-
tity.

Out of this Bay hee signified vnto mee, that this King had so great quantitie of Pearle, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not onely his owne skinner that hee weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see.

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, & broughe him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gaue mee a rope of the same pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongst a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, comming aboard Sir Francis Drake his Fleete: yet he tolde me that the sayd King had great store of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of shallow water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.

It seemed to me by his speech, that the sayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we haue, for these white Pearle, and that was the reason that hee would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same countrey.

The king of Chawanook promised to giue me guides to go ouer land into that kings countrey whensoever I would: but he aduised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuall, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men into the field, which he sayd would fight very well.

Whereupon I resolved with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the ende of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boates or men, to haue had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to haue found vs untill the new come were come in, I would haue sent a small barke with two pinnettes about by Sea to the Northward to haue found out the Bay he spake of, and to haue sounded the barre if there were any, which should haue ridden there in the sayd Bay about that Island, while I with all the small boates I could make, and with two hundred men would haue gone by to the head of the riuer of Chawanook with the guides that Menatonon would haue giuen me, which I would haue bene assured should haue bene of his best men, (for I had his best beloued sonne prisoner with me) who also should haue kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest, foote by foote, all the voyage ouer land.

An enterprise
of speciall im-
portance.

My meaning was further at the head of the Riuer in the place of my descent where I would haue left my boates, to haue raised a scoule with a small trench, and a pallisado vpon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would haue left five and twentie, or thirtie men, with

with the rest would I haue marched with as much victuall as euery man could haue caried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes journey. In the ende of my march vpon some conuenient plot would I haue raised another scone according to the former, where I would haue left fiftene or twentie. And if it would haue fallen out conueniently, in the way I would haue raised my saide scone vpon some Cozne fielde, that my company might haue liued vpon it.

And so I would haue holden this course of insconing euery two dayes march, vntill I had bene arrived at the Bay or Port hee spake of: which finding to bee worth the possession, I would there haue raised a maine fort, both for the defence of the harborough, and our shipping also, and would haue reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by prooofe is very naught) vnto this other beforementioned, from whence, in the foure dayes march before specified, could I at all times returne with my company back vnto my boates riding vnder my scone, very neere whereunto directly from the West runneth a most notable Riuer, and in all those parts most famous, called the Riuer of Moratoc. This Riuer openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the Riuer of Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooued altogether with the winde: This Riuer of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and South-west, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarce be nauigable: it passeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Greenwich and the Isle of Dogges, in some place more, and in some lesse: the current runneth as strong, being entred so high into the Riuer, as at London bridge vpon a bale Water.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Sauages of Moratoc themselues doe repute strange things of the head of that Riuer, and that from Moratoc it selfe, which is a principall Towne vpon that Riuer, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say furtiue dayes voy- age to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further, that this huge rock standeth so neere vnto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde committing our wardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish: I tooke a resolution with my selfe, hauing dismissed Menatonon vpon a ran- some agreed for, and sent his sonne into the Pinnelle to Roanoak, to enter presently so farre into that Riuer with two double whirries, and fourtie persons one or other, as I could haue victuall to cary vs, vntill we could meete with more either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is an- other kinde of Sauages, dwelling more to the Westward of the said Riuer: but the hope of reco- uering more victuall from the Sauages made mee and my company as narrowly to escape star- uing in that discoverie before our returne, as euery men did, that missed the same.

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina vpon the death of his brother Gran- ganimo, had giuen both the Choanists, and Mangoaks worde of my purpose touching them, I hauing bene inforced to make him priuie to the same, to bee serued by him of a guide to the Man- goaks, and yet hee did neuer rest to sollicite continually my going vpon them, certifying mee of a generall assembly euen at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thousand bowes, preparing to come vpon vs at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were ioynd in the same confederacie, who were able of themselves to bring as many more to the enterprise: And true it was that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about vs, as I found at my coming thither, which being vnlooked for did so dis- may them, as it made vs haue the better hand at them. But this confederacie against vs of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himselfe, as Men- atonon confessed vnto me, who sent them continual worde, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them: on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning towards vs.

Hee in like sort hauing sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe by into their Riuer, and to kill them (as he saide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were en- tred into a league, and they had euery dealt kindly with vs, abandoned their Townes along the Riuer, and retired themselves with their *Crenepos, and their Cozne within the maine: inso- much as hauing passed three dayes voyage by the Riuer, wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Cozne in any their Townes: whereupon considering with my selfe that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, besides casualtie of contrary windes or stormes, and suspecting treason of our owne Sauages in the discoverie of our voyage intended, though wee had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwile

Whither M.
Ralfe Lane
meant to re-
moue.

Wingina chan-
ged his name.

Conspiracie of
the Sauages
against the
English.

* Their wo-
men.

then for our copper to haue had coine of them: I at night vpon the Corps of guard, before the putting forth of Centinels, aduertised the whole company of the case wee stood in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Sauages, and of purpose drawen forth by them vpon baine hope to be in the ende starued, seeing all the Countrey fled before vs, and therefore while wee had those two dayes victuall left, I thought it good for vs to make our returne homeward, and that it were necessary for vs to get the other side of the Sound of Weopomeioik in time, where wee might be relieved vpon the weares of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled.

Thus much I signified vnto them, as the safest way: neuertheless I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether wee should aduenture the spending of our whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly Riuer in hope to meete with some better happe, or otherwise to retire our selues backe againe. And for that they might be the better aduised, I willed them to deliberate all night vpon the matter, and in the morning at our going aborde to let our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholly was (and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left but one halfe pinte of Coine for a man, wee should not leaue the search of that Riuer, and that there were in the company two Passiues, vpon the portage of which with Sallastras leaues (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to liue two dayes, which time would bring them downe the current to the mouth of the Riuer, and to the entrie of the Sound, and in two dayes more at the farthest they hoped to crosse the Sound and to bee relieved by the weares, which two dayes they would fast rather then be drawen backe a foote till they had seene the Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee, since it came of themselves, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to haue bene rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to haue some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to haue had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the countrey, that there is a Province to the which the said Mangoaks haue recourse and trafique by that Riuer of Moratoc, which hath a marvellous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Sauages dwelling by the said riuer, and also to the Sauages of Chawanook, and all them to the Westward, but also to all them of the maine: the Countreys name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they say is Walsador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Walsador euery mettall whatsoever: they say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the saide mettall out of a riuer that falleth very swift from hie rockes and hills, and they take it in shallow water: the maner is this. They take a great howle by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a skinne over the hollow part thereof, leauing one part open to receiue in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the said howle with the skinne, and receiue into the same as much oare as will come in, which is euer as much as their howle will holde, which presently they cast into a fire, and soorthwith it melteth, and doeth peeble in fise parts, at the first melting, two parts of metall for three parts of oare. Of this metall the Mangoaks haue so great store, by report of all the Sauages adioyning, that they beautifie their houses with great plates of the same: and this to be true, I receiued by report of all the countrey, and particularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks sonne my prisoner, who also himselfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set downe all the particularities to me before mentioned: but hee had not bene at Chaunis Temoatan himselfe: for hee said, it was twentie dayes iourney ouerland from the Mangoaks, to the said Minerall Countrey, and that they passed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said Countrey.

Upon report of the premises, which I was very inquisitiue in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the Sauages that dwelt towards those parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who in euery thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised me guides of his owne men, who should passe ouer with me, euen to the said Countrey of Chaunis Temoatan (for ouerland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one dayes iourney from Sunne rising to Sunne setting, whereas by water it is seuen dayes with the soonest:) These things, I say, made me very desirous by all meanes possible to recouer the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly peeld to their resolution: But it fell

A marvellous
Mineral in the
countrey of
Chaunis Te-
moatan.

it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelihood: for after two dayes trauell, and our whole victuall spent, lying on shoare all night, wee could neuer see man, onely fires we might perceiue made amongst the shoare where we were to passe, and by into the Countrey, vntill the very last day. In the euening whereof, about thre of the clocke wee heard certayne Sauages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answer them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with vs: which worde was not so soone spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shoare, but there lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediately, the other boate lying ready with their shot to skoure the place for our hand weapons to lande upon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steepe, the Sauages forthwith quitted the shoare, and betooke themselves to flight: wee landed, and hauing faire and easily followed for a smal time after them, who had wooded themselves we know not where: the Sunne drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day if wee would pursue them, though we might happen to meete with them, yet wee should be assured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cause to thinke of: therefore choosing for the company a conuenient ground in safetie to lodge in for the night, making a strong Corps of guard, and putting out good Centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the Sunne to be going backe againe, if possibly we might recouer the mouth of the riuer, into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent vnto: for they were now come to their Dogges porredge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the Riuer's mouth within foure or fise miles of the same, hauing rowed in one day downe the current, as much as in foure dayes wee had done against the same: we lodged vpon an Island, where we had nothing in the world to eat but pottage of Sassafras leaues, the like whereof for a meate was neuer vsed before as I thinke. The broad sound wee had to passe the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the winde blew so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was vpon Easter eue, which was fasted very cruely. Upon Easter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the sound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence all the Sauages that we had left there were fled, but their weares did yelde vs some fish, as God was pleased not vterly to suffer vs to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were farre spent. The next morning wee arrived at our home Roanoak.

A conflict be-
gun by the
Sauages.

The great cur-
rent of the Ri-
uer of Morati-
tico,

I haue set downe this Voyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare vnto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst vs, to haue persued this discoverie of the Mine: for that the discovery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing else can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discovery of either of the two aboue shewed, it will bee the most sweete and healthfullest climate, and therewithall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummies there found make good marchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselves will not be worth the fetching.

Provided also, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which must be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to haue spent this Summer in the search of, and of the Mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would haue done, if the barkes that I should haue had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courtesie, had not bene driuen away by Storme: the other if your supply of more men, and some other necessaries had come to vs in any conuenient sufficiency. For this riuer of Moratico promisseth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey, either riseth from the bay of Mexico, or els from very neere vnto the same, that openeth out into the South sea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Youghan affirme, that though it be but copper, seeing the Sauages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest Mineralls in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the Northward, as before is saide, and from thence foure dayes ouerland, to the Riuer of Choanoak sconses being raised, from whence againe ouerland through the prouince of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the first towne of the Mangoaks vpon the Riuer of Moratico by the way, as also vpon the said Riuer for the defence of our boates like sconses being set, in this course of proceeding you shall cleare your selfe from all those dangers and

broad

broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes trauell into the heart of the maine 200. miles at the least, and so passe your discovery into that most notable countrey, and to the likeliest parts of the maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwise can bee performed.

Thus Sir, I haue though simply, yet truely set downe vnto you, what my labour with the rest of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company (not without both paine and perill, which the Lord in his mercy many wayes deliuered vs from) could yeeld vnto you, which might haue bene performed in some moze perfection, if the Lord had bene pleased that onely that which you had provided for vs had at the first bene left with vs, or that hee had not in his eternall prouidence now at the last set some other course in these things, then the wisdome of man coulde looke into, which truely the carping away by a most strange & vnlooked for storme of all our prouision, with Barks, Master, Mariners, and sundry also of mine owne company, al hauing bene so courteously supplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake, the same hauing bene most sufficient to haue performed the greatest part of the premisses, must euer make me to thinke the hand of God onely (for some his goodd purpose to my selfe yet vnknown) to haue bene in the matter.

The second part touching the conspiracie of Pemisapan, the discovery of the same, and at the last, of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.



Nsenore a Sauage father to Pemisapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongst them, and about the King, died the 20. of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himselfe in their consultations against all matters proposed against vs, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to haue preferred. And he was not onely by the meere prouidence of God during his life, a meane to saue vs from hurt, as poisonings and such like, but also to doe vs very great good, and singularly in this.

The King was aduised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to haue assuredly brought vs to ruine in the moneth of March 1586, himselfe also with all his Sauages to haue runne away from vs, and to haue left his ground in the Island vnswayed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee coulde haue bene preferred from staruing out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Coyne for seede to put into the ground.

This skill of making weares would be learned.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a bzute among themselves, that I and my company were part slaine, and part starued by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starued, but the other false.

Nevertheless vntill my returne it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against vs, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but also (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in shew, of the Almighty God of heauen, and Iesus Christ whom wee serue and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the only God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lord God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what prouince soeuer. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellows, coulde for his sake haue no more credite for vs: and it came so farre that the king was resolved to haue presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But euen in the beginning of this bzute I returned, which when hee sawe contrary to his expectation, and the aduertisement that hee had receiued: that not onely my selfe, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his owne 3. Sauages which had bene with mee besides Manteco in that voyage, that is to say, Tetezano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the prouinces) durst not for the most part of them abide vs, and that those that did abide vs were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loued to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little asswage all deuises against vs: on the other side, it made Ensenores opinions to bee receiued againe with greater respects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the king and the rest, that wee were the seruants of God, and that wee were not subiect to bee destroyed by them: but contrarywise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, should finde their owne, and not bee able to worke

worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being alieue: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they haue bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of vs, in the aire shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we retorne againe.

All these speeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching vs, when hee sawe the small troupe returned againe, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible vnto them: But that which made by the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good prouidence of the Almighty for the sauing of vs, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my retorne from the sayd iourney, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle for a present, or rather, as Pemisapan tolde mee, for the rancome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signifie vnto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomeiok, to yeelde himselfe seruant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commandement receiued from Menatonon, the sayde Okisko toyntly with this Menatonons messenger sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signifie that they were ready to perfourme the same, and so had sent those his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Maestie their onely Soueraigne, and next vnto her, as is aforesayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Sauages in counsell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward vs: Insomuch as forthwith Ensenore wanne this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, and withall, to cause his men to set by weares forthwith for vs: both which he at that present went in hande withall, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient, to haue fed our whole company (God blessing the grouch) and that by the belly, for a whole yere: besides that he gaue vs a certaine plot of ground for our selues to sowe. All which put vs in marvellous comfort, if we could passe from Aprill vntill the beginning of Iuly, (which was to haue bene the beginning of their haruest,) that then a newe supply out of England or els our owne store would well ynough maintaine vs: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane space if the Sauages should not helpe vs with Cassai, and Chyna, and that our weares should faile vs, (as often they did,) we might very well starue, notwithstanding the growing cozne, like the starving horse in the stable, with the growing grasse, as the prouerbe is: which wee very hardly had escaped but onely by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try vs. For within few dayes after, as before is saide, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand againe to put their old practises in vze against vs, which were readily embraced, and all their former deuises against vs renewed, and new brought in question. But that of staruing vs, by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by hauing made the King all at one instant to sow his ground, not onely in the Island, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues ouer against vs. Neuerthelesse there wanted no store of mischieuous practises among them, and of all they resolved principally of this following.

First that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoages should bee mouued, and with great quantitie of copper intertained to the number of 7. or 8. hundred bowes, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be inuited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they doe vse to solemnise in their Sauage maner for any great personage dead, and should haue bene for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians & their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Dasamonquepeio, and there lying close at the signe of fiers, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troupe aboue named should haue executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the rest should haue come ouer into the Island, where they ment to haue dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both dismayed and disper sed abroad in the Island, seeking of crabs and fish to liue withall. The maner of their enterprise was this.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemisapan, and very lustie fellowes,

The begin-
ning of their
haruest in
Iuly.

The conspira-
cie of Pemisa-
pan.

The forme of
the treason,

with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they ment should in this sort haue bene executed. In the dead time of the night they would haue beset my house, and put fire in the reedes that the same was couered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my selfe would haue come running out of a sudden amazed in my spirit without armes, vpon the instant whereof they would haue knocked out my braines.

The sufficien-
cie of our men
to deale a-
gainst the Sa-
uages, 10. to
an hundred.

The same order was giuen to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afoze is saide, and that as well for them of the sort, as for vs at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and so bee the more easily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of vs without armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the best sort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practise, that they should not for any copper sell vs any victuals whatsoeuer: besides that in the night they should sende to haue our weares robbed, and also to cause them to bee broken, and once being broken neuer to be repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King stood assured, that I must bee enforced for lacke of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to liue vpon shell fish, for so the Sauages themselves doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreme among vs, our weares failing vs of fish, that I was enforced to sende Captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Flad to serue two turnes in one, that is to say, to feede himselfe and his company, and also to keepe watch if any shipping came vpon the coast to warne vs of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnesse to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the prouost Barthol to liue there, and also to wait for shipping: also I sent euery weeke 16. or 20. of the rest of the company to the maine ouer against vs, to liue of Calada and oysters.

The Sauages
liue by fishing,
and hunting,
till harvest.

In the meane while Pemisapan went of purpose to Dasamonquepeio for three causes: The one to see his grounds there broken vp, and sowed for a second crop: the other to withdraue himselfe from my dayly sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for hee was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst hee in my presence but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason, to giue him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had euer done befoze, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to haue relied my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there had giuen many tokens of earnest desire they had to ioyne in perfect league with vs, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeciok for making him beleue such tales of vs.

The third cause of his going to Dasamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeciok, and to the Mandoages, as aforesaid: all which he did with great impress of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoile.

The answer within few dayes after came from Weopomeciok, which was deuided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himselfe, or any of his especiall followers, and therefore did immediatly retire himselfe with his force into the maine: the other was concerning the rest of the said prouince who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoags receiued the impress.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of Iune: all which the premises were discovered by Skyco, the King Menatonon his sonne my prisoner, who hauing once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon hee being perswaded that hee was our enemy to the death, he did not onely feed him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himselfe as well vsed at my hande, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discovered all vnto me, which also afterwards was reuelled vnto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, that night befoze he was slaine.

These mischiefes being all instantly vpon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood mee in hand to study how to preuent them, and also to saue all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspicion out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arriuall of our Fleet, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good aduenture,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, & to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes prouision to serue for my voyage.

He sent me word that he would himselfe come ouer to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him & the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the last of May 1586 when all his owne Sauages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandement sent abroad vnto them, and I resolved not to stay longer vpon his comming ouer, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolved to do the next day: but that night I meant by the way to giue them in the Island a canuifado, and at the instant to seize vpon all the canoas about the Island, to keepe him from aduertisements.

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them; the occasion was this. I had sent the Master of the light horseman, with a few with him, to gather vp all the canoas in the setting of the Sun, & to take as many as were going from vs to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. We met with a Canoa going from the shore, and ouerthrew the Canoa, and cut off two Sauages heads: this was not done so secretly but he was discovered from the shore; wherupon the cry arose: for in truerth they priuy to their owne villanous purposes against vs, held as good espiall vpon vs, both day and night, as we did vpon them.

The slaughter
and surprise of
the Sauages.

The alarme giuen, they tooke themselves to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slaine with our shot; the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horseman & one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Sergeant maior, I went to Dasamonquepeio: and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne Sauages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine vnto him of Osocon, who the night past was conueying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke. Peereupon the king did abide my coming to him, and finding my selfe amidst seuen or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gaue the watch-word agreed vpon, (which was, Christ our victory) and immediately those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliuerance, that which they had purposed for vs. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the sauing of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started vp, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he ouerran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an Irish man seruing me, one Nugent, and the deputy prouost, undertooke him; and following him in the woods, ouertooke him: and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king & my man by our owne negligence to haue bene intercepted by the Sauages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.

Pemisapan
slaine.

This fell out the first of June 1586, and the eight of the same came aduertisement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Island, that he had discovered a great fleet of three and twenty sailles: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discern. He aduised me to stand vpon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the sayd month he himselfe came vnto me, hauing that night before, & that same day trauelled by land twenty miles: and I must cruelly reposit of him from the first to the last; hee was the gentleman that neuer spared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to perforce any seruice committed vnto him.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountifull and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action wee were entered into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnelles, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned, and furnished to my contentation.

A letter from
Sir Francis
Drake.

The tenth day he arriued in the road of our bad harborow: and comming there to an anchor, the eleuenth day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to perforce that which in writing and message he had most curteously offered, he hauing aforehand propounded the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks vnto him and his captaines for his care both of vs and of our action, not as the matter deserved, but as I could both for my company and my selfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craued at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weake and unfit men for my good action, which I would deliuer to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leave vs so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following would carry me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lacke of needfull prouision in time left with vs as yet remained vndone.

That

That it woulde please him withall to leaue some sufficient Masters not onely to cary vs into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harbour, if there were any, and especially to helpe vs to some small boats and oare-men.

Also for a supply of calieuers, hand weapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and such like.

He hauing receiued these my requests, according to his vsuall commendable maner of gouernment (as it was told me) calling his capitaines to counsell; the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my comp any as I vsed in such matters, with their notes, to goe aboord with him; which were the Master of the victuals, the Keeper of the store, and the Vice-treasurer: to whom he appointed fort, with for me *The Francis*, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboord her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demands whatsoeuer, to the uttermost.

And further, he appointed for me two pinnelles, and foure small boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards vs, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented Masters as were any in his fleet, by iudgement of them that knew them, with very sufficient gings to tary with me, and to imploy themselves most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, vntill the terme which I promised of our returne into England againe. The names of one of those Masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the provision aforesayd being brought, and in bringing aboord, my sayd Masters being also gone aboord, my sayd barks hauing accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the sayd Generall the 12 of the sayde moneth) the 13 of the same there arose such an vnmounted storme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand ouer them, and the Generall very prouidently foresene the worst himselfe, then about my dispatch putting himselfe aboord: but in the end hauing driuen sundry of the fleet to put to Sea the *Francis* also with all my provisions, my two Masters, and my company aboord, he was seene to be free from the same, and to put cleere to Sea.

This storme hauing continued from the 13 to the 16 of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforesayd, the Generall coming ashore made a new proffer vnto me; which was a ship of 170 tunne, called *The Barke Bonner*, with a sufficient Master and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all provisions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for any thing vnder take to haue her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leaue her in the road, and to leaue the care of the rest vnto my selfe, and aduised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliuer presently vnto him in writing what I would require him to doe for vs; which being within his power, he did assure me aswell for his Capitaines as for himselfe, should be most willingly performed.

Whereupon calling such Capitaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as priuy as my selfe to the Generals offer; their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weaknesse of our company, the small number of the same, the carrying away of our first appointed barke, with those two especiall Masters, with our principall provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take vs from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbour: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Grenuill, so vndoubtedly promised vs before, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolue my selfe with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleased to giue vs present passage with him. Which request of ours by my selfe deliuered vnto him, hee most readily assented vnto: and so he sending immediatly his pinnelles vnto our Iland for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, & the pinnelles so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings were by the Sallers cast ouerboord, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieved with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (hauing bestowed vs among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that storme sustained more perill of wracke then in all his former most honourable actions against the Spaniards, with praises vnto God for all, set saile the nineteenth of June 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth the seuen and twentieth of July the same yeere.

The third voyage made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586, to
thereliefe of the Colony planted in *Virginia*, at the sole charges of
Sir Walter Raleigh.



In the yeere of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Raleigh at his owne charge prepared a ship of an hundred tunne, freighted with all maner of things in most plentifull maner, for the supply and reliefe of his Colony then remaining in *Virginia*: but before they set saile from England it was after Easter, so that our Colony halfe despaired of the coming of any supply: wherefore euery man prepared for himselfe, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life time in that countrey. And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their reliefe in so plentifull a maner as might haue sufficed them two yeeres without any further labour. Thus trusting to their owne harvest, they passed the Summer till the tenth of June: at which time their corne which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping: but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his prosperous returne from the lacking of Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine, determined in his way home ward to visit his countrey men the English Colony then remaining in *Virginia*. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our English Colony inhabited: and hauing espied some of that company, there he anchored and went aland, where hee conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had past with them. They answered him that they liued all; but hitherto in some scarcety: and as yet could heare of no supply out of England: therefore they requested him that hee would leaue with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then returne themselves. Which hee agreed to. Whilest some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their trauels ech to other, some on land, some on boord, a great storme arose, and droue the most of their fleet from their ankers to Sea, in which ships at that instant were the chiefe of the English Colony: the rest on land perceiuing this, hastened to those three sailes which were appointed to be left there; and for feare they should be left behinde they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came vpon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that countrey.

Immediately after the departing of our English Colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship abouementioned sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh and his direction, arrived at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony by in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd prouision into England.

About foureteene or fifteene dayes after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grinuil Generall of *Virginia*, accompanied with three shippes well appointed for the same voyage, arrived there; who not finding the aforesayd shippe according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our English Colony there seated, and left by him anno 1585, himselfe traouelling by into diuers places of the countrey, as well to see if he could heare any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before, vnder the charge of Walter Lane his deputy, as also to discouer some places of the countrey: but after some time spent therein, not hearing any newes of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to loose the possession of the countrey which Englishmen had so long held: after good deliberation, hee determined to leaue some men behinde to retaine possession of the countrey: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifull with all maner of prouision for two yeeres, and so departed for England.

Not long after he fell with the Isles of Açores, on some of which Islands he landed, and spoiled the townes of all such things as were woorth cartage, where also he tooke diuers Spaniards. With these and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, as well outward as homeward, he returned into England.

This ship arrived in *Virginia*.

Sir Richard Grinuils third voyage.

Fifteene men more left in *Virginia*.

A briefe

A briefe and true report of the new found land of *Virginia* : of the commodities there found, and to be raised, aswell merchantable as others : Written by *Thomas Hariot*, seruant to *Sir Walter Raleigh*, a member of the Colony, and there employed in discouering a full tweluemonth.

Rafe Lane one of her Maiesties Esquiers, and Gouvernour of the Colony in *Virginia*, above mentioned, for the time there resident, to the gentle Reader wisheth all happinesse in the Lord.

Albeit (gentle Reader) the credit of the reports in this Treatise contained can little be furthered by the testimony of one as my selfe, through affection iudged partiall, though without desert: neuerthelesse, forsomuch as I haue bene requested by some my particular friends, who conceiue more rightly of me, to deliuer freely my knowledge of the same, not onely for the satisfying of them, but also for the true information of any other whosoeuer, that comes not with a preiudicate minde to the reading thereof: thus much vpon my credit I am to affirme, that things vniuersally are so truly set downe in this Treatise by the authour thereof, an actor in the Colony, and a man no lesse for his honesty then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly auouch, it may very well passe with the credit of trueth euen amongst the most true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, so also (of the certaintie thereof assured by mine owne experience) with this my publike assertion I doe affirme the same. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Aduenturers, Fauourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in *Virginia*.

SINCE the first vndertaking by *Sir Walter Raleigh* to deale in the action of discouering of that countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of *Virginia*, many voyages hauing bene thither made at sundry times to his great charge; as first in the yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this last yere 1587: there haue bene diuers and variable reports, with some slanderous and shamefull speeches byted abroad by many that returned from thence: especially of that discouery which was made by the Colony transported by *Sir Richard Griuile* in the yere 1585, being of all others the most principall, and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before they staped but fixe weeks, and the others after were onely for supply and transportation, nothing more being discouered then had bene before. Which reports haue not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would haue also fauoured and aduentured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, besides the particular profit and credit which would rebound to themselves the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequel of euents, to the shame of those that haue auouched the contrary, shall be manifest, if you the aduenturers, fauourers and welwillers doe but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing bene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the woorthinesse thereof already found, and as you shall vnderstand hereafter to be requisite. Touching which woorthinesse through cause of the diuersity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the minds of some that are well disposed be settled in any certaintie.

I haue therefore thought it good, being one that haue bene in the discouerie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially employed: and hauing therefore scene and knowen more then the ordinary, to impart so much vnto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how iniuriously the enterprise is slandered, and that in publique maner at this present, chiefly for two respects.

First, that some of you which are yet ignorant or doubtfull of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause why the chiefe enterpriser with the fauour of her Maiesty, notwithstanding such reports, hath not onely since continued the action by sending into the countrey againe, and replanting this last yere a new Colony, but is also ready, according as the times and meanes will afford, to follow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may

may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon consider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may returne you profit and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or other wise in furthering thereof.

And least that the substance of my relation should be doubtfull vnto you, as of others by reason of their diuersitie, I will first open the cause in a few words, wherefore they are so different, referring my selfe to your fauourable constructions, and to be adiudged of, as by good consideration you shall finde cause.

Of our company that returned, some for their missemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey haue bene there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, haue maliciously not onely spoken ill of their Gouernours, but for their sakes slandered the countrey it selfe. The like also haue those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignozant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friends & acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsayd, would seeme to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great traouellers as themselves. They stood so much, as it may seeme, vpon their credit and reputation, that hauing bene a twelue moneth in the countrey, it would haue bene a great disgrace vnto them, as they thought, if they could not haue sayd much, whether it were true or false. Of which some haue spoken of more then euer they saw, or otherwise knew to be there. Other some haue not bene ashamed to make absolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully knowen, & other some make difficulties of those things they haue no skill of.

The cause of their ignozance was, in that they were of that many that were neuer out of the Island where we were seated, or not farre, or at the least wise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the countrey: or of that many, that after gold & siluer was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had litle vnderstanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice hyinging vp, only in cities or towne, or such as neuer (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in brieft to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and of many enuious, malicious, and slanderous reports and deuices els, by our owne countrey men besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought vpon, I meane not to trouble you withall, but will passe to the commodities, the substance of that which I haue to make relation of vnto you.

The Treatise whereof, for your more ready view and easier vnderstanding, I will diuide into three speciall parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not onely serue the ordinary turnes of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an ouerplus sufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of skill to be prouided, as by way of traffique and exchange with our owne nation of England, will enrich your selues the prouiders: those that shall deale with you, the enterprisers in generall, and greatly profit our owne countrey men, to supply them with most things which heretofore they haue bene faine to prouide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call Merchantable.

In the second I will set downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it selfe for victuall and sustenance of mans life, such as are vsually fed vpon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as also by vs during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall thinke behoouefull for those that shall inhabit, and plant there, to know of, which specially concerne building, as also some other necessary vles: with a brieft description of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey.

The first part of Merchantable commodities.

Silke of grasse, or Grasse silke. There is a kind of grasse in the country, vpon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke in forme of a thing glittering skin to be stript off. It groweth two foot & an halfe high or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and halfe an inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in the selfe same climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come from thence into Europe are made.

I see you more and more each day farther of earthly creature's imperfections & long to pray for you in your part

made. Whereof if it be planted and ordered as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great use and benefit thereof as well in our country as elsewhere. And by the means of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentiful then it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof in many places of the country growing naturally and wild, which also by proofe here in England, in making a piece of Silke grogram, we found to be excellent good.

Worme silke. In many of our iourneys we found Silke-wormes faire and great, as bigge as our ordinary Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our hap to haue found such plenty, as elsewhere to be in the country we haue heard of, yet seeing that the country doth naturally breed and nourish them, there is no doubt but if arte be added in planting of Pulberie trees, and others, fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding & nourishing, and some of them carefully gathered & husbanded in that sort, as by men of skill is known to be necessary: there will rise as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians and Spaniards.

Flaxe and Hempe. The truth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no great store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soile doth yeeld of it selfe: and how soeuer the leafe and stemme of flaxe do differ from ours, the stuffe by iudgement of men of skill is altogether as good as ours: and if not, as further proofe should finde otherwise, we haue that experience of the soile, as that there cannot be shewed any reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yeilded plentifully, seeing there is so much ground whereof some may well be applied to such purposes. What benefit hereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot easily vnderstand.

Allum. There is a beine of earth along the sea coast for the space of forty or fifty miles, whereof by the iudgement of some that haue made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roch allum. The richnesse of such a commodity is so well knownen, that I need not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doth also yeeld White coppasse, Nitrum, and Alumen plumbeum, but nothing so plentifully as the common Allum, which be also of price, and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants, very like to Terra sigillata, and hauing bene refined, it hath bene found by some of our Physicians and Chyrurgians, to be of the same kind of vertue, and more effectual. The inhabitants vse it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in diuers places great plenty, and in some places of a blew sort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are those kinds of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great store. In the very same Island where we were seated, being fiftene miles of length, and fixe or fixe miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the same kinde, the whole Island being full.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants Winank, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare vertues in physicke for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more blessing then the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitae. For the description, the manner of vsing, and the manifold vertues thereof, I refer you to the booke of Monardes, translated and entituled in English, The ioyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedsteads, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things els, (of which there hath bene proofe made already) to make by freight with other principall commodities, will yeeld profit.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doth yeeld naturally, the one is small and lowe, of the ordinary bignesse as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himselfe luscious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principall commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oile. There are two sorts of Walnuts, both holding oile; but the one farre more plentiful then the other. When there are mills and other devices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store. There are also thre severall kindes of berries in the forme of Oke-akoznes, which also by the experience and vse of the inhabitants, we find to yeeld very good and sweet oile. Furthermoze, the beates of the country are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatnesse, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oile, and hath many speciall uses.

Furres. All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, will yeeld good profit. We heare also of Parterne furies, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the country there are store,

Roze, although there were but two skinned that came to our hands. Luzernes also we haue vnderstanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deers skinned dresled after the maner of Chamoes, or vnderdressed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yerely by way of traffike for trifles, and no more waste or spoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarly in time before.

Civet-cats. In our trauels there was found one to haue bin killed by a Sauage or inhabitant, & in another place the smel where one or more had lately bene before, whereby we gather besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the country: good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore, & the other six score miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found nere the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the triall of a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the country els: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour & feeding of men, the infinite Roze of wood, the want of wood & deerensse thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the maine in two towne we found with the inhabitants diuers small plates of Copper, that had bene made as we vnderstood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the country, where as they say are mountaines and riuers that yeeld also white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed Siluer. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our first arriual in the countrey, I saw, with some others with me, two small pieces of Siluer grossly beaten, about the weight of a testron, hanging in the eares of a Wiroans or chiefe lord that dwelt about four score miles from vs: of whom through inquiry, by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or nere, where I after vnderstood the Copper was made, and the white graines of mettall found. The aforesayd Copper we also found by triall to holde Siluer.

Pearle. Sometimes in feeding on Muscles we found some Pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not hauing yet discovered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the Sauage people about five thousand: of which number he chose so many as made a faire chaine, which for their likenesse and vniformity in roundnesse, orientnesse, and pidenesse of many excellent colours, with equality in greatnesse, were very faire and rare: and had therefore bene presented to her Maiesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a Royme lost them, with many things els in coming away from the countrey.

Five thousand
pearles gathered.

Sweet gummes of diuers kinds, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make speciall mention, when we shall receiue it from such men of skill in that kinde, that in taking reasonable paines shall discover them more particularly then we haue done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had prouided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dies of diuers kinds: There is Shoemake well known, and used in England for blacke: the seed of an herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: which dies are for diuers sorts of red: their goodness for our English clothes remaine yet to be proued. The inhabitants vse them only for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, and mancles made of Deere skinned: and also for the dying of rushes to make artificiall works withall in their mats and baskets: hauing no other thing besides that they account of, apt to vse them for. If they will not prouue merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall finde apt vses for them, as also for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of so great bent and vses amongst English Diers, which can not be peeld sufficiently in our owne countrey for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted, when as in the Islands of the Agores it groweth plentifully, which are in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We caried thither Suger-canes to plant, which being not so well preserued as was requisite, and besides the time of the yeere being past for their setting when we arriued, we could not make that vse of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise for Orenge and Limmons. There may be planted also Quinses. Whereby may grow in reasonable time, if the action be diligently prosecuted, no small commodities in Sugars, Suckers, and Marmelades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also be raised, which I leaue to your discreet

and gentle considerations: and many also may be there, which yet we haue not discovered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certinty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised, and in short time to be prouided, and prepared, I might haue specified. So likewise of those commodities already set downe I might haue sayd more: as of the particular places where they are found, and best to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and in what proportion: but because others then wellwillers might be therewithall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I haue wittingly omitted them: knowing that to those that are well disposed, I haue vttered, according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.

The second part of such commodities as *Virginia* is knowen to yeeld for victuall and sustenance of mans life, vsually fed vpon by the naturall inhabitants; as also by vs, during the time of our abode: and first of such as are sowed and husbanded.



PAgatowr, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants: the same in the West Indies is called Mayz: English men call it Guiny-wheat or Turkey-wheat, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignes of our ordinary English peaze, and not much different in forme and shape: but of diuers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweet flowze: being vsed according to his kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the countrey some Pault, whereof was brewed as good Ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the helpe of Hops, therof may be made as good Beere. It is a graine of maruellous great increase: of a thousand, fifteene hundred, and some two thousand folde. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleuen & twelue weeks at the most, sometimes in tenn, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about sixe or seuen foot. The other sort is ripe in foureteene, and is about tenn foot high, of the stalks some beare foure heads, some thre, some one, and some two; euery head containing siue, sixe, or seuen hundred graines, within a few more or lesse. Of these graines, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or seething them whole vntill they be broken: or boiling the flowze with water into a pap.

Okindgier, called by vs Beanes, because in greatnesse and partly in shape they are like to the beanes in England, sauing that they are flatter, of more diuers colours, and some pive. The lease also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by vs Peaze, in respect of the Beanes, for distinction sake, because they are much lesse, although in forme they litle differ: but in goodnesse of taste much like, and are far better then our English peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pierces into a broth, or boiling them whole vntill they be soft, and beginne to breake, as is vsed in England, either by themselves, or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the Wheat with them: sometime also, being whole sodden, they huse or punne them in a mortar, and therof make loaves or lumps of doughish bread, which they vse to eat for variety.

Macoequer, according to their seuerall formes, called by vs Pompions, Melons, and Gourds, because they are of the like formes as those kinds in England. In *Virginia* such of seuerall formes are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts: one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it vnto, take it to be a kinde of Dage: it groweth about foure or siue foot high: of the seed thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall many vse sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We our selues vsed the leaues also for pot-herbs.

There is also another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about sixe foot in height, the head with the floure is a spanne in breadth. Some take it to be *Planta Solis*: of the seeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the aforesayd commodities for victuall are set or sowed, sometimes in grounds apart and seuerally by themselves, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the maner thereof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note vnto you the fertility of the soile, I thinke good briefly to describe,

The

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A few dayes before they sowe or set, the men with wooden instruments made almost in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with short peckers or parers, because they vse them sitting, of a foot long, and about five inches in breadth, doe onely breake the upper part of the ground to raise up the weeds, grasse, and olde stubbes of corne stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two dayes drying in the Sunne, being scrapt up into many small heaps, to save them labour for carrying them away, they burne into ashes. And whereas some may thinke that they vse the ashes for to better the ground, I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which wee observed they do not, except the heaps be too great, or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are carelesse of. And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they vse.

Then their setting or sowing is after this maner. First for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch asunder) & couer them with the molde againe: and so they row out the whole plot making such holes, and vling them after such maner, but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, euery ranke differing from other halfe a fadome or a paze, and the holes also in euery ranke as much. By this meanes there is a paze spare ground betwene euery hole: where according to discretion here and there, they set as many Beanes and Peaze; in diuers places also among the seeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by vs experimented, an English acre containing forty pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in crosse or of come of corne, Beanes and Peaze, at the least two hundred London bushels, besides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis; when as in England forty bushels of our Wheat yeelded out of such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this vnto you, that you which shall inhabit, and plant there, may know how specially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: besides, the manifold wayes in applying it to victual, the increase is so much, that small labor & paines is needful in respect of that which must be vsed for ours. For this I can assure you that according to the rate we haue made pzoofe of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (hauing once borne corne before) with lesse then foure and twenty houres labour, as shall yeeld him victual in a large proportion for a tweluemonth, if he haue nothing els but that which the same ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I haue before spoken of: the sayd ground being also but of five and twenty yards square. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfesame ground two harvests or of comes: for they sow or set, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midst of March untill the end of June: so that they also set when they haue eaten of their first crosse. In some places of the countrey notwithstanding they haue two harvests, as we haue heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corne neuertheless, whether to vse or not to vse it, you that inhabit may doe as you shall haue further cause to thinke best. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for Barley, Dats, and Peaze, we haue seene pzoofe of, not being purposely sowed, but fallen casually in the woorst sort of ground, and yet to be as faire as any we haue euer seene heere in England. But of Wheat, because it was musty, and had taken salt water, we could make no triall: and of Rie we had none. Thus much haue I digressed, and I hope not vnnecessarily: now will I returne againe to my course, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, appertaining to this chapter.

There is an herbe which is sowed apart by it selfe, and is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc: in the West Indies it hath diuers names, according to the seuerall places and countreys where it groweth and is vsed: the Spaniards generally call it Tabacco. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into powder, they vse to take the fume or smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and head; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body: by which meanes the vse thereof not onely preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they haue not bene of too long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted.

This Vppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are maruellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they call

cast some vp into the aire and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set vp, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danager, they cast some into the aire like wise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and staring vp into the heauens, uttering therewithall, and chattering strange words and noises.

As our selues, during the time we were there, vled to sucke it after their maner, as also since our returne, and haue found many rare and woonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it selfe: the vse of it by so many of late men and women of great calling, as els, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witness.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life, that I know and can remember, they vse to husband: all els that follow, are found growing naturally or wilde.

Of Roots.

OPenauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, some of the bignesse of Walnuts, some farre greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth these roots, Beads or Pater nostri of Santa Helena.

Monardes parte
2. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Okepenauk are also of round shape, found in dry grounds: some are of the bignesse of a maus head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground: for by reason of their bignesse they will neither roste nor seethe. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots: notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety the inhabitants vse to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my iudgement they do as well as the householde bread made of Rie here in England.

Kaithucpenauk, a white kinde of roots about the bignesse of hennes egges, and neere of that forme: their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and maner of growing not so much cared for by vs: the inhabitants notwithstanding vled to boile and eat many.

Thinaw, a kind of root much like vnto that which in England is called the China root brought from the East Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the same kinde. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring forth a brier stalke, but the leafe in shape farre unlike: which being supported by the trees it groweth neere vnto, will reach or climbe to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chopt into small pieces, and stamp, is strained with water a iuice that maketh bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoonmeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taste, if it be tempered with oile. This Thinaw is not of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root; for it was discovered since, and is in vse as is aforesayd: but that which was brought hither is not yet known, neither by vs nor by the inhabitants to serue for any vse or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

The iuice of
Coscushaw is
poison.

Coscushaw some of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the West Indies call Cassau, whereupon also many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddy pooles, and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and also a good spoonmeat, and is vled very much by the inhabitants. The iuice of this root is poison, & therefore heed must be taken before any thing be made therewithall: either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the fire, and then being punned into flour, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and stamp: loaves of the same to be layd nere or ouer the fire vntill it be sowre; and then being well punned againe, bread or spoonmeat very good in taste and hole some may be made thereof.

Habalcon is a root of hote taste, almost of the forme and bignesse of a Parsnip: of it selfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe, being boiled together with other meats.

There are also Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey; of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants neuer.

Of Fruits.

Chestnuts there are in diuers places great store: some they vse to eat raw, some they stamp and boile to make spoonmeat, and with some being sodden, they make such a maner of dough bread as they vse of their beanes before mentioned.

Walnuts,

Walnuts. There are two kinds of Walnuts, and of them infinite store: in many places, where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are Walnut trees. The one kinde is of the same taste and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard shell; but the kernel great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary manner, they breake them with stones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they use to put into some sorts of their spoonmeat; also among their sodde wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions, which maketh them haue a farre more pleasant taste.

Medlars, a kinde of very good fruit; so called by vs chiefly for these respects: first in that they are not good vntill they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our Medlars, and are about the same bignesse: other wise in taste and colour they are farre different; for they are as red as cherries, and very sweet: but whereas the chery is sharpe sweet, they are luscious sweet.

Muraquesunnauk, a kinde of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bignesse of English peares, but that they are of a perfect red colour as well within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaues are very thicke, and full of prickles as sharpe as needles. Some that haue beene in the Indies, where they haue seene that kind of red die of great price, which is called Cochinile, to grow, doe describe his plant right like vnto this of Muraquesunnauk; but whether it be the true Cochinile, or a bastard or wilde kinde, is cannot yet be certified, seeing that also, as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaues of the plant: which leaues for such matter we haue not so specially obserued.

There are three kinds of Tunas whereof that which beareth no fruit bringeth forth the Cochinillo.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberies there are as good and as great as those which we haue in our English gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or **Hurtleberies**, such as we haue in England.

Sacquenumener, a kinde of berries almost like vnto Capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters vpon a plant or hearbe that is found in shallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde, are very good meat and wholesome; other wise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time franticke or extremely sicke.

There is a kinde of Reed which beareth a seed almost like vnto our Rye or Wheat; and being boiled is good meat.

In our trauels in some places we found Wilde peaze like vnto ours in England, but that they were lesse, which are also good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

There is a kinde of berry or acorne, of which there are five sorts that grow on seuerall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemenner, the second Osamenner, the third Pummuckoner. These kinde of acornes they vse to drye vpon hurdles made of reeds, with fire vnderneath, almost after the manner as we drye Helt in England. When they are to be vsed, they first water them vntill they be soft, and then being sod, they make a good victuall, either to eat so simply, or els being also punned to make loques or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds, of which I sayd before the inhabitants vsed to make sweet oile.

Another sort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or patched, doth eat and taste like vnto Chestnuts. They sometime also make bread of this sort.

The fift sort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Dake, the which being dried after the manner of the first sorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their seruants, or sometime the chiefe themselves, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

Of Beasts.

DEere, in some places there are great store: neere vnto the Sea coast they are of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, and some lesse: but further by into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tails are longer, and the snags of their homes looke backward.

Conies. Those that we haue seene, and all that we can heare of are of a gray colour like vnto Hares: in some places there are such plenty that all the people of some townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the skinner of those which they vsually take.

Saquenuckot and **Maquowoc**, two kinds of small beasts greater then Conies, which are very good meat. We neuerooke any of them our selues, but sometime eat of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought vnto vs.

Squirrels, which are of a grey colour, we haue taken and eaten.

Bears, which are of blacke colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat. The inhabitants in time of Winter do vse to take & eat many; so also sometime did we. They are taken commonly in this sort: In some Islands or places where they are, being hunted for, as soone as they haue spiall of a man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they clime and get by the next tree they can; from whence with arrowes they are shot downe starke dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometime shot them downe with our callievers.

I haue the names of eight and twenty seuerall sortes of beasts, which I haue heard of to be here and there dispersed in the countrey, especially in the maine: of which there are only twelue kinds that we haue yet discovered; and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the Lion, and eat him: and we sometime as they came to our hands of their Woolues or Wooluish dogs, which I haue not set downe for good meat, least that some would vnderstand my iudgement therein to be more simple then needeth, although I could alleage the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company haue bene experimented in both.

Of Fowle.

Turkie cocks and Turkie hennies, Stockdoves, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, and in Winter great store of Swannes and Geese. Of all sortes of fowle I haue the names in the countrey language of fourescore and sixe, of which number, besides those that be named, we haue taken, eaten, & haue the pictures as they were there drawn, with the names of the inhabitants, of seuerall strange sortes of water fowle eight, and seuentene kinds more of land fowle, although we haue seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose, could not be pictured: and after we are better furnished and stored vpon further discovery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shalbe also published.

There are also Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with vs they be not used for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

Of Fish.

Foure moneths of the peere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons. And also in the same moneths of Herrings, some of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eightene, twenty inches, and some two foot in length and better: both these kinds of fish in those moneths are most plentifull, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also Trouts, Porpoises, Rayes, Oldwiues, Mulletts, Plaice, and very many other sortes of excellent good fish, which we haue taken and eaten, whose names I know not but in the countrey language: we haue the pictures of twelue sortes more, as they were drawn in the countrey, with their names.

In the gulfe of California they vse the like fishing.

The inhabitants vse to take them two maner of wayes; the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that country are very strong: the other way, which is more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irish men cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats, or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow:

Sea-crabs, such as we haue in England.

Oysters, some very great, and some small, some round, and some of a long shape: they are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are farre better then the other, as in our countrey.

Also Mufcles, Scalops, Periwinkles, and Creuises.

Seekanauk, a kinde of crusty shel-fish, which is good meat, about a foot in bredth, hauing a crusty taile, many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in shallowes of waters, and sometime on the shoze.

There are many Tortoises both of land and sea kinde, their backs and bellies are shelled very thicke; their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly, as though they were members of a serpent or venomous beasts: but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their egges. Some haue bene found of a pard in bredth and better.

And thus haue I made relation of all sortes of victuall that we fed vpon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselves, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially woorthie to be remembered.

The

The third and last part of such other things as are behouefull for those which shall plant and inhabite to know of, with a description of the nature and maners of the people of the Countrey.

Of commodities for building and other necessary uses.



Whose other things which I am moze to make rehearſal of, are ſuch as concerne building, & other mechanicall neceſſary vſes, as diuers ſorts of trees for houſe and ſhip-timber, and other vſes elſe: Alſo lime, ſtone, and brycke, leaſt that being not mentioned ſome might haue bene doubted of, or by ſome that are malicious the contrary repoꝛted.

Oakes there are as faire, ſtraight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and alſo great ſtoze, and in ſome places very great.

Walnut trees, as I haue ſaid befoꝛe very many, ſome haue bene ſeene excellent faire timber of foure and ſiue ſadome, and aboue foureſcoꝛe foote ſtreight without bough.

Firre trees fit for maſts of ſhips, ſome very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kinde of trees ſo called that are ſweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere vnto vs doe commonly make their boates or Canoas of the ſoꝛme of trowes, onely with the helpe of ſire, hatchets of ſtones, and ſpels: we haue knowen ſome ſo great being made in that ſoꝛt of one tree, that they haue caried well 20. men at once, beſides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, ſtreight, ſoft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (beſides other vſes) to be fit alſo for maſts of ſhips.

Cedar, a ſweete wood good for ſeelings, cheſts, boxes, bedſteads, lutes, virginals, and many things elſe, as I haue alſo ſaid befoꝛe. Some of our company which haue wandered in ſome places where I haue not bene, haue made certaine affirmation of Cyprus, which for ſuch and other excellent vſes is alſo a wood of pꝛice and no ſmall eſtimation.

Maple, and alſo Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants vſe to make their bowes.

Holly, a neceſſary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of wearres and weeles to take fiſh after the Engliſh maner, althoꝛgh the inhabitants vſe onely reedes, which becauſe they are ſo ſtrong as alſo flexible, doe ſerue for that turne very well and ſufficiently.

Beech and Aſhe, good for calke-hoopes, and if neede require, plowe worke, as alſo for many things elſe.

Elme. } } Saffafras trees.

Aſcopo a kinde of tree very like vnto Lawrell, the barke is hot in taſte and ſpicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardes deſcribeth to be Caſſia Lignea of the Weſt Indies.

There are many other ſtrange trees whoſe names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it ſo conuenient for the preſent to trouble you with particular relation: ſeeing that for timber and other neceſſary vſes I haue named ſufficient. And of many of the reſt, but that they may be applied to good vſe, I know no cauſe to doubt.

Now for ſtone, brycke and lime, thus it is. Neere vnto the Sea coaſt where wee dwell, there are no kinde of ſtones to be found (except a few ſmall pebbles about foure miles off) but ſuch as haue bene brought from further out of the maine. In ſome of our voyages we haue ſeene diuers hard raggie ſtones, great pebbles, and a kinde of grey ſtone like vnto marble, of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleaue wood. Upon inquirie wee heard that a little further by into the Countrey were of all ſorts very many, althoꝛgh of quarries they are ignorant, neither haue they vſe of any ſtoze whereupon they ſhould haue occaſion to ſeeke any. For if euery houſholde haue one or two to cracke nuts, grinde ſhells, whet copper, and ſometimes other ſtones for hatchets, they haue ynough: neither vſe they any digging, but onely for graues about thꝛee foote deepe: and therefore no maruelle that they know neither quarries, nor lime-ſtones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time vntil there be diſcouery of ſufficient ſtoze in ſome place or other conuenient, the want of you which are & ſhalbe the planters therein may be as well ſupplied by brycke: for the making whereof in diuers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good, and plentie, and alſo by lime made of oꝛſter ſhells, and of others burnt, after the maner as they vſe in the Iſles of Tenet and Shepy, and alſo in diuers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowen to be as good as any other. And of oꝛſter ſhells there is plentie ynough: for beſides diuers other

other particular places where are abundance, there is one shallow Sound along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing els; being but halfe a foote or a foote vnder water for the most part.

Thus much can I say furthermoze of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side of a hill, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge stones, which I thought good to remember vnto you.

Of the nature and maners of the people.



Resteth I speake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners, leauing large discourse thereof vntil time moze conuenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre forth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall haue cause both to feare and loue vs, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinned, and aprons of the same round about their middles, all els naked, of such a difference of statures onely as wee in England, hauing no edge tooles or weapons of yron or Steele to

offend vs withall, neither knowe they how to make any: those weapons that they haue, are onely bowes made of Witch-hazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged trunchcons also of wood about a yard long, neither haue they any thing to defend themselues but targets made of barks, and some arming made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Their townes are but small, and neere the Sea coast but fewe, some contayning but tenne or twelue houses: some 20. the greatest that we haue seene hath bene but of 30. houses: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barks of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed vp-right, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in round forme after the maner as is vsed in many arbozies in our gardens of England, in most townes couered with barks, and in some with artificiall mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other some we haue seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the gouernment of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other some two or three, in some five, eight, and more: the greatest Wiroans that yet wee had dealing with, had but eightene townes in his gouernment, and able to make not above seuen or eight hundred fighting men at the most. The language of euery gouernment is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres amongst themselues is either by sudden surprisling one another most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone-light, or els by ambushes, or some subtil deuises. Set battels are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may haue some hope of defence, after the deliury of euery arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any warres betwene vs and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee haue many aduantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and deuises else, especially Ordnance great and small, it may easily bee imagined: by the experience wee haue had in some places, the turning by of their heeles against vs in running away was their best defence.

In respect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of skill and iudgement in the knowledge and vse of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: notwithstanding, in their proper maner (considering the want of such meanes as we haue,) they seeme very ingenious. For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and Artes as wee, yet in those things they doe, they shew excellencie of wit. And by how much they vpon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs in perfection, and speede for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and loue, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good gouernment be vsed, that they may in short time bee brought to ciuilitie, and the embracing of true Religion.

Some religion they haue already, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

They beleue that there are many gods, which they call Mantoc, but of different sorts & degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternitie. Who, as they affirme, when

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when hee purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and instruments to be vsed in the creation and gouernment to follow, and after the Sunne, moone, and starres as pettie gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diuersitie of creatures that are visible or inuisible.

For mankind they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought forth children: And in such sort they say they had their beginning. But how many yeeres or ages haue passed since, they say they can make no relation, hauing no letters nor other such meanes as we to keepe Records of the particularities of times past, but onely tradition from father to sonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas: then they place in houses appropiate of temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offering vnto them. In some Machicomuck we haue scene but one Kewas, in some two, and in other some three. The common sort thinke them to be also gods.

They beleue also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either caried to heauen the habitation of gods, there to enioy perpetuall blisse and happinesse, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furthest parts of their part of the world toward the Sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two stories of two men that had bene lately dead and reuiued againe, the one happened but few yeeres before our coming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which hauing bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the graue being seene to moue, was taken vp againe, who made declaration where his soule had bene, that is to say, very neere entering into Popogusso, had not one of the gods saued him, and gaue him leaue to returne againe, and teach his friends what they should do to auoid that terrible place of torment. The other happened in the same yeere we were there, but in a towne that was 60. miles from vs, and it was told me for strange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp againe as the first, shewed that although his body had lien dead in the graue, yet his soule was aliue, & had traualled farre in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruites, then euer hee had seene before, or was able to expresse, and at length came to most haue and faire houses, neere which he met his father that had bene dead before, who gaue him great charge to goe backe againe, and shew his friends what good they were to doe to enioy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come againe.

What subtiltie soener be in the Wiroances and priestes, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them haue great respect to their Gouernours, and also great care what they doe, to auoid torment after death, and to entoy blisse, although not withstanding there is punishment ordeined for malefactours, as stealers, whope mongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatnesse of the facts.

And this is the summe of their Religion, which I learned by hauing speciall familiaritie with some of their priestes. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credite to their traditions and stories, but through conuersing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect vtterance in their language to expresse.

Most things they saue with vs, as Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses, the vertue of the load-stone in drawing yron, a perspectiue glasse whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wilde fireworkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, spring-clocks that seeme to goe of themselves, and many other things that wee had were so strange vnto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made many of them to haue such opinion of vs, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from vs whom God so specially loued, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set forth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes,

workes, that therein was contained the true doctrine of saluation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to utter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of it selfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein contained: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would be glad many times to be with vs at our Prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others whither hee sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grievously sicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending vs and thereby our God, sent for some of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might liue, or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their cozne began to wither by reason of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased vs, many would come to vs and desire vs to pray to our God of England, that he would preferue their Copue, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurts, or any other crosse vnto them, but that they would impute to vs the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing vs. One other rare and strange accident, leauing others, wil I mention before I end, which moued the whole Countrey that either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where wee had any subtille deuise practised against vs, wee leauing it unpunished or not reuenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a few dayes after our departure from euery such towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some Townes about twentie, in some fourtie, and in one five score, which in truth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bin, where they vsed some practise against vs, & after such time. The disease also was so strange, that they neither knewe what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Countrey neuer happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially obserued by vs, as also by the naturall inhabitants themselves. Inasmuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had obserued such effects in foure or fise Townes to followe their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had vnderstanding that any of their enemies had abused vs in our iourneys, hearing that we had wrought no reuenge with our weapons, and fearing vpon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and increate vs that we would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like sort die, alleadging how much it would bee for our credite and profite, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whole entreaties although wee shewed that they were vngodly, affirming that our God would not subiect himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men: that indeede all things haue bene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordeined: and that we to shewe our selues his true seruants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might liue together with vs, be made partakers of his trueth, and serue him in righteousness, but notwithstanding in such sort, that wee referre that, as all other things, to bee done according to his diuine will and pleasure, and as by his wisdom he had ordeined to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought nevertheless it came to passe by our meanes, & that we in vsing such speeches vnto them, did but dissemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to giue vs thanks in their maner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This marvellous accident in all the Countrey wrought so strange opinions of vs, that some people could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sickness, there was no man of ours known to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women amongst vs, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not bozne of women, and therefore not mortal, but

but that we were men of an old generation many peeres past, then risen againe to immortallitie.

Some would likewise seeme to prophesie, that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done. Those that were immediatly to come after vs they imagined to be in the aire, yet inuisible and without bodies, and that they by our intreatie and for the loue of vs, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting inuisible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Philosophers (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleue, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings where withall the inuisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that wee shot them our selues out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended vs, as wee listed, howe farre distant from vs soeuer it were. And other some said, that it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we our selues haue cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoeuer some doe, or may imagine to the contrary, specially some Astrologers, knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which we saw the same yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which vnto them appeared very terrible. And also of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of the saide sicknesse. But to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so spectall an accident, there are further reasons then I thinke fit at this present to be alleadged. These their opinions I haue set downe the more at large, that it may appeare vnto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreete dealing and gouernment to the embracing of the truth, and consequently to honour, obey, feare and loue vs.

And although some of our company towards the end of the yeere, shewed themselues too fierce in slaying some of the people in some Townes, vpon causes that on our part might easily ynough haue bene borne withall: yet not withstanding, because it was on their part iustly deserued, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning vs is the lesse to be doubted. And whatsoeuer els they may be, by carefullnesse of our selues neede nothing at all to be feared.

The best neuertheless in this, as in all actions besides, is to be endeouered and hoped, and of the worst that may happen notice to be taken with consideration, and as much as may be eschewed.

The conclusion.

Now I haue (as I hope) made relation not of so few and small things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well disposed) may bee sufficiently liked: If there were no more known then I haue mentioned, which doubtlesse and in great reason is nothing to that which remaineth to be discovered, neither the soyle, nor commodities. As we haue reason so to gather by the difference we found in our trauailes, for although al which I haue before spoken of, haue bene discovered and experimented not farre from the Sea coast, where was our abode and most of our trauailing: yet sometimes as we made our iourneys further into the maine and Countrey, we found the soile to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grasse, and as good as euer we saw any in England; in some places rockie and farre more high and hilly ground, more plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beastes, the more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well of other things, as of those which wee haue already discovered? Vnto the Spaniards happened the like in discovering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this Countrey of Virginia, extending some wayes so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants wee haue most certaine knowledge of, where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discovery haue not yet seene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the Climate, being answerable to the Island of Iapan, the land of China, Persia, Iury, the Islands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreys, because I meane not to be tedious, I leaue to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the aire there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and neuer so vehemently hot, as sometimes is vnder and betweene the Tropikes, or neerer them, cannot be known vnto you without further relation.

For the hollesomnesse thereof I neede to say but thus much: that for all the want of provision,

This want is
hereafter to be
supplied.

as first of English victuall, excepting for twentie dayes, we liued onely by drincking water, and by the victuall of the Countrey, of which some sorts were very strange vnto vs, and might haue bene thought to haue altered our temperatures in such sort, as to haue brought vs into some grievous and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fish and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes could not bee so suddenly and easily provided for vs, nor in so great number and quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might haue bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of clothes. Furthermoze in al our trauailes, which were most specially and often in the time of Winter, our lodging was in the open aire vpon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundred and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter ende thereof, and vpon none of the aforesaide causes. For all foure, especially thre, were feeble, weake, and sickly persons before euer they came thither, and those that knew them, much marvelled that they liued so long being in that case, or had aduencured to trauaile.

Seeing therefore the aire there is so temperate and holsome, the soyle so fertile, and yeelding such commodities, as I haue before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented to be perfourmed twise a yeere with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Raleigh so liberall in large giuing and granting lande there, as is already knowne, with many helpes and furtherances else: (The least that he hath granted hath bene five hundred acres to a man onely for the aduventure of his person) I hope there remaines no cause where by the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither trauaile to inhabite and plant bee but reasonably provided for the first yeere, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, doe vse but that diligence and care, that is requisite, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt, but for the time following, they may haue victuals that are excellent good and plentie ynough, some moze English sorts of cattell also hereafter, as some haue bene before, and are there yet remayning, may, and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and sowed, as some haue bene already, and proue well: And in short time also they may raise so much of those sorts of commodities which I haue spoken of, as shall both enrich themselves, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I haue thought necessary to aduertise you of at this present: What else concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as haue bene by Sir Walter Raleigh therein, and there imployed, many worthy to be remembred, as of the first discoverers of the Countrey, of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Grinuil, and after his departure of our Gouvernour there Master Ralph Lane, with diuers other directed and imployed vnder their government: Of the Captaines and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation, of the Gouvernour and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents, and things els, I haue ready in a discourse by it selfe in maner of a Chronicle, according to the course of times: which when time shall be thought conuenient, shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your fauourable constructions, expecting good successe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the authour and gouvernour, not onely of this, but of all things els, I take my leaue of you, this moneth of February 1587.

The fourth voyage made to *Virginia* with three ships, in the yere 1587. Wherein was transported the second Colonie.



In the yeere of our Lord 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh intending to perseuere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a new Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, vnder the charge of Iohn White, whom hee appointed Gouvernour, and also appointed vnto him twelue Assistants, vnto whom hee gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Gouvernour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia.

April.

Our flecte being in number three saile, viz. the Admirall a shippe of one hundred and twentie tunnes, a flie-boate, and a pinnesse, departed the sixe and twentieth of April from Portsmouth, and the same day came to an anchor at the Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where we stayed eight dayes.

May.

May.

The fift of May, at nine of the clocke at night we came to Plimmouth, where we remained the space of two dayes.

The 8 we weped anker at Plimmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16 Simon Ferdinando, Master of our Admiral, lewoly forooke our Fly-boate, leauing her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.

Iune.

The 19 we fell with "Dominica, and the same enening we sayled betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21 the Fly-boate also fell with Dominica.

The 22 we came to an anker at an Island called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25 of the same moneth. At our first landing on this Island, some of our women, and men, by eating a small fruit like greene Apples, were fearefully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouthes, and swelling of their tongues so bigge, that some of them could not speake. Also a child by sucking one of those womens breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24 houres, it ware away of it selfe.

Also the first night of our being on this Island, we tooke five great Coxteles, some of them of such bignes, that sixteene of our strongest men were tired with carrying of one of them but from the sea side to our cabbins. In this Island we found no watering place, but a standing ponde, the water whereof was so euill, that many of our company fell sicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawn away the corruption, their faces did so burne and swell, that their eyes were shut vp, and could not see in five or six dayes, or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the Island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The Gouvernour also, with five others, went vp to the top of an high hill, to vie we the Island, but could perceiue no signe of any men, or beastes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guaiacum. Returning backe to our cabbins another way, he found in the discent of a hill, certaine pottheards of sauage making, made of the earth of that Island: whereupon it was iudged, that this Island was inhabited with Sauages, though Fernando had told vs for certaine the contrary. The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the Gouvernour. The one company affirmed, that they had seene in a valley eleuen Sauages, and diuers houses halfe a mile distant from the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found running out of a high rocke a very sayre spring of water, whereof they brought three bottels to the company: for before that time, wee drank the stinking water of the pond.

The same second day at night Captaine Scaffold, with the Pinnesse, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Island, called Beake, lying neere S. Iohn, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboard, and the next morning after, being the 25 of Iune, we weped anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seven and twentieth we came to anker at Correa, where we found the Pinnesse riding at our comming.

The 28 we weped anker at Correa, and presently came to anker at S. Iohns in Musketos Bay, where we spent three dayes vnpofitably in taking in fresh water, spending in the meane time more beere then the quantitie of the water came vnto.

Iulie.

The first day we weped anker at "Muskeroes Bay, where were left behind two Irish men of our company, Darbie Glauen, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coast of S. Iohns till evening, at which time wee fell with Rosse Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised wee should take in salte, and had caused vs before, to make and prouide as many sackes for that purpose, as we could. The Gouvernour also, for that hee vnderstood there was a Towne in the bottom of the Bay, not farre from the salt hills, appointed thirty shot, tenne pikes, and ten targets, to man the Pinnesse, and to goe aland for salt. Ferdinando perceiuing them in a readines, sent to the Gouvernour, vsing great perswasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that hee knew not well whether the same were the place or not: also, that if the Pinnesse went into the Bay,

"One of the
Isles of the
Indies inha-
bited with
Sauages.
Circumspectio
to be used in
strange places.

"Muskeros Bay,
is a harbour
vpon the south
side of S. Iohns
Island, where
we take in
fresh water.

he could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to bee cast away. Whilēt he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and hauing craftily brought the shippe in thre sabome and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in pieces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, beare vphard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes.

"A pleasant
and fruitful
countrey, ly-
ing on the west
end of S. Iohns
Island where
groweth plen-
ty of Oranges,
Lemons, Pla-
tans, & Pines.

The next day sayling along the West end of S. Iohn, the Gouvernour determined to go aland in S. Germans Bay, to gather yong plants of Oranges, Pines, Mameas, and Plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had, for that they grow neere the shore, and the places where they grew, well known to the Gouvernour, and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, & there land the Gouvernour, and some other of the Assistants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanson, of whom he hoped to be furnished both of cattel, and all such things as we would haue taken in at S. Iohn: but he meant nothing lesse, as it plainly did appeare to vs afterwards.

The next day after, being the thirde of July, we saw Hispaniola, and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Ferdinando his friend Alanson was: but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4 of July, sayling along the coast of Hispaniola, vntill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we hauing knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella: hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the Gouvernour, whether he meant to speake with Alanson, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Raleigh told him, the French Ambassadors certified him, that the king of Spaine had sent for Alanson into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

The sixt of July we came to the Island Caycos, wherein Ferdinando sayd were two salt pouders, assuring vs if they were drie, we might find salt to shift with, vntill the next supply: but it prooued as true as finding of sheepe at Baque. In this Island, whilēt Ferdinando solaced himselfe ashore, with one of the company, in part of the Island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Island, some to seeke the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting Swans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weped anker, leauing Caycos, with good hope, that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.

About the 16 of July we fel with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando tooke to be the Island of Croatoan, where we came to anker, and rode there two or thre dayes: but finding himselfe deceiued, he weped, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Scafford bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all cast away vpon the breach, called the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length vpon it: such was the carelesnes, and ignorance of our Master.

The two and twentieth of July wee arriued safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnesse ankered: the Gouvernour went aboard the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to passe by to Roanoak footwith, hoping there to finde those fifteene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Grinuile had left there the yere before, with whom hee meant to haue conference, concerning the state of the Countrey, and Sauages, meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the fleete, and passe along the coast, to the Bay of Chesepiok, where we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge giuen vs among other directions in writing, vnder the hande of Sir Walter Raleigh: but as soone as we were put with our pinnesse from the ship, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the sailers in the pinnesse, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but to leaue them in the Island, except the Gouvernour, & two or thre such as he approued, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Vnto this were all the saylers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Gouvernour to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sunne-set went aland on the Island, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, sauing onely wee found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Sauages had slaine long before.

The thre and twentieth of July the Gouvernour with diuers of his company, walked to the North

An intent to
plant in the
Bay of Che-
sepiok,

North end of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find some signes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, we found the forte rased downe, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were ouergrown with Helons of diuers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Helons: so wee returned to our company, without hope of euer seeing any of the fifteene men liuing.

The same day order was giuen, that euery man should be employed for the repayring of those houses, which wee found standing, and also to make other newe Cottages, for such as should neede.

The 25 our Flyboate and the rest of our planters arriued all safe at Hatoraske, to the great ioy and comfort of the whole company: but the Master of our Admirall Ferdinando grieved greatly at their safe comming: for hee purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he neuer had bene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of so many men of warre, as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretences.

Edward Spicer.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelue Assistantes was slaine by diuers Sauages, which were come ouer to Roanoak, either of purpose to espie our company, and what number we were, or else to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Island. These Sauages being secretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they find the Deere asleep, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, saue only a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being straped two miles from his company, and shot at him in the water, where they gaue him sixteen wounds with their arrowes: and after they had slaine him with their wooden swoyds, they beat his head in pieces, and fled ouer the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of July Master Seafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the Island of Croatoan, with Manceo, who had his mother, and many of his kinned dwelling in that Island, of whom wee hoped to vnderstand some newes of our fifteene men, but especially to learne the disposition of the people of the countrey towards vs, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our first landing, they seemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceiuing vs begin to march with our shot towards them, they turned their backs, and fled. Then Manceo their countrey man called to them in their owne language, whom, as soone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes and arrowes, and some of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, desiring vs not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of vs, and that our comming was onely to renew the old loue, that was betweene vs and them at the first, and to liue with them as brethren and friends: which answer seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested vs to walke vp to their Towne, who there feasted vs after their maner, and desired vs earnestly, that there might bee some token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Island. They told vs further, that for want of some such badge, diuers of them were hurt the yeere before, being found out of the Island by Master Lane his company, whereof they shewed vs one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lien of that hurt euer since: but they sayd, they knew our men mistooke them, and hurt them in stead of Winginos men, wherefore they held vs excused.

August.

The next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquasco, & Pomeioke, willing them of Croatoan to certifie the people of those townes, that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receiue them againe, and that all unfriendly dealings past on both parts, should be utterly forgiven and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly doe the best they could, and within fewe daies, bying the Wiroances and chiefe Gouvernours of those townes with them, to our Gouvernour at Roanoak, or their answer. We also vnderstood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master Howe was slaine by the remnant of Winginos men dwelling then at Dasamonguepeak, with whom Wanchese kept companie: and also we vnderstood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Englishmen left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Grinuile, were suddenly

set vpon, by 30 of the men of Secora, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk, in manner following. They conueyed themselves secretly behind the trees, neere the houses where our men carelessly liued: and hauing perceiued that of those fiftene they could see but eleuen only, two of those Sauages appeared to the 11 Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signes, that but two of their chiefeft men should come vnarmed to speake with those two Sauages, who seemed also to bee vnarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefeft of our Englishmen went gladly to them: but whilst one of those Sauages traiterously embraced one of our men, the other with his sword of wood, which he had secretly hidden vnder his mantell, strooke him on the head and slew him, and presently the other eight and twenty Sauages shewed them selues: the other Englishman perceiuing this, fled to his company, whom the Sauages pursued with their bowes, and arrowes, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the Sauages forthwith set the same on fire: by meanes whereof our men were forced to take by such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to runne forth among the Sauages, with whom they skirmished about an houre. In this skirmish another of our men was shotte into the mouth with an arrow, where hee died: and also one of the Sauages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great aduantage to the Sauages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Sauages through their nimblenes, defended themselves, and so offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being some of them hurt, retyred fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their foure fellows comming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Dyffers: these foure they receiued into their boate, leauing Roanoak, and landed on a little Island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remained a while, but after ward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Hauing nowe sufficiently dispatched our businesse at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leaue, and came aboord the flecte at Hatorask.

The eight of August, the Gouernour hauing long expected the comming of the Wiroances of Pomciok, Aquascogoc, Secora, and Dasamonguepeuk, seeing that the seuen dayes were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answers by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wiginahis men, which were left alieue, who dwelt at Dasamonguepeuk, were they which had slaine George Howe, and were also at the drining of our eleuen Englishmen from Roanoak, hee thought to beferre the reuenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight, he passed ouer the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24 men, whereof Manteo was one, whom we tooke with vs to be our guide to the place where those Sauages dwelt, where he behaued himselfe toward vs as a most faithfull Englishman.

The next day, being the 9 of August, in the morning so early that it was yet darke, we landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, & very secretly conueyed our selues through the woods, to that side, where we had their houses betweene vs and the water: and hauing espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently set on them: the miserable soules herewith amazed, fled into a place of thicke reedes, growing fast by, where our men perceiuing them, shot one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith we entered the reedes, among which we hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs, but we were deceiued, for those Sauages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corne & fruit of that place, because they vnderstood our enemies were fled immediatly after they had slaine George Howe, and for haste had left all their corne, Tabacco, and Pompions standing in such sort, that al had bene deuoured of the birds, and Deere, if it had not bene gathered in time: but they had like to haue payd deereley for it: for it was so darke, that they being naked, and their men and women apparellled all so like others, we knew not but that they were al men: and if that one of them which was a Wiroances wife had not had a child at her backe, shee had bene slaine in stead of a man, and as hap was, another Sauage knew Master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby hee was saued. Finding our selues thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered al the corne, Pease, Pompions, and Tabacco that we found ripe, leauing the rest vnspoyled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong child, and the other Sauages with vs ouer the water, to Roanoak. Although the mistaking of these Sauages somewhat grieued Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in comming to the Gouernour at the day appointed, they had not knowen that mischance.

The 13 of August our Sauage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened

christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Sasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithful service.

The 18 Elenor, daughter to the Gouvernour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Assistants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sunday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia. By this time our ships had unladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and fresh water, and to new calke and trimme them for England: the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send backe into England.

Our two ships, the Lion and the Fly boat almost ready to depart, the 21 of August, there arose such a tempest at Northeast, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to sea, where he lay beating off and on five dayes before he could come to vs againe, so that we feared he had bene cast away, and the rather for that at the time that the storme tooke them, the most and best of their sailers were left a land.

At this time some controuersies arose betweene the Gouvernour and Assistants, about choosing two out of the twelue Assistants, which should goe backe as factors for the company into England: for euery one of them refused, saue onely one, which all other thought not sufficient: but at length by much perswading of the Gouvernour, Christopher Cooper only agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perswasion of diuers of his familiar friends, hee changed his minde, so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, the 22 of August, the whole company both of the Assistants and planters came to the Gouvernour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them: but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes, why he would not: the one was, that he could not so suddenly returne backe againe without his great discredite, leauing the action, and so many whome hee partly had procured through his perswasions, to leaue their native countrey, and undertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not spare to slander falsly both him and the action, by saying, hee went to Virginia, but politickely, and to no other end but to leade so many into a countrey, in which hee neuer meant to stay himselfe, and there to leaue them behind him. Also he alleaged, that seeing they intended to remoue 50 miles further vp into the maine presently, he being then absent, his stuffe and goods might be both spoiled, & most of them pilfered away in the cariage, so that at his returne he should be either forced to prouide himselfe of all such things againe, or else at his comming againe to Virginia find himselfe vtterly unfurnished, whereof already he had found some prooffe, being but once from them but three dayes. Wherefore he concluded that he would not goe himselfe.

Their meaning to remoue 50 miles into the countrey.

The next day, not onely the Assistants but diuers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requests to the Gouvernour againe, to take vpon him to returne into England for the supply, and dispatch of all such things as there were to be done, promising to make him their bond vnder all their handes and seales for the safe preserving of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoiled or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his Assignes, whensoever the same should be missed and demanded: which bond, with a testimony vnder their handes and seales, they forthwith made, and deliuered into his hands. The copie of the testimony I thought good to set downe.

May it please you, her Maiesties subiects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you and euery of you to vnderstand, that for the present and speedy supply of certaine our known and apparant lackes and needes, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of vs, or any other in this land of Virginia, wee all of one minde & consent, haue most earnestly intreated, and vncessantly requested John White, Gouvernour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured help, and setting forward of the foresayd supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and wil labour and take paines in that behalfe for vs all, and he not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour & maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leaue his gouernement, and all his goods among vs, and himselfe in all our behalves to passe into England, of whose knowledge and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, we doe assure our selues by these presents, and will you to giue all credite thereunto, the 25 of August 1587.

The Gouvernour being at the last through their extreame intreating constrained to returne into England, hauing then but halfe a dayes respite to prepare himselfe for the same, departed from Roanoak the seuen and twentieth of August in the morning, and the same day about

midnight, came aboard the *Flieboat*, who already had weped anchor, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither againe. The same day both the ships weped anchor, and set saile for England: at this weping their ankers, twelue of the men which were in the *Flieboat* were throwen from the Capstone, which by meanes of a barre that brake, came so fast about vpon them, that the other two barres thereof strooke and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them neuer recovered it: neuerthelesse they assayed presently againe to wep their anker, but being so weakened with the first sling, they were not able to wepe it, but were throwen downe and hurt the second time. Wherefore hauing in all but fifteene men aboard, and most of them by this vnfortunate beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leese their anker. Neuerthelesse, they kept company with the Admirall, vntill the seuenteenth of September, at which time wee fell with Coruo, and sawe Flores.

September.

The eighteenth, perceiuing of all our fifteene men in the *Flieboat* there remained but siue, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stand to their labour: and that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England, but to linger about the Island of *Tercera* for purchase: the *Flieboat* departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arrive shortly: but by that time we had continued our course homeward about twenty dayes, hauing had sometimes scarce and variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose a storme at Northeast, which for fixe dayes ceased not to blowe so exceeding, that we were driuen further in those fixe then we could recouer in thirteene daies: in which time others of our saylers began to fall very sicke and two of them dyed, the weather also continued so close, that our *Haster* sometimes in foure dayes together could see neither sunne nor starre, and all the beuerage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beere, and lees of wine which remayned, was but thye gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to perish at Sea.

October.

The 16 of October we made land, but we knewe not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day: about sunne set we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pinnesse of Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe ashore, vntill the pinnesse sent off their boate to vs with 6 or 8 men, of whom we vnderstood wee were in *Smerwick* in the West parts of Ireland: they also releued vs presently with fresh water, wine, and other fresh meate.

Smerwick in the West of Ireland

The 18 the Gouvernour and the *Haster* ryd to Dingen a Cushe, 5 miles distant, to take order for the new victualing of our *Flieboat* for England, and for reliefe of our sicke and hurt men, but within foure daies after the Boatwain, the Steward, and the Boatwains mate died aboard the *Flieboat*, and the 28 the *Hasters* mate and two of our chiefe saylers were brought sicke to Dingen.

November.

The first the Gouvernour shipped himselfe in a ship called the *Monkie*, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leaving the *Flieboat* and all his companie in Ireland. The same day we set saile, and on the third day we fell with the North side of the lands end, and were shut by the Seuerne, but the next day we doubled the same for Mounts Bay.

The 5 the Gouvernour landed in England at Martalew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8 we arrived at Hampton, where we vnderstood that our consort the Admirall was come to Portsmouth, and had bene there thye weekes before: and also that Ferdinando the *Haster* with all his company were not onely come home without any purchase, but also in such weaknesse by sicknesse, and death of their chiefe men, that they were scarce able to bring their ship into harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they could not wep againe, but might all haue perished there, if a small barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that died are these, Roger Large, John Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other saylers, whose names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

The

The names of all the men, women and children, which safely
arriued in *Virginia*, and remained to inhabite there. 1587. *Anno regni*
Regine Elizabethæ. 29.

John White.
Roger Baily.
Ananias Dare.
Christopher Cooper.
Thomas Steuens.
John Sampson.
Dyonis Haruie.
Roger Prat.
George How.
Simon Fernando.
Nicholas Iohnson.
Thomas Warner.
Anthony Cage.
John Iones.
William Willes.
John Brooke.
Cutbert White.
John Bright.
Clement Tayler.
William Sole.
John Cotsmur.
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Colman.
Thomas Gramme.
Marke Bennet.
John Gibbes.
John Stilman.
Robert Wilkinson.
John Tydway.
Ambrose Viccars.
Edmond English.
Thomas Topan.
Henry Berry.
Richard Berry.
John Spendloue.
John Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.
Edward Powell.
John Burden.
James Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.
William Browne.
Michael Myllet.

Thomas Smith.
Richard Kemme.
Thomas Harris.
Richard Tauerner.
John Earnest.
Henry Iohnson.
John Starre.
Richard Darige.
William Lucas.
Arnold Archard.
John Wright.
William Dutton.
Mauris Allen.
William Waters.
Richard Arthur.
John Chapman.
William Clement.
Robert Little.
Hugh Tayler.
Richard Wildye.
Lewes Wotton.
Michael Bishop.
Henry Browne.
Henry Rufoote.
Richard Tomkins.
Henry Dorrell.
Charles Florrie.
Henry Mylton.
Henry Paine.
Thomas Harris.
William Nichols.
Thomas Pheuens.
John Borden.
Thomas Scot.
Peter Little.
John Wyles.
Brian Wyles.
George Martyn.
Hugh Pattenfon.
Martin Sutton.
John Farre.
John Bridger.
Griffen Iones.

Richard Shabedge.
James Lacie.
John Cheuen.
Thomas Hewer.
William Berde.

Women.

Elyoner Dare.
Margery Haruie.
Agnes Wood.
Wenefrid Powell.
Ioyce Archard.
Iane Iones.
Elizabeth Glane.
Iane Pierce.
Audry Tappan.
Alis Chapman.
Emme Merrimoth.
Colman.
Margaret Lawrence.
Ioan Warren.
Iane Mannering.
Rose Payne.
Elizabeth Viccars.

Boyes and children.

John Sampson.
Robert Ellis.
Ambrose Viccars.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Humfrey.
Thomas Smart.
George How.
John Prat.
William Wythers.

*Children borne in
Virginia.*

Virginia Dare.
Haruie.

Sanages.

Manteo. } That were in England
Towaye. } and returned home in
to Virginia with them.

To the Worshipful and my very friend Master Richard Hakluyt,
much happinesse in the Lord.



It, as well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of
my promise made vnto you at my last being with you in *England*, I haue
sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a de-
licate eare) the true discourse of my last voyage into the *West Indies*, and
partes of *America* called *Virginia*, taken in hand about the end of Februa-
rie, in the yeare of our redemption 1590. And what euent happened vnto

vs in this our journey, you shall plainly perceiue by the sequele of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the *West Indies*, at the speciall charges of *M. John Wates* of *London* Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure, a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout *England*. Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted *Sir Walter Raleigh* therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome vnto him, for the supplies and reliefes of the planters in *Virginia*: to likewise, that by his endeuour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in *Virginia* (if it were Gods pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieued without further charges vnto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the *Queenes Maiestie*, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound vnto *Sir Walter Raleigh* or his assignes, in 3000 pounds, that those 3 ships in consideration of their releasement should take in, & transport a conuenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries to be landed in *Virginia*. Neuerthelesse that order was not obserued, neither was the bond taken according to the intencion aforesaid. But rather in contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to haue any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, sauing only my telfe & my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend vpon me, although I made great sute, & earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and vnkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarcety of time was such, that I could haue no opportunity to go vnto *Sir Walter Raleigh* with complaint: for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would haue bene departed before I could haue made my returne. Thus both *Gouernors*, *Masters*, and *sailers*, regarding very smally the good of their countrey men in *Virginia*; determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to seeke after purchase & spoiles, spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arriued at *Virginia*. And when we were come thither, the season was so vnfit, & weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, hauing not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chiefe men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboard. Which euils & vnfortunate euent (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in *Virginia*) had not chanced, if the order set downe by *Sir Walter Raleigh* had bene obserued, or if my dayly & continuall petitions for the performance of the same might haue taken any place. Thus may you plainly perceiue the successe of my fift & last voiage to *Virginia*, which was no lesse vnfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my telfe. But I would to God it had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; & as ioyfull to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first crossed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting my wishes, I leaue off from prosecuting that wherunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in *Virginia*, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe & comfort them, according to his most holy will & their good desire, I take my leaue: from my house at *Newtowne* in *Kylmore* the 4 of February, 1593.

Your most welwishing friend,

JOHN WHITE.

The fift voyage of *M. John White* into the *West Indies* and parts of *America* called *Virginia*, in the yeere 1590.

The 20 of March the three shippes the *Hopewell*, the *John Evangelist*, and the *Little John*, put to Sea from *Plymouth* with two small *Shallops*.

The 25 at midnight both our *Shallops* were sunke being towed at the ships steernes by the Boatswaines negligence.

On the 30 we saw a head vs that part of the coast of *Barbary*, lying East of *Cape Cantyn*, and the Bay of *Asaphi*.

The next day we came to the Ile of *Mogador*, where rode, at our passing by, a *Pinelle* of *London* called the *Mooneshine*.

April.

April.

On the first of Aprill we anchored in Santa Cruz roade, where we found two great shippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 shipboates to supply the losse of our Shallops.

On the 2 we set sayle from the roade of Santa Cruz, for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we saw Alegranza, the East Ile of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gaue chase to a double flyboat, the which, we also the same day fought with, and tooke her, with losse of three of their men kaine, and one hurt.

On Monday the 6 we saw Grand Canarie, and the next day we landed and tooke in fresh water on the Southside thereof.

On the 9 we departed from Grand Canarie, and framed our course for Dominica.

The last of Aprill we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anchor on the Southside thereof.

May.

The first of May in the morning many of the Saluages came aboard our ships in their Canoes, and did traffique with vs; we also the same day landed and entered their Towne from whence we returned the same day aboard without any resistance of the Saluages; or any offence done to them.

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinnesse departed from Dominica leauing the Iohn our Viceadmirall playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard ourwardes bound to the Indies; the same night we had sight of three small Ilands called Los Santos, leauing Guadalupe and them on our starboord.

The 3 we had sight of S. Christophers Iland, bearing Northeast and by East off vs.

On the 4 we sayled by the Virgines, which are many broken Ilands, lying at the East ende of S. Iohns Iland; and the same day towards evening we landed upon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of foules: here we stayed but three houres, & from thence stood ineb the shore Northwest, and hauing brought this Iland Southeast off vs, we put towards night thow an opening or watch, called The passage, lying betwene the Virgines, and the East end of S. Iohn: here the Pinnesse left vs and sayled on the South side of S. Iohn.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall sayled along the Northside of S. Iohn, so neere the shore that the Spaniards discerned vs to be men of warre; and therefore made fires along the coast as we sailed by, for so their custome is, when they see any men of warre on their coasts.

The 7 we landed on the Northwest end of S. Iohn, where we watered in a good riuer called Yaguana; and the same night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne Tunne comming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our state, ranne from vs to the Spaniards.

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona, whereon were 10 or 12 houses inhabited of the Spaniards; these we burned & tooke from them a Pinnesse, which they had drawn aground and funke, and carried all her sayles, mastes, and rudders into the woods, because we should not take him away; we also chased the Spaniards ouer all the Iland; but they hid them in caues, hollow rocks, and bushes, so that we could not find them.

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona, about 5 leagues distant from Mona, lying on the Southside of Hispaniola neere the East end: betwene these two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleet doubling this Iland, as a neerer way to Spaine then by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

On Thursday being the 19 our Viceadmirall, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to vs at Saona, with whom we left a Spanish Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other five daies betwene Saona and Mona to the ende aforesaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was informed that our men of the Viceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Saluages, which were the chiefe Caciques sonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica; but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland, where the Viceadmirall landed to take in ballast.

On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the Iohn Euangelist our Pinnesse staying for vs: here we tooke in two Spaniards almost starued on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we passed by. Those places for an 100 miles in length are nothing els but a desolate,

desolate and meere wilderness, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.

sp. William
Lane.

The 22 our Pinnesse came also to an anker in Aligato Bay at cape Tyburon. Here we understood of M. Lane, Captaine of the Pinnesse; how he was set upon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gaue over the fight & forooke him, without any great hurt done on eyther part.

The 26 The John our Viceadmirall came to vs to cape Tyburon, and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we should attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.

On Whitsunday Euen at Cape Tyburon one of our boyes ranne away from vs, and at ten dayes end returned to our ships almost starued for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carkases of diuers men, who had perished (as wee thought) by famine in those woods, being either stragled from their company, or landed there by some men of warre.

June.

On the 14 of June we tooke a small Spanish frigate which fell amongst vs so suddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we roade, so that he could not escape vs. This Frigat came from Santo Domingo, and had but 3 men in her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the third a Mintener, who escaped all out of prison at Santo Domingo, purposing to fly to Yaguana which is a towne in the West parts of Hispaniola where many fugitiue Spaniards are gathered together.

Spanish fugitives.

The 17 being Wednesday Captaine Lane was sent to Yaguana with his Pinnesse and a Frigat to take a Shippe, which was there taking in freight, as we understood by the old Pilot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 24 the Frigat returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought vs word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the Shippe, with many passengers and Negroes in the same; which proved not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and spoiled her before we came. Nevertheless her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hives, ginger, Cannastula, Copper-pannes, and Calau.

July.

Edward Spicer.

The second of July Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to vs at Cape Tyburon, accompanied with a small Pinnesse, whereof one M. Harps was Captaine. And the same day we had sight of a fleete of 14 saile all of Santo Domingo, to whom we presently gaue chase, but they upon the first sight of vs fled, and separating themselves scattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to diuide our selues and so made after them untill 12 of the clocke at night. But then by reason of the darkenesse we lost sight of each other, yet in the end the Admirall and the Moonelight happened to be together the same night at the fetching up of the Viceadmirall of the Spanish fleete, against whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with losse of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 slaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinnesse, and Prize, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

This fight was in sight of the Island of Nauaza.

The 3 of July we spent about rifling, romaging and fitting the Prize to be sailed with vs. The 6 of July we saw Iamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cوبا in sight on our starboord.

Upon the 8 of July we saw the Island of Pinos, which lieth on the Southside of Cuba nigh unto the West end of Cape called Cape S. Anthony. And the same day we gaue chase to a Frigat, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sayling of our Admirall, & lacke of the Moonelight our Pinnesse, whom Captaine Cooke had sent to the Cape the day before.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our comfort the Moonelight and her Pinnesse abiding for our comming, of whom we understood that the day before there passed by them 22 saile, some of them of the burden of 300 and some 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treasure from the maine, bound for Hauana; from this 11 of July untill 22 we were much beleaumed: and the wine being very scarce, and the weather exceeding hot, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driuen to land all the Spaniards slaying three, but the place where we landed them was of their owne choise on the Southside of Cuba neere unto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23 we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Islands therof called the Martires.

The

The 25 being S. Iames day in the morning we fell with the Marañcas, a head-land 8 leagues towards the East of Hauana, where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of July plying too and fro betweene the Marañcas and Hauana, we were espied of three small Pinnasses of S. Iohn de Vllua bound for Hauana, which were exceeding richly laden. These 3 Pinnasses came very boldly vnto vs, and so continued vntill they came within musket shot of vs. And we supposed them to be Captaine Harps pinnelle, and two small Frigats taken by Captaine Harpe: wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently vpon the sight of it turned about & made all the saile they could from vs toward the Shore, & kept themselves in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gaue them ouer with expence of shot & powder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flagge, wee might haue taken them all three, for they would not haue knowen vs before they had bene in our hands. This chase brought vs so far to leeward as Hauana: wherefore not finding any of our consorts at y Marañcas, we put ouer again to the cape of Florida, & from thence thorow the chanel of Bahama.

On the 28 the Cape of Florida bare West off vs.

The 30 we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much swifter a farre off then in sight of the coast. For from the Cape to Virginia all along the Shore are none but eddie currents, setting to the South and Southwest.

The 31 our three ships were clearly disbocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneshine, but our prize being thus disbocked departed from vs without taking leaue of our Admirall or consort, and sayled directly for England.

The state of the currents from the Cape of Florida to Virginia.

August.

On the first of August the winde scanted, and from thence forward we had very foule weather with much raine, thundering, and great spouts, which fell round about vs nigh vnto our ships.

The 3 we stood againe in for the Shore, and at midday we tooke the height of the same. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the Low Sandie Islands West of Wokokon. But the weather continued so exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker nye the coast: wherefore we stood off againe to Sea vntill Monday the 9 of August.

Sandie Islands West of Wokokon.

On munday the storme ceased, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we stood in againe for the Shore: & came to an anker at 11 fadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the Shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy Island, being one of the Isles West of Wokokon: in this Island we tooke in some fresh water and caught great store of fish in the shallow water. Betweene the maine (as we supposed) and that Island it was but a mile ouer and three or foure foote deepe in most places.

They land in 35 degrees.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward night we came to an anker at the Northeast end of the Island of Croatoan, by reason of a breach which we perceiued to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea: here we roade all that night.

A breach 2 or 3 leagues into Sea.

The 13 in the morning before we wayed our ankens, our boates were sent to sound ouer this breach; our ships riding on the side thereof at 5 fadome; and a ships length from vs we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and shallowing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found 5 fadome, and by & by 7, and within two casts with the lead 9, & then 8, next cast 5, & then 6, & then 4, & then 9 againe, and deeper; but 3 fadome was the least, 2 leagues off from the Shore. This breach is in 35 degr. & a halfe, & lyeth at the very Northeast point of Croatoan, whereas goeth a fret out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Islandes and the maine land.

Great diversity of soundings.

The 15 of August towards Euening we came to an anker at Hatorask, in 36 degr. and one third, in five fadom water, three leagues from the Shore. At our first coming to anker on this Shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Raonoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake put vs in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

Hatorask in 36 degr. & a third.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went a Shore, & Captain Cooke, & Cap. Spicer, & their company with me, with intent to passe to the place at Raonoak where our countrey men were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our Master gunner to make readie 2 Pinions and a Falkon well laden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space betweene euery shot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde some of our people. This was accordingly performed, & our twoe boates put off vnto the Shore, in the Admirals boate we

• *Chop land.*

*Fresh water
found in sandy
hilles.*

*Captaine Spi-
cer drowned.*

we founded all the way and found from our shippe vntill we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seuen sadome: but befoze we were halfe way betweene our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the Southwest of Kindrikers mountes: we therefore thought good to goe to that second smoke first: but it was much further from the harbour where we landed, then we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired befoze wee came to the smoke. But that which grieued vs moze was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drinke. Being thus wearied with this iourney we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our absence had brought their caske a shore for fresh water, so we deferred our going to Roanoak vntill the next morning, and caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hilles for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient. That night wee returned aboord with our boates and our whole company in safety.

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe by to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke afozenoon befoze we put from our ships which were then come to an anchor within two miles of the shore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the shore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ship. The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea brake into our boat which filled vs halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, sauing onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blew at North-east and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boate was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing vp, and was halfe passed ouer, but by the rash and indiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous Sea brake into their boate and ouerset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore, but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor swimme, and the boat twise or thise was turned the keele vppward; whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung vntill they sunke, & were seene no moze. But foure that could swimme a litle kept themselves in deeper water and were saued by Captain Cookes meanes, who so soone as he saw their ouersetting, stripped himselfe, and foure other that could swimme very well, & with all haste possible rowed vnto them, & saued foure. They were a 11 in all, & 7 of the chiefe were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelley, Thomas Bewis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement & perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much moze willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but befoze we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we ouershot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North end of the Island y light of a great fire thorow the woods, to the which we presently rowed: when wee came right ouer against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore, & sounded with a trumpet a Call, & after wardes many familiar English tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answer, we therefore landed at day-breake, and coming to the fire, we found the grasse & sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Island directly ouer against Dasamongwepeuk, & from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Island, vntill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Saluages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden y night, and as we entred vpp the sandy banke vpon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carued these faire Romane letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed vpon betweene them & me at my last departure fro them, which was, that in all wayes they should not faile to write or carue on the trees or posts of the dozes the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my coming away they were prepared to remoue from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carue ouer the letters or name, a Crosse + in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And hauing well considered of this, we passed toward the place where

where they were left in sunny houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with corynes and flankers very ffort-like, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5. foote from the ground in sayze Capitall letters was grauen CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entred into the palisado, where we found many barres of Iron, two pigges of Lead, foure pyon fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heauie things, thowen here and there, almost ouergrown with grasse and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water side, towards the poynt of the Creeke to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnisse, but we could perceiue no signe of them, nor any of the last falkons and small Dydinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting vs, tolde vs that they had found where diuers chests had bene hidden, and long thence digged vp againe and broken vp, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Sauages knew any vse of, vndefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two peeres past by Captaine Amadas: where wee found five Chests, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the couers, the frames of some of my pictures and Happes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could bee no other but the deeде of the Sauages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and as soone as they were departed, digged vp euery place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieved me to see such spoyles of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly ioyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was bozne, and the Sauages of the Island our friends.

When we had seene in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the shoare towards our Shippes, with as much speede as wee could: For the weather beganne to ouercast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Evening with much danger and labour, we got our selues aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde vntill Morning; wherefore the Captaine caused the Boate to be manned with five lusty men, who could swimme all well, and sent them to the little Island on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard sixe of our men, who had filled our caske with fresh water: the Boate the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caske ready filled they left behinde, impossible to bee had aboard without danger of casting away both men and Boates; for this night prooued very stormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my selfe, with the Master and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and also to leaue that Caske with fresh water on shoare in the Island vntill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Capston, but when the anchor was almost apeeke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we droue so fast into the shoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor; which came so fast home that the Shippe was almost aground by Kenricks mounts: so that wee were forced to let slippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a channell of deeper water, closer by the shoare then wee accounted of, wee could neuer haue gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mounts. Being thus cleare of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some losse; for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left vs of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarce, and our caske and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should goe for Saint Iohn or some other Island to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further purposed, that if wee could any wayes supply our wants of victuals and other necessities, either at Hispaniola, Sane Iohn, or Trynidad, that then wee should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to visit our countrymen at Virginia. The captaine and the whole company in the *Animall* (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested onely to knowe what the Master of the Moone-light our consozt would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany vs in that new determination, they alledged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leauing the Moone-light to goe directly for England, and the Admirall set his course for Trynidad, which course we kept two dayes.

They leane the coast of Virginia.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was sette on foule weather euery way: but this storme brought the winde West and North west, and blew so forcibly, that wee were able to beare no sayle, but our fore-course halfe mast high, wherewith wee ranne vpon the winde perforce, the due course for England, so that wee were driuen to change our first determination for Trynidad, and Roode for the Ilands of Azores, where wee purposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to meete with some English men of warre about those Ilands, at whose hands wee might obtaine some supply of our wants. And thus continuing our course for the Azores, sometimes with calmes, and sometimes with very scarce windes, on the sixteenth of September the winde came South Southeast, and blew so exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry all that day. At this time by account we iudged our selues to be about twentie leagues to the West of Cuerno and Flores, but about night the storme ceased, and sayre weather ensued.

On Thursday the seuenteenth wee saw Cuerno and Flores, but we could not come to anker that night, by reason the winde shifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, standing in againe with Cuerno, we espyed a sayle ahead vs, to whom we gaue chase: but when wee came neere him, we knew him to be a Spaniard, and hoped to make sure purchase of him; but we vnderstood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the Iohn our consort, in the Indies. We learned also of this prize, that our Viceadmirall and Pinnisse had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleete, and had forced them with their Admirall to flee vnto Iamaica vnder the Fort for succour, and some of them ran themselves aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of some others so much as the time would permit. And further wee vnderstood of them, that in their returne from Iamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Viceadmirall mette with two Shippes of the Inapne land, come from Mexico, bound for Hauana, with whom he fought; in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was slaine, and the Captaines right arme strooken off, with foure other of his men slaine, and sixteene hurt. But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spanish shippes, which was so sore shot by vs vnder water, that before they could take out her treasure, she sunke; so that we lost thirteene Pipes of Silver which sunke with her, besides much other rich merchandise. And in the meane time the other Spanish shippe being peaced with nine shotte vnder water, got away; whom our Viceadmirall intended to pursue: but some of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they saw aboue water neere the shoare, to be Gallies of Hauana and Cartagena, comming from Hauana to rescue the two Shippes; wherefore they gaue over their chase, and went for England. After this intelligence was giuen vs by this our prize, he departed from vs, and went for England.

13 Pipes of
Silver.

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a small village on the North side of Flores, where we found ryding 5. English men of warre, of whom wee vnderstood that our Viceadmirall and Prize were gone thence for England. One of these five was the Moonelight our consort, who vpon the first sight of our comming into Flores, set sayle and went for England, not taking any leaue of vs.

On Sunday the 20. the Mary Rose, Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir Iohn Hawkins, stood in with Flores, and diuers other of the Queenes ships, namely the Hope, the Nonpareilla, the Rainebow, the Swift-sure, the Foresight, with many other good merchants ships of warre, as the Edward Bonaventure, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainy of Sir Iohn Hawkins, and many other good ships and pinnisses, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firma of the West Indies.

The 22. of September we went aboard the Raynebow, and towards night we spake with the Swift-sure, and gaue him 3. pieces. The captaines desired our company; wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with 10. other ships stood for Faial. But the Generall with the rest of the Fleete were separated from vs, making two fleetes, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleete.

On Wednesday the 23. we saw Gratiola, where the Admiral and the rest of the Queens fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counsel, in which was determined that the whole fleete should go for the mayne, and spred themselves on the coasts of Spaine and Portugal, so farre as conueniently they might, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleete in those parts.

The 26. we came to Faial, where the Admiral with some other of the fleete ankred, other some plyed vp and downe betwene that and the Pico vntill midnight, at which time the Antony shot off a piece and weped, shewing his light: after whom the whole fleete stood to the East, the winde at Northeast by East.

On Sunday the 27. towards Euening wee tooke our leaue of the Admirall and the whole fleete,

fleete, who stood to the East. But our shippe accompanied with a flyboate stood in againe with S. George, where we purposed to take in moze fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On Wednesday the 30. of September, seeing the winde hang so Northerly, that wee could not attaine the Island of S. George, we gaue ouer our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.

October.

The 2. of October in the Morning we saw S. Michaels Island on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we saw Vlhant in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anchor at Plymouth.

CERTAINE VOYAGES TO FLORIDA, AND
the later and more perfect discoueries thereof, to wit, of all
the Seacoasts, Riuers, Bayes, Hauens, Isles, and maine landes farre vp
into the Countrey, and a report of some colonies and fortes there planted
and displant, with a description of the gouernment, disposition
and qualitie of the naturall inhabitants, and a declaration
of the temperature of the climate, and of the
manifolde good commodities
found in those regions.

TO THE MOST CHRISTIAN
King of France, Francis the
first.

The relation of John de Verrazano a Florentine, of the land by him discovered in the name
of his Maiestie. Written in Diepe the eight of Iuly, 1524.



Wrote not to your Maiesty, most Christian king, since the time we suffered the tempest in the North partes, of the successe of the foure Shippes, which your Maiestie sent forth to discouer new lands by the Ocean, thinking your Maiestie had bene already duely enformed thereof. Now by these presents I will giue your Maiestie to vnderstand, how by the violence of the windes we were forced with the two ships, the Norman and the Dolphin (in such euill case as they were) to land in Britaine. Where after wee had repayed them in all poyntes as was needefull, and armed them very well, we tooke our course along by the coast of Spaine, which your Maiestie shall vnderstand by the profite that we receiued thereby. Afterwards with the Dolphin alone we determined to make discouerie of new Countreies, to prosecute the nauigation we had already begun, which I purpose at this present to recount vnto your Maiestie, to make manifest the whole proceeding of the matter.

The 17. of January the yeere 1524. by the grace of God we departed from the dishabited rocke by the isle of Madéra, appertaining to the king of Portugal, with 50. men, with victuals, weapons, and other ship-munition very well prouided & furnished for 8. moneths: And sayling Westwards with a faire Easterly winde, in 25. dayes we ran 500. leagues, and the 20. of Februarie we were overtaken with as sharpe and terrible a tempest as euer any saylers suffered: whereof with the diuine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almighty God, and the goodnesse of our shippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name, we were deliuered, and with a prosperous winde followed our course West and by North. And in other 25. dayes we made aboue 400. leagues moze, where we discovered a new land, neuer before seene of any man either ancient or moderne, and at the first sight it seemed somewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceived by the great fires that we saw by the Sea coast, that it was inhabited: and saw that the land stretched to the Southwards. In seeking some conuenient Parborough wherein to anchor and to haue knowledge of the place, we sayled fiftie leagues in vaine, and seeing the land to runne still to the Southwards, we resolved to returne backe againe towards the North, where wee found our selues troubled with the like difficultie. At length being in despaire to finde any Port, we cast anchor vpon the coast, and sent our Boate to shore, where we saw great stoe of people which came to the Sea side; and seeing vs appoach, they fled away, and sometimes would stand still and

The Isle of
Madéra.

They discouered
land.

looke backe, beholding vs with great admiration: but afterwards being animated and assured with signes that we made them, some of them came hard to the Sea side, seeming to reioyce very much at the sight of vs, and marueiling greatly at our apparel, shape and whitenesse, shewed vs by sundry signes where we might most commodiously come a land with our Boat, offering vs also of their victuals to eat. Now I wil briefly declare to your Maiestie their life and maners, as farre as we could haue notice thereof: These people goe altogether naked, except only that they couer their priuie parts with certaine skins of beastes like vnto Parterns, which they fasten vnto a narrow girdle made of grasse very artificially wrought, hanged about with tayles of diuers other beastes, which round about their bodies hang dangling downe to their knees. Some of them weare garlands of byrdes feathers. The people are of colour russet, and not much vnlike the Saracens: their haire blacke, thicke and not very long, which they tye together in a knot behind and weare it like a hile talle. They are well featured in their limbes, of meane stature, and commonly somewhat bigger then we: broad breasted, strong armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well fashioned, and they are disfigured in nothing, sauing that they haue somewhat broad visages, and yet not all of them: for we saw many of them wel fauoured, hauing blacke and great eyes, with a cheerefull and ready looke, not strong of body, yet sharpe witted, nimble and exceeding great runners, as farre as we could learne by experience, and in those two last qualities they are like to the people of the East partes of the world, and especially to them of the bettermost partes of China. We could not learne of this people their maner of liuing, nor their particular customs, by reason of the short abode we made on the shoare, our company being but small, and our ship riding farre off in the Sea. And not farre from these wee found another people, whose liuing wee thinke to be like vnto theirs; (as hereafter I wil declare vnto your Maiestie) shewing at this present the situation and nature of the foresayd land. The shoare is all couered with small sand, and so ascendeth upwards for the space of 15. foote, rising in forme of little hils about 50. paces broad. And sayling for wards, we found certaine small Riuer and armes of the Sea, that fall downe by certaine creekes, washing the shoare on both sides as the coast lyeth. And beyond this we saw the open Countrey rising in height aboue the sandie shoare with many faire fields and plaines, full of mightie great woods, some very thicke, and some thinne, replenished with diuers sorts of trees, as pleasant and delectable to behold, as is possible to imagine. And your Maiesty may not thinke that these are like the woods of Hercynia or the wilde deserts of Tartary, and the Northerne coasts full of fruitlesse trees: But they are full of Palme trees, Bay trees, and high Cypresse trees, and many other sortes of trees vnknewen in Europe, which yeld most sweete saours farre from the shoare, the proprietie whereof we could not learne for the cause aforesaid, and not for any difficulty to passe through the woods, seeing they are not so thicke but that a man may passe through them. Neither doe we thinke that they partaking of the East world round about them, are altogether boyd of drugs or spicery, and other riches of golde, seeing the colour of the land doth so much argue it. And the land is full of many beastes, as Stags, Deere and Pares, and likewise of Lakes and Pooles of fresh water, with great plentie of Fowles, conuenient for all kinde of pleasant game. This land is in latitude 34. degrees, with good and wholesome ayre, temperate, betweene hot and colde, no belement windes doe blowe in those Regions, and those that doe commonly reigne in those coasts, are the North west and West windes in the summer season, (in the beginning whereof we were there) the skie cleere and faire with very litle raine: and if at any time the ayre be cloudye and mistie with the Southerne winde, immediately it is dissolued and wapeth cleere and sayre againe. The Sea is calme, not boysterous, the waues gentle: and although all the shoare be somewhat sholde and without harborough, yet is it not dangerous to the saylers, being free from rocks and deepe, so that within 4. or 5. foote of the shoare, there is 20. foote deepe of water without ebbe or flood, the depth still increasing in such vniforme proportion. There is very good ryding at Sea: for any ship being shaken in a tempest, can neuer perishe there by breaking of her cables, which we haue proued by experience, if or in the beginning of March (as it is vsuall in all regions) being in the Sea oppressed with Northerne windes, and ryding there, wee found our anchor broken before the earth sayled or mooued at all. We departed from this place, still running along the coast, which we found to trend toward the East, & we saw euery where very great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coast, partly because it had no harborough, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boat ashore with 25. men: where by reason of great and continuall waues that beat against the shoare, being an open Coast, without succour, none of our men could possibly goe ashore without loosing our boate. Wee saw there many people which came vnto the shoare, making diuers signes of friendship, and shewing that they were content we should come a land, and by trial we found them to be very courteous and gentle, as your Maiestie shal vnderstand

34. Degrees.

The coast trendeth to the East in 34. degrees of latitude.

Courteous and gentle people.

derstand by the successe. To the intent we might send them of our things, which the Indians commonly desire and esteeme, as sheetes of paper, glasses, beles, and such like trifles; we sent a young man one of our Mariners ashore, who swimming towards them, & being within 3. or 4. yards of the shore, not trusting them, cast the things vpon the shoare: but seeking afterwards to retorne, he was with such violence of the waues beaten vpon the shore, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead: which the Indians perceiuing, ranne to catch him, and drawing him out, they caried him a litle way off from the sea. The yong man perceiuing they caried him, being at the first dismayed, began then greatly to feare, and cried out piteously: likewise did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheere him and to giue him courage, and then setting him on the ground at the foote of a litle hil against the sunne, they began to behold him with great admiration, maruelling at the whitenesse of his flesh: And putting off his clothes, they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remayned in the boate, that they would haue roasted him at that fire, and haue eaten him. The yong man hauing recovered his strength, and hauing stayed a while with them, shewed them by signes that he was desirous to retorne to the ship: and they with great loue clapping him fast about with many imbracings, accompanying him vnto the sea, and to put him in more assurance, leauing him alone, went vnto a high ground and stood there, beholding him vntill he was entered into the boate. This yong man obserued, as we did also, that these are of colour inclining to Blacke as the other were, with their flesh very shining, of meane stature, handsome visage, and delicate limmes, and of very litle strength, but of prompt wit: farther we obserued not.

Departing from hence, following the shore which trended somewhat to ward the North, in 50. leagues space we came to another land which shewed much more faire and full of woods, being very great, where we rode at anchor: and that we might haue some knowledge thereof, wee sent 20. men aland, which entered into the countrey about 2. leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for feare. They saw onely one olde woman with a yong maide of 18. or 20. yeeres olde, which seeing our company, hid themselves in the grasse for feare: the olde woman caried two Infants on her shoulders, and behind her necke a child of 8. yeeres olde. The yong woman was laden likewise with as many: but when our men came vnto them, the women cried out: the olde woman made signes that the men were fledde vnto the woods. Assoone as they saw vs to quiet them and to winne their fauour, our men gaue them such victuals as they had with them, to eat, which the old woman receiued thankfully: but the yong woman disdained them all, & threw them disdainfully on the ground. They tooke a child from the olde woman to bring into France, and going about to take the yong woman which was very beautiful and of tall stature, they could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea: and especially hauing great woods to passe thorow, and being farre from the ship, we purposed to leaue her behind, bearing away the child onely. We found those folkes to be more white then those that we found before, being clad with certaine leaues that hang on boughs of trees, which they sewe together with threds of wilde hempe: their heads were trussed up after the same maner as the former were: their ordinary foode is of pulse, whereof they haue great store; differing in colour and taste from ours; of good and pleasant taste. Moreover they liue by fishing and fowling, which they take with ginnes, and bowes made of hard wood, the arrowes of Canes, being headed with the bones of fish, & other beasts. The beasts in these parts are much wilder then in our Europe, by reason they are continually chased and hunted. We saw many of their boats made of one tree 20. foote long, and 4. foote broad, which are not made with yron or stone, or any other kind of metall (because that in all this countrey for the space of 200. leagues which we ranne, we neuer saw one stone of any sort:) they helpe themselves with fire, burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollownesse of the boat; the like they doe in making the sterne & the forepart, vntill it be fit to saile vpon the sea. The land is in situation, goodnes and fairenesse like the other: it hath woods like the other, thinne and full of diuers sorts of trees: but not so sweete, because the country is more Northerly and colde.

We saw in this Countrey many Vines growing naturally, which growing vp, tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lombardie, which if by husbandmen they were dressed in good order, without all doubt they would yeeld excellent wines: for hauing oftentimes seene the fruit thereof dyed, which was sweete and pleasant, and not differing from ours, wee thinke that they doe esteeme the same, because that in euery place where they growe, they take away the vnder branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.

We found also roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of herbes, and sweete and odoriferous flowers different from ours. We knewe not their swellings, because they were farre vp in the land, and we iudge by many signes that we saw, that they are of wood & of trees framed together.

They run 50. leagues farther.

Wilde hempe.

They ran along the coast 200. leagues. They make hollow their Canoes with fire.

Vines like those of Lombardie.

100. leagues
sailing.

A mightie ri-
uer.

People clad
with feathers
of diuers co-
lours.

The pleasant-
nes and riches
of the land.
The coast trend-
eth to the
East.
The description
of Claudia
Island, tenne
leagues from
the mapne.
Claudia was
mother of King
Francis.
A passing good
hauen.

Copper more
esteemed then
golde.

We doe beleene also by many coniectures and signes, that many of them sleeping in the fields, haue no other couert then the open sky. Further knowledge haue we not of them: we thinke that all the rest whose countreys we passed, liue all after one maner. Putting made our aboade these dayes in this country, and ryding on the coast for want of harboroughs, we concluded to depart from thence, trending along the shore betwene the North and the East, sayling onely in the day time, and riding at anker by night. In the space of 100. leagues sayling we found a very pleasant place situated amongst certaine litle deepe hills: from amidst the which hills there ran downe into the sea an exceeding great streame of water, which in the mouth was very deepe, & from the sea to the mouth of the same with y^e tide which we found to rise 8. foote, any great ship laden may passe by.

But because we rode at anker in a place well fenced from the wind, we would not venture our selues without knowledge of the place: and we passed by with our boat onely into the sayd Riuer, and saw the countrey very well peopled. The people are almost like vnto the others, and are clad with the feathers of fowles of diuers colours: they came towards vs very cheerefully, making great shewes of admiration; shewing vs where we might come to land most safely with our boat. We entered by the sayd riuer into the land about halfe a league, where it made a most pleasant lake about 3. leagues in compasse: on the which they rowed from the one side to the other to the number of 30. of their small boats, wherein were many people which passed from one shore to the other to come and see vs. And behold vpon the sudden (as it is wont to fall out in sayling) a contrary flay of wind comming from the sea, we were inforced to retourne to our ship, leauing this land to our great discontentment, for the great commodity and pleasantnesse thereof, which we suppose is not without some riches, all the hills shewing mineriall matters in them. We weyed anker, and sayled toward the East, for so the coast trended, and so alwayes for 50. leagues being in the sight thereof, we discovered an Island in forme of a triangle, distant from the maine land 10. leagues, about the bignesse of the Island of the Rhodes: it was full of hills couered with trees, well peopled, for we saw fires all along the coast: wee gaue it the name of your Maiesties mother, not staying there by reason of the weather being contrary.

And we came to another land being 5. leagues distant from the Island, where we found a passing good hauen, wherein being entered, we found about 20. small boats of the people, which with diuers cries and wondrings came about our ship, continuing no neerer then 50. paces towards vs: they stayed and beheld the artificiallnesse of our ship, etc. Hape & apparel: then they all made a loud shew together, declaring that they reioyced. When we had something animated them, vling their gestures, they came so neere vs, that we cast them certaine bels and glasses, and many toys, which when they had receiued, they looked on them with laughing, and came without feare aboard our ship. There were amongst these people 2. kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare: the eldest was about 40. yeeres of age, the second was a yong man of 20. yeeres olde. Their apparell was on this maner: the elder had vpon his naked body a parts skin wrought artificiallly with diuers branches like damaske: his head was bare with the hayre tyed by behind with diuers knots: about his necke he had a large chaine, garnished with diuers stones of sunby colours: the yong man was almost apparelled after y^e same maner. This is the goodliest people, & of the fairest conditions that we haue found in this our voyage. They exceed vs in bignes: they are of the colour of hyalle, some of them incline more to whitenesse: others are of yellow colour, of comely visage, with long and blacke haire, which they are very careful to trim and decke vp: they are blacke and quicke eyed, and of sweete and pleasant countenance, imitating much the old fashion. I write not to your Maiestie of the other parts of their body, hauing al such proportion as apperteineth to any handsome man. The women are of the like conformitie and beautie: very handsome and well fauoured, of pleasant countenance, and comely to behold: they are as wel manered and continent as any women, and of good education: they are all naked saue their priuy partes, which they couer with a Deeres skin branched or embrodered as the men be: there are also of them which weare on their armes very rich skinnies of Luzernes: they adorne their heads with diuers ornaments made of their owne haire, which hang downe before on both sides their hesties: others vse other kinde of dressing themselves like vnto the women of Egypt and Syria, these are of the elder sort: and when they are married, they weare diuers toys, according to the vsage of the people of the East, as well men as women.

Among whom we saw many plates of wrought copper, which they esteeme more then golde, which for the colour they make no account of, for that amongst all other it is counted the basest: they make most account of Azure and Red. The things that they esteeme most of all those which we gaue them, were bels, chrystal of Azure colour, and other toys to hang at their eares or about their necke. They did not desire cloth of silke or of golde, much lesse of any other sort, neither cared they

they for things made of Steele and yron, which wee often shewed them in our armour which they made no wonder at; and in beholding them they onely asked the arte of making them: the like they did at our glasses, which when they beheld, they suddenly laught and gaue them vs againe. They are very liberall for they giue that which they haue: we became great friends with these, and one day we entered into the Hauens with our ship, where as before we rode a league off at Sea by reason of the contrary weather. They came in great companies of their small boats vnto the ship with their faces all bepaintes with diuers colours, the wing vs that it was a signe of ioy, bringing vs of their victuals, they made signes vnto vs where we might safest ride in the Hauens for the safeguard of our ship keeping still our company: and after we were come to an anchor, wee bestowed 15 dayes in providing our selues many necessary things, whiche every day the people repaired to see our ship, bringing their wifes with them, whereof they were very ielous: and they themselves entering aboard the ship & staying there a good space, caused their wifes to stay in their boats, and for all the intreatie we could make, offering to giue them diuers things, we could neuer obtaine that they would suffer them to come aboard our ship. And oftentimes one of the two kings comming with his queene, and many gentlemen for their pleasure to see vs, they all stayed on the shore 200 paces from vs, sending a small boat to giue vs intelligence of their comming, saying they would come to see our ship: this they did in token of safety, and alosome as they had answered from vs, they came immediately, and hauing staid a while to behold it, they wondered at hearing the cries and noyses of the mariners. The queene and her maids staid in a very light boat, at an Island a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long space in our ship, offering diuers conceits with gestures, desiring with great admiration all the furniture of the ship, demanding the property of euery thing particularly. He tooke likewise great pleasure in beholding our apparell, and in tasting our meates, & so courteously taking his leaue departed. And sometimes our men staying 2 or 3 dayes on a little Island neere the ship for diuers necessities (as it is the vse of seamen) he returned with 7 or 8 of his gentlemen to see what we did, & asked of vs oftentimes if we meant to make any long abode there, offering vs of their provision: then the king drawing his bow and running vp and down with his gentlemen, made much sport to gratifie our men: we were oftentimes within the land 5 or 6 leagues, which we found as pleasant as is possible to declare, very apt for any kind of husbandry of coyne, wine and oyle: for that there are plaines 25 or 30 leagues broad, open and without any impediment, of trees of such fruitfulnesse, that any seed being sown therein, will bring forth most excellent fruit. We entered afterwards into the woods, which we found so great and thicke, that any army were it neuer so great might haue hid it selfe therein. The trees whereof are oaks, cypresse trees, and other sortes vnknewen in Europe. We found Pomi appii, damson trees, and nut trees, and many other sortes of fruit differing from ours: there are beasts in great abundance, as harts, deere, luzzerns, & other kinds which they take with their nets & bowes which are their chiefe weapons: the arrowes which they vse are made with great cunning, and in stead of yron, they head them with flint, with lasper stone & hard marble & other sharp stones which they vse in stead of yron to cut trees, & to make their boates of one whole piece of wood, making it hollow with great and wonderful art, wherein 10 or 12 men may sit commodiously: their oares are short and broad at the end, and they vse them in the sea without any danger, and by maine force of armes, with as great speedines as they list themselves. We saw their houses made in circular or round forme 10 or 12 paces in compasse, made with halfe circles of timber, separate one from another without any order of building, couered with matces of straw wrought cunningly together, which saue them from the wind and raine: and if they had the order of building and perfect skil of workmanship as we haue, there were no doubt but that they would also make edifices great & stately buildings. For all the sea coasts are full of cleare and glittering stones, & alabaster, and therefore it is full of good hauens and harboroughs for ships. They moue the foresaid houses from one place to another according to the commoditie of the place & season wherein they will make their abode, and only taking off the matces, they haue other houses builded incontinent. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great number: in some of them we saw 25 or 30 persons. They feed as the other doe aforesaid of pulse which grow in that Countrey with better order of husbandry then in the others. They obserue in their sowing the course of the Moone and the rising of certaine starres, and diuers other customes spoken of by antiquity. Whereouer they liue by hunting and fishing. They liue long, & are seldom sick, and if they chance to fall sicke at any time, they heale themselves with fire without any physician, and they say that they die for very age. They are very pitifull and charitable towards their neighbours, they make great lamentations in their aduersitie: and in their miserie, the kindred reckon vp all their felicitie. At their departure out of life, they vse mourning mixt with singing, which continueth for a long space.

Most pleasant and fruitful lands.

The fashion of their houses.

The coast full of good haues.

Their eating with Tobacco and perfume.

This

41. degrees &
2. merces.

The descripti-
on of a nota-
ble haven in
41. deg and 2.
merces.

150 leagues.
20 shew of mts
nerall.

The coast run-
ning East-
ward 50.
leagues.
Here the peo-
ple begin to be
more savage.

Beades of
copper.

32. pleasant
Islands.

They ran al-
most to 50.
degrees.

This is as much as we could learne of them. This land is situated in the Paralele of Rome, in 41. degrees and 2. merces: but somewhat more colde by accidentall causes and not of nature, (as I will declare unto your highnesse elsewhere) describing at this present the situation of the foresaid Countrey, which lieth East and West. I say that the mouth of the Haven lieth open to the South halfe a league broad, and being entered within it betweene the East and the North, it stretcheth twelue leagues: where it wateh broader and broader, and maketh a gulfie about 20. leagues in compasse, wherein are five small Islands very fruitfull and pleasant, full of hie and broade trees, among the which Islandes any great Naue may ride safe without any feare of tempest or other danger. Afterwards turning towardes the South in the entering into the Haven on both sides there are most pleasant hils, with many riuers of most cleare water falling into the Sea.

In the middell of this entrance there is a rocke of free stone growing by nature apt to build any Castle or Fortresse there, for the keeping of the haven. The fift of May being furnished with all things necessarie, we departed from the said coast keeping along in the sight thereof, and wee sailed 150. leagues finding it alwayes after one maner: but the land somewhat higher with certaine mountaines, all which beare a shew of minerall matter, wee sought not to land there in any place, because the weather serued our turne for sailing: but wee suppose that it was like the former, the coast ranne Eastward for the space of fiftie leagues. And treading afterwards to the North, we found another land high full of thicke woods, the trees whereof were firres, cypresses and such like as are wont to grow in cold Countreys. The people differ much from the other, and looke how much the former seemed to be courteous and gentle: so much were these full of rudenesse and ill maners, and so barbarous that by no signes that euer we could make, we could haue any kind of traffike with them. They cloth themselves with Beares skinnies and Luzernes and Seales and other beasts skinnies. Their food, as farre as we could perceiue, repairing often unto their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting & fishing, and of certaine fruits, which are a kind of roots which the earth yeeldeth of her own accord. They haue no graine, neither saw we any kind of signe of tillage, neither is the land, for the barrennesse thereof, apt to beare fruit or seed. If at any time we desired by exchange to haue any of their comodities, they used to come to the sea shore upon certaine craggy rocks, and we standing in our boats, they let downe with a rope what it pleased them to giue vs, crying continually that we should not appoch to the land, demanding immediatly the exchange, taking nothing but knives, fishhookes, and tooles to cut withall, neyther did they make any account of our courtesie. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people shewed all signes of discourtesie and disdain, as were possible for any creature to inuent. We were in dispyght of them 2 or 3 leagues within the land, being in number 25 armed men of vs: And when we went on shore they shot at vs with their bowes making great outcries, and after wards fled into the woods. We found not in this land any thing notable, or of importance, sauing very great woods and certaine hilles, they may haue some minerall matter in them, because wee saw many of them haue beadstones of Copper hanging at their eares. We departed from thence keeping our course North-east along the coast, which we found more pleasant champion and without woods, with high mountaines within the land continuing directly along the coast for the space of fiftie leagues, we discovered 32 Islands lying al neere the land, being small and pleasant to the view, high and hauing many turnings and windings betweene them, making many faire harbours and chanelles as they doe in the gulfie of Venice in Sclauonia, and Dalmatia, we had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people: we suppose they are of the same maners and nature as the others are. Sailing North-east for the space of 150. leagues we appoched to the land that in times past was discovered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees. Having now spent all our prouision and victuals, and hauing discovered about 700 leagues and more of new Countreys, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to returne into France.

Touching the religion of this people, which wee haue found, for want of their language wee could not vnderstand neither by signes nor gesture that they had any religion or lawe at all, or that they did acknowledge any first cause or moouer, neither that they worship the heauen or stars the Sunne or Moone or other planets, and much lesse whether they be idolaters, neither could wee learne whether that they used any kind of sacrifices or other adorations, neither in their villages haue they any Temples or houses of prayer. We suppose that they haue no religion at all, and that they liue at their owne libertie. And that all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very easie to be perswaded: and all that they see vs Christians doe in our diuine seruice, they did the same with the like imitation as they saw vs to doe it.

A notable

A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Capitaines into *Florida*: Wherein the great riches and fruitfulness of the Countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, sauing the last, by *Monsieur Landonniere*, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter:

Translated out of French into English by M.

RICHARD HAKLVYT.

To the right honourable Sir *Walter Ralegh* Knight, Captaine of her Maiesties Gard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of *Cornewall*, *R. H.* wisheith true felicitie.



IR, after that this historie, which had bene concealed many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in *France* vnder your Name by my learned friend M. *Martine Basanier* of *Paris*, I was easily enduced to turne it into English, vnderstanding that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthie persons there. And no maruaile though it were very welcome vnto you, and that you liked of the translation thereof, since no history hitherto set forth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of *Virginia*, then this of *Florida*. But calling to minde that you had spent more yeeres in *France* then I, and vnderstand the French better then my selfe, I forthwith perceiued that you approoued mine endeour, not for any priuate ease or commoditie that thereby might redound vnto you, but that it argued a singular and especiall care you had of those which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you would haue forewarned and admonished as well to beware of the grosse negligence in prouiding of sufficiency of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconueniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to preuent and auoyde the like, as also might be put in minde, by the reading of the manifold commodities and great fertilitie of the places herein at large described and so neere neighbours vnto our Colonies, that they might generally bee awaked and stirred vp vnto the diligent obseruation of euery thing that might turne to the aduancement of the action, wherinto they are so cheerefully entered. Many speciall poynts concerning the commodities of these partes, the accidents of the French mens government therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the surprise of the other by the enemy are herein truly and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I haue annexed to the ende of the worke, it shall be needlesse to reckon vp againe. And that the rather, because the same with diuers other things of chiefe importance are liuely drawne in colours at your no smal charges by the skillfull painter *James Morgues*, sometime liuing in the *Black-fryers* in *London* (whom *Monsieur Chastillon* then Admirall of *France* sent thither with *Landonniere* for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnesse and fertility of those regions, and hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which since he hath published together with the purtraitures. These foure voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your selfe, and that for diuers iust considerations. First, for that as I haue sayd before, they were dedicated vnto you in French: secondly because now foure times also you haue attempted the like vpon the ielfe same coast neere adioyning: thirdly in that you haue perfered as farre vp into the maine and discovered no lesse secrets in the partes of your abroad, then the French did in the places of their inhabiting: lastly considering you are now also ready (vpon the late returne of Captaine *Stafford* and good newes which he brought you of the safe arrival of your last Colony in their wished haven) to prosecute this action more thoroughly then euer. And here to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will prooue farre more beneficiall in diuers respects vnto this our realme, then the world, yea many of the wiser sort, haue hitherto imagined. The particular commodities whereof are wel known vnto your selfe and some few others, and are faithfully and with great iudgement comitted to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers,

Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.

The chiefe things whiche the obseruacion in Florida are drawen in colours by James Morgues painter sometime liuing in the Black-fryers in London.

A collection of the commodities of Virginia.

which

Meanes to
raile benefit in
new discou-
ries vied by
the Spaniards
& Portugals.

Kine, suger-
canes and gin-
ger transported
into Hispaniola
and Madera, &c.

Woad and
vines planted
in the Azores.

The great
zeale of Eliza-
beth Queene
of Castile and
Aragon in ad-
uancing of
new discou-
ries tending
to Gods glory.

The aptnesse
of the people
in the maine of
Virginia to em-
brace Christiani-
tie.
Seneca.

2. Cor. 13. 14.

Iosue 1. 6.

which remained there about a tweluemonth with your worshipful Lieutenant M. Ralph Lane, in the diligent search of the secrets of those Countreys, Touching the speedy and effectually pursuing of your action, though I wote well it would demaund a princes purse to haue it thoroughly followed without lingring, yet am I of opinion, that you shall drawe the same before it be long to be profitable and gainful aswel to those of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of *England* that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine secret commodities already discovered by your seruants, & partly by breeding of diuers sorts of beasts in those large and ample regions, and planting of such things in that warme climat as wil best prosper there, and our realme standeth most in need of. And this I find to haue bin the course that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their discoveries & conquests. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into *Hispaniola* found neither suger-canes nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattel: But finding the place fit for pasture they sent kine & buls and sundry sorts of other profitable beasts thither, & transported the plants of suger-canes, and set the rootes of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with suger and ginger, are now the chiefe merchandise of that Island. The Portugals also at their first footing in *Madera*, as *John Barros* writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the Island by that name. Howbeit the climate being fauourable, they enriched it by their own industry with the best wines and sugers in the world. The like maner of proceeding they vsed in the Isles of the *Azores* by sowing therein great quantity of Woad. So dealt they in *S. Thomas* vnder the Equinoctial, and in *Brasil*, and sundry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit. Moreouer there is none other likelihood but that her Maiesty, which hath Christened and giuen the name to your *Virginia*, if need require, will deale after the maner of honorable godmothers, which, seeing their gossip not fully able to bring vp their children themselves, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they find any towardlines or reasonable hope of goodnesse in them. And if *Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon*, after her husband *Ferdinando* and she had emptied their cofers and exhausted their treasures in subduing the kingdome of *Granada* and rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of *Spainne*, was neuertheless so zealous of Gods honour, that (as *Fernandus Columbus* the sonne of *Christopher Columbus* recordeth in the history of the deedes of his father) she layd part of her owne iewels, which she had in great account, to gage, to furnish his father forth vpon his first voyage, before any foot of land of all the *West Indies* was discovered; what may we expect of our most magnificent and gracious prince *ELIZABETH* of *England*, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasures, what may wee, I say, hope of her forwardnesse and bounty in aduancing of this your most honourable enterprife, being farre more certaine then that of *Columbus*, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glorie of God then that action of the Spanyardes? For as you may read in the very last wordes of the relation of *Newe Mexico* extant now in English, the maine land, where your last Colonie meane to seate themselves, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, which are of better wittes then those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, as hath bene found by those that haue had some triall of them: whereby it may bee gathered that they will easily embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped and intangled. A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of diuers men, writeth, that if an oxe bee put into a medowe hee will seeke to fill his bellie with grasse, if a Storke bee cast in shee will seeke for Snakes, if you turne in a Hound he will seeke to start an Hare: So sundry men entring into these discoveries propose vnto themselves seuerall endes. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine, and that often times by dishonest and vnlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and the sauing of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet because diuers honest and well disposed persons are entred already into this your businesse, and that I know you meane hereafter to sende some such good Churchmen thither, as may truly say with the Apostle to the Sauages, *Wee seeke not yours but you*: I conceiue great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lorde, whose power is wont to bee perfected in weakenesse, will blesse the feeble foundations of your building. Onely bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lorde sayd vnto *Iosue*, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conquest of the land of promise, and remember that priuate men haue happily wielded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed vpon you, to the singuler good, as I assure my selfe, of this

our

our Common wealth wherein you liue. Hereof we haue examples domesticall and forreine. Remember I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of *Ireland* newly dedicated vnto your selfe. Read you not that *Richard Strangbow* the decayed earle of *Chepstow* in Monmouthshire, being in no great fauour of his soueraigne, passed ouer into that Island in the yere 1171. and accompanied only with certain of his priuate friends had in short space such prosperous successe, that he opened the way for king *Henry* the second to the speedy subiection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of *England*? The like conquest of *Brasilia*, and annexing the same to the kingdome of *Portugall* was first begun by meane and priuate men, as *Don Antonio de Castillio*, Ambassadour here for that realme, and by office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoueries, assured me in this city in the yere 1581. Now if the greatnes of the maine of *Virginia*, and the large extension therof, especially to the West, should make you thinke that the subduing of it, were a matter of more difficulty then the conquest of *Ireland*, first I answer, that as the late experience of that skilfull pilote and Captaine *M. John Davis* to the Northwest (toward which his discouery your selfe haue thrise contributed with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to be maine sea, where before was thought to be maine land, so for my part I am fully perswaded by *Ortelius* late reformation of *Culuacan* and the gulfes of *California*, that the land on the backe part of *Virginia* extendeth nothing so far westward as is put downe in the Maps of those parts. Moreouer it is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and vnarmed people in *Virginia*, then one thousand were able then to do in *Ireland* against that armed and warlike nation in those daies. I say further, that these two yeres last experience hath plainly shewed, that we may spare 10000. able men without any misse. And these are as many as the kingdome of *Portugal* had euer in all their garrisons of the *Acores*, *Madera*, *Arguin*, *Cape verde*, *Guinea*, *Brasill*, *Mozambique*, *Melinde*, *Zocotora*, *Ormuz*, *Diu*, *Goa*, *Malaca*, the *Malucos*, and *Macao* vpon the coast of *China*. Yea this I say by the confession of singuler expert men of their own nation (whose names I suppress for certain causes) which haue bene personally in the *East Indies*, & haue assured me that their kings had neuer aboue ten thousand natural borne *Portugals* (their slaues excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories. Which also this present yeere I saw confirmed in a secrete extract of the particular estate of that kingdome and of euery gouernement and office subiect to the same, with the seuerall pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people, that retyring daily home out of the Lowe Countreys they go idle vp and down in swarms for lack of honest intertainment, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trained vp thus long in seruice, then in the inward partes of the firme of *Virginia* against such stubborne Sauages as shal refuse obedience to her Maiestie. And doubtlesse many of our men will bee glad and faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this present treatie they shal vnderstand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining so neere vpon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse wherof you haue bin contented to suffer to come to light. In the meane season I humbly commend my selfe and this my translation vnto you, and your selfe, and all those which vnder you haue taken this enterprize in hand to the grace and good blessing of the Almighty, which is able to build farther, and to finish the good worke which in these our dayes he hath begun by your most Christian and charitable endeour. From London the 1. of May 1587.

Your L. humble at commandement, R. HAKI VYT.

The Preface of M. Rene Laudonniere.

Here are two things, which according to mine opinion haue bene the principall causes, in consideration whereof as well they of ancient times, as those of our age haue bene induced to trauell into farre and remote regions. The first hath bene the naturall desire which wee haue to search out the commodities to liue happily, plentifully, and at ease: be it whither one abandon his naturall Countrey altogether to dwell in a better, or bee it that men make voyages thither, there to search out and bring from thence such things as are there to be found, and are in greatest estimation and in most request in our Countreys. The second cause hath bene the multitude of people too fruitfull in generation, which being no longer able to dwell in their native soyles, haue entred vpon their neighbours limites, and oftentimes passing further haue pearced euen vnto the vttermost regions. After this sort the North climate, a fruitfull father

The good successe in Ireland of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepstow.

The happy late discouery to the Northwest of Captaine Davis.

The kings of Portugal haue neuer aboue ten thousand of their naturall subjects in all their new conquered dominions.

Planting of
Colonies.

When force of
armes is to be
used.

Two conditi-
ons required
in conquests
of Countreys
newly discou-
red.
Nota.

of so many nations hath oftentimes sent forth this way and that way his valiant people, and by this meane hath peopled infinite Countreys: so that most of the nations of *Europe* drawe their originall from these parts. Contrariwise the more Southerne regions, because they bee too barren by reason of their insupportable heate which raigneth in them, neede not any such sending forth of their inhabitants, and haue bene oftentimes constrained to receiue other people more often by force of armes then willingly. All *Africke*, *Spaine*, and *Italie* can also testifie the same, which neuer so abounded with people that they had neede to send them abroad to inhabite elsewhere: as on the contrary *Scythia*, *Norway*, *Gotland*, and *France* haue done. The posterity of which nations remaineth yet not only in *Italy*, *Spaine* & *Africke*, but also in fruitful and faire *Asia*. Neuerthelesse I find that the Romans proceeding further, or rather adding vnto these two chiefe causes aforesaid, (as being most curious to plant not onely their ensignes and victories, but also their lawes, customes, & religion in those prouinces which they had conquered by force of armes) haue oftentimes by the decree of their soueraigne Senate sent forth inhabitants, which they called Colonies (thinking by this way to make their name immortall) euen to the vnsurnishing of their own Countrey of the forces which should haue preserued the same in her perfection: a thing which hindred them much more, then advanced them to the possession of the vniuersal monarchy, whereunto their intencion did aspire. For it came to passe that their Colonies here and there being miserably sacked by strange people did vtterly ruine and ouerthrow their Empire. The brinks of the riuer of *Rhene* are yet red, those of *Danubius* are no lesse bloody, and our *France* became fat with their blood which they lost. These are the effects and rewards of al such as being pricked forward with this Romane and tyrannical ambition will goe about thus to subdue strange people: effects, I say, contrary to the profit which those shall receiue, which onely are affectioned to the common benefite, that is to say, to the generall policie of all men, and endeuour to vnite them one with another aswell by trafficke and ciuill conuersations, as also by military vertues, and force of armes, when as the Sauages will not yeeld vnto their endeuours so much tending vnto their profit.

For this cause princes haue sent forth out of their Dominions certaine men of good actiuitie, to plant themselves in strange Countreys, there to make their profite to bring the Countrey to ciuilitie, and if it might be, to reduce the inhabitants to the true knowledge of our God: an end so much more commendable, as it is farre from all tyrannicall and cruell gouernement: and so they haue alwayes thrived in their enterprises, and by little and little gained the heartes of them which they haue conquered or wonne vnto them by any meanes. Hereof wee may gather that sometimes it is good, yea very expedient to send forth men to discover the pleasure and commoditie of strange Countreys: But so, that the Countrey out of which these companies are to passe remaine not weakned, nor deprived of her forces; And againe in such sort that the company sent forth be of so iust & sufficient number, that it may not be defeated by strangers, which euery foote endeuour nothing else but to surpris the same vpon the sudden. As within these few daies past the French haue proued to my great grieve, being able by no means possible to withstand the same, considering that the elements, men, and all the fauours which might be hoped for of a faithfull and Christian alliance fought against vs: which thing I purpose to discover in this present historie with so euident trueth, that the kings Maiesty my soueraigne prince shall in part be satisfied of the diligence which I haue vsed in his seruice, and mine aduersaries shall find themselves so discovered in their false reports, that they shall haue no place of refuge. But before I begin, I will briefly set downe the situation and description of the land whereunto we haue sailed and where we haue inhabited from the yeere 1561. vnto sixty five, to the ende that those things may the more easily be borne away, which I meane to describe in this discourse.

The description of the *West Indies* in generall, but chiefly and particularly of *Florida*.

America hitherto
knowne to all
antiquity.



That part of the earth which at this day we call the fourth part of the world, or *America*, or rather the *West India*, was vnknowne vnto our ancestors by reason of the great distance thereof. In like maner all the *Westerne* *Islands* and fortunate *Isles* were not discovered but by those of our age. Whomever there haue bin some which haue said that they were discovered in the time of *Augustus Caesar*, and that *Virgil* hath made mention thereof in the first booke of his *Aeneidos*, when he saith, There is a land beyond the *Starres*, and the course of the yeere and of the *Sunne*, where

where Atlas the Porter of heauen sustaineth the pole vpon his shoulders: neuertheless it is easie to iudge that hee meant not to speake of this land, whereof no man is found to haue written before his time, neither yett aboue a thou and yeeres after. Christopher Colon did first light vpon this land in the yeere 1492. And fure yeeres after Americus went thither by the commandement of the king of Castile, and gaue vnto it his owne name, wherupon afterward it was called America. This man was very well scene in the Arte of Navigation and in Astronomie: whereby hee discovered in his time many lands unknowne vnto the ancient Geographers. This Countrey is named by some, the land of Bresill, and the lande of Parors. It stretcheth it selfe, according vnto Postell, from the one Pole to the other, sauing at the streight of Magelan, wherunto it reacheth 53. degrees beyond the Equator. I will diuide it for the better understanding into three principall parts. That which is toward the Pole Arcticke or the North is called new France, because that in the yeere 1524. Iohn Verrazano a Florentine was sent by King Francis the first, and by Adam the Regent his mother vnto these new Regions, where he went on land, and discovered all the coast which is from the Tropicke of Cancer, to wit, from the eight and twentieth vnto the fiftieth degree, and farther vnto the North. Hee planted in this Countrey the Ensignes and Armes of the king of France: so that the Spaniards themselves which were there afterwarde, haue named this Countrey Terra Francesca. The same then extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the 25. degree vnto the 54. toward the North: and in Longitude from 210. vnto 330. The Easterne part thereof is called by the late writers The land of Norumbega, which beginneth at the Bay of Gama, which separateth it from the Isle of Canada, whither Iaqués Cartier sayled the yeere 1535. About the which there are many Islands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador stretching toward Groenland. In the Westerne part there are many known Countreys, as the Regions of Quiuira, Ciuola, Astatlan, and Terlichichimic. The Southerne part is called Florida, because it was discovered on Palme-sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascha Florida. The Northerne part is altogether unknowne.

Christopher Colon or Columbe. Americus Vesputius of whome America tooke the name. The first general part of America. Cabota in the yeere 1497 had discovered all this tract for the crowne of England.

The second part of all America is called new Spaine. It extendeth from the Tropicke of Cancer in twentie three degrees and a halfe, vnto the ninth degree. In the same is situated the Citie of Themiltitan, and it hath many Regions, and many Islandes adioyned vnto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the most famous and renowned are Hispaniola and Isabella, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the Islands aforesayd, haue not in Longitude past seuentie degrees, to wit, from the two hundred and fortie, vnto three hundred and ten: it is also long and narrowe as Italie. The third part of America is called Peru, it is very great, and extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the tenth degree vnto the three and fiftieth beyond the Equator, to wit, as I haue sayde before, vnto the streight of Magelan. It is made in fashion like to an egge, and is very well knowne vpon all sides. The part where it is largest hath threescore degrees, and from thence it waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the endes. In one part of this lande Villegaignon planted right vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne, and he called it France Antarctick, because it draweth toward the pole Antartick, as our France doeth toward the Arctick.

The second general part of America.

The third general part of America.

Villegaignon.

Florida with an ample description thereof.

New France is almost as great as all our Europe. Howbeit the most knowne and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen haue made diuers voyages at sundry times, insomuch that now it is the best knowne Countrey which is in all this part of new France. The Cape thereof is as it were a long head of lande stretching out into the Sea an hundred leagues, and runneth directly toward the South: it hath right ouer against it fure and twentie leagues distant the Isle of Cuba otherwise called Isabella, toward the East the Isles of Bahama and Lucaya, and toward the West the Bay of Mexico. The Countrey is flat, and diuided with diuers riuers, and therefore moyst, and is sandie towards the Sea shore. There groweth in those partes great quantitie of Pinetrees, which haue no kernels in the apples which they beare. Their woods are full of Oakes, Walnuttrees, blacke Cherrietrees, Mulberry trees, Lentilkes, and Chestnut trees, which are more wilde then those in France. There is great store of Cedars, Cypresses, Bayes, Palme trees, Hollies, and wilde Vines, which climbe vp along the trees and beare good Grapes. There is there a kinde of Pedlers, the fruite whereof is better then that of France, and bigger. There are also Plumtrees, which beare very faire fruite, but such as is not very good. There are Raspalles, and a little berrie which we call among vs Blues, which are very good to eat. There growe in that Countrey a kinde of Rootes which they call in their language Hafez, whereof in necessitie they make bread. There is also there the tree called Esquine, which is very good against the Pockes and other contagious diseases. The Beastes best knowne in this Countrey are Stagges, Hindes, Goates, Deere, Leopards,

The trees of Florida.

These are perhaps those which the Spaniards call Tunas.

The beasts of Florida.

Dunces,

The foules of
Florida.

Crocodiles.

Gold and
Silver.
The moun-
taines of Ap-
palacy.
Store of dyes
and colours.
The disposi-
on and ma-
ners of the
Floridians.

The wearing
of their haire.
Their exercise
and pastime.
Running for
games.
Shooting.
Blapung at the
Ball.
Hunting.
Fishing.
Their forme
of warre.

Their tri-
umphes after
the victorie.
They worship
the Sunne and
Moone.
Their Priests
are both Ma-
gicians and
Physicians.

Their marri-
ages.

The paineful-
nesse of the
women.
Many Herma-
phrodites
which haue
the nature of
both sexes.
Their foode
and provision
for warre.
Their dressing
their flesh and
fily over the
smoke.
Their order in
marching to
the warre.
Their consul-
tations.

Dunces, Luscins, diuers sortes of Molues, wilde Dogs, Hares, Cunnies, and a certaine kinde of beast that differeth little from the Lyon of Africa. The foules are Turkeycocks, Partridges, Parrots, Pigeons, Ringdoves, Turtles, Blackbirdes, Crows, Carrils, Faulcons, Lanyers, Herons, Cranes, Storkes, wilde Geese, Palards, Cormorants, Herons, white, red, blacke and gray, and an infinite sort of all wilde foule. There is such abundance of Crocodiles, that oftentimes in swimming men are assailed by them: of Serpents there are many sorts. There is found among the Sauages good quantitie of Gold and Silver, which is gotten out of the shippes that are lost vpon the coast, as I haue vnderstood by the Sauages themselves. They vse traffique thereof one with another. And that which maketh me the rather beleue it, is, that on the coast toward the Cape, where commonly the shippes are call away, there is more store of Silver then toward the North. Neuerthelesse they say, that in the Mountaines of Appalacy there are Mines of Copper, which I thinke to be Golde. There is also in this Countrey great store of graynes and herbes, whereof might be made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kind of colours. And in truely the Indians which take pleasure in painting of their skins, know very well how to vse the same. The men are of an Olive colour, of great stature, faire, without any deformitie, and well proportioned. They couer their priuities with the skinne of a Stagge well dressed. The most part of them haue their bodies, armes, and thighes painted with very faire deuises: the painting whereof can neuer bee taken away, because the same is pricked into their flesh. Their haire is very blacke, and reacheth euen downe to their hips, howbeit they trusse it vp after a fashion that becommeth them very well. They are great dissemblers and traitours, valiant of their persons & fight very well. They haue none other weapons but their bowes and arrowes. They make the string of their bow of a gut of a Stag, or of a Stags skin, which they know how to dresse as well as any man in France, and with as different sortes of colours. They head their arrowes with the teeth of fishes and stone, which they worke very finely and handsomly. They exercise their yong men to ruine well, and they make a game among themselves, which he winneth that hath the longest breath. They also exercise themselves much in shooting. They play at the ball in this maner: they set vp a tree in the midst of a place which is eight or nine fathem high, in the top whereof there is set a square mat made of reedes or Bulrushes, which whosoever hitteth in playing thereat, winneth the game. They take great pleasure in hunting and fishing. The kings of the Countrey make great warre one against the other, which is not executed but by surprise, and they kill all the men they can take: afterward they cut of their heads to haue their haire, which returning home they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houses. They saue the women and children, and nourish them and keepe them alwayes with them. Being returned home from the warre, they assemble all their subiects, and for ioy three dayes and three nights they make good cheare, they dance & sing, likewise they make the most ancient women of the Countrey to dance, holding the haire of their enemies in their hands: and in dauncing they sing praises to the Sunne, ascribing vnto him the honour of the victorie. They haue no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, sauing of that which they see, as the Sunne and the Moone. They haue their Priests to whom they giue great credit, because they are great magicians, great soothsayers, and callers vpon diuels. These Priests saue them in stead of Physicians and Chirurgions. They carry alwayes about them a bag full of herbes and drugs to cure the sicke diseased which for the most part are sick of the pocks, for they loue women & maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sunne: and some of them are Sodomites. They marry, and euery one hath his wife, and it is lawfull for the King to haue two or three: yet none but the first is honoured and acknowledged for Queene: and none but the children of the first wife inherite the goods and authoritie of the father. The women doe all the businesse at home. They keepe not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eate not of that which they touch as long as they haue their flowers. There are in all this Countrey many Hermaphrodites, which take all the greatest paine, and beare the victuals when they goe to warre. They paint their faces much, and sticke their haire full of feathers or downe, that they may seeme more terrible. The victuals which they carry with them, are of bread, of hony, and of meale made of Maiz parched in the fire, which they keepe without being marred a long while. They carry also sometimes fish, which they cause to be dressed in the smoke. In necessitie they eat a thousand rascals, euen to the swallowing downe of coales, and putting sand into the pottage that they make with this meale. When they goe to warre, their King marcheth first, with a clubbe in the one hand, and his bowe in the other, with his quiver full of arrowes. All his men follow him, which haue likewise their bowes and arrowes. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. They take no enterpryse in hand, but first they assemble oftentimes their Councell together, and

they

they take very good aduifement before they growe to a resolution. They meete together euery morning in a great common houle, whither their King repaireth, and setteth him downe vpon a feat: which is higher then the feates of the other: where all of them one after another come and salute him: and the most ancient begin their salutations, lifting by both their handes twise as high as their face, saying, *Ya, he, ya*, and the rest answer *ha, ha*. Assoone as they haue done their salutation, euery man sitteth him downe vpon the feates which are round about in the houle. If there be any thing to intreate of, the King calleth the *Jawas*, that is to say, their Priests, and the most ancient men, and asketh them their aduise. Afterward he commaundeth *Cassine* to be brewed, which is a drinke made of the leaues of a certaine tree: They drinke this *Cassine* very hotte: he drinketh first, then he causeth to be giuen thereof to all of them one after another in the same boule, which holdeth well a quart measure of Paris. They make so great account of this drinke, that no man may taste thereof in this assembly, vntill hee hath made prooffe of his valure in the warre. Moreover this drinke hath such a vertue, that assoone as they haue drinke it, they become all in a sweate, which sweate being past, it taketh away hunger and thirst for foure and twenty houres after. When a King dyeth, they burie him very solemnly, and vpon his graue they set the cuppe wherein he was wont to drinke: and round about the sayde graue they sticke many arrowes, and weepe and fast three dayes together without ceasing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning: and in token of the loue which they bare him, they cut of more then the one halfe of their haire, as well men as women. During the space of sixe Moones (so they reckon their moneths) there are certaine women appoynted which bewaile the death of this King, crying with a loude voyce thise a day, to wit, in the Morning, at Noone, and at Euening. All the goods of this King are put into his houle, and afterward they set it on fire, so that nothing is euer more after to be scene. The like is done with the goods of the Priests, and besides they burie the bodies of the Priests in their houles, and then they set them on fire. They sowe their *Patz* twise a yere, to wit, in March and in June, and all in one and the same soyle. The sayd *Patz* from the time that it is sowed vntill the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three moneths on the ground. The other 6. moneths they let the earth rest. They haue also faire Pumpions, & very good Beanes. They neuer dung their land, onely when they would sowe, they set the weedes on fire, which grewe vpon the 6. moneths, and burne them all. They dig their ground with an instrument of wood which is fashioned like a broad mattocke, wherewith they digge their Vines in France, they put two graines of *Patz* together. When the land is to be sowed, the King commaundeth one of his men to assemble his subiects euery day to labour, during which labour the King causeth store of that drinke to be made for them, wherof we haue spoken. At the time when the *Patz* is gathered, it is all carried into a common houle, where it is distributed to euery man according to his qualitie. They sowe no more but that which they thinke will serue their turnes for sixe moneths, & that very scarcely. For during the Winter they retire themselves for three or foure moneths in the yere into the woods, where they make little cotages of Palme boughes for their retraite, and liue there of *Halte*, of *Fish* which they take, of *Dillers*, of *Staggess*, of *Turkeycockes*, and other beastes which they take. They eat all their meate broyled on the coales, and dyessed in the smoake, which in their language they call *Boucaned*. They eat willingly the flesh of the *Crocodile*: and in deede it is faire and white: and were it not that it saoureth too much like *Dulke* we would oftentimes haue eaten thereof. They haue a custome among them, that when they finde themselves sicke, where they feeble the paine, whereas we cause our selues to be let blood, their Physicians sucke them vntill they make the blood follow.

The women are likewise of good proportion and tall, and of the same colour that the men be of, painted as the men be: Howbeit when they are borne, they be not so much of an *Olue* colour, and are farre whiter. For the chiefe cause that maketh them to be of this colour proceedes of anointings of oyle which they vse among them: and they doe it for a certaine ceremonie which I could not learne, and because of the Sunne which shineth hote vpon their bodies. The agilitie of the women is so great, that they can swimme ouer the great Riues bearing their children vpon one of their armes. They climbe by also very nimbly vpon the highest trees in the Countrey.

Beholde in brieft the description of the Countrey, with the nature and customes of the Inhabitants: which I was very willing to write, before I entred any further into the discourse of my historie, to the end that the Readers might be the better prepared to vnderstand that, which I meane hereafter to entreate of.

Their saluting
of their kings.

The drinking
of Cassine
before they goe
to battell.
The hono-
rabilitie of
men of valure
above other.
The excellen-
cie of Cassine.
Their manner
of the buriall
of kings.
Their cutting
of more then
halfe their
haire.

The buriall of
their Priests.
Sowing twice
in 6 moneths.
Faile pumpi-
ons.
Goodly
beanes.
Instruments
wherewith
they till their
ground.

The bringing
of all the crop
into a common
houle.
Their provi-
sion of corne
for 6. moneths
onely.
Their manner
of living in
the Winter.
The dyessing of
their meate in
the smoake.
Their manner
of curing dis-
eases.
Their wo-
mens dispo-
sitions and
manners.
Oyle in Florida.
Women great
swimmers.

The first voyage of John Ribault to Florida 1562.

The course of the Spaniards not altogether necessary. Cape François in 30 degrees.

A pillar set up

Prayer and thanks to God.

Presentes given to Ribault.

Their fish wears like those of Virginia.

Then passed over the river. Goodly strawberries white and red.

MY Lord Admirall of Chastillon, a noble man more desirous of the publique then of his private benefite, understanding the pleasure of the King his prince, which was to discover new and strange Countreys, caused vessels fit for this purpose to be made ready with all diligence, and men to be leuied meete for such an enterpryse: Among whom hee chose Captaine Iohn Ribault, a man in truerth expert in sea causes: which hauing receiued his charge, set himselfe to Sea the yeere 1562. the eighteenth of Februarie, accompanied onely with two of the kings shippes, but so well furnished with Gentlemen, (of whose number I my selfe was one) and with olde Souldiers, that he had meanes to atchieue some notable thing and worthy of eternall memorie. Hauing therefore sayled two moneths, neuer holding the vsuall course of the Spaniards, hee arriued in Florida, landing neere a Cape or Promontorie, which is no high lande, because the coast is all flatte, but onely rising by reason of the high woods, which at his arriuall he called Cape François in honour of our France. This Cape is distant from the Equator about thirtie degrees. Coasting from this place towards the North, he discovered a very faire and great Riuer, which gaue him occasion to cast anker that hee might search the same the next day very early in the morning: which being done by the breake of day, accompanied with Captaine Fiquinville and diuers other souldiers of his shippe, he was no sooner arriued on the brinke of the shoare, but straight hee perceiued many Indians men and women, which came of purpose to that place to receiue the Frenchmen with all gentlenesse and amitie, as they well declared by the Oration which their king made, and the presents of Chamois skimes wherewith he honoured our Captaine, which the day following caused a pillar of hard stone to be planted within the sayde Riuer, and not farre from the mouth of the same vpon a little sandie knappe, in which pillar the Armes of France were carued and engraued. This being done hee embarked himselfe againe, to the ende alwayes to discover the coast toward the North which was his chiefe desire. After he had sayled a certaine time he crossed ouer to the other side of the riuer, and then in the presence of certaine Indians, which of purpose did attend him, hee commaunded his men to make their prayers, to giue thanks to G D D, for that of his grace hee had conducted the French nation vnto these strange places without any danger at all. The prayers being ended, the Indians which were very attentiu to hearken vnto them, thinking in my iudgement, that wee worshipped the Sunne, because wee alwayes had our eyes lifted vp toward heauen, rose all vp and came to salute the Captaine Iohn Ribault, promising to shew him their King, which rose not vp as they did, but remained still sitting vpon greene leaues of Bayes and Palmetrees: toward whom the Captaine went and sate downe by him, and heard him make a long discourse, but with no great pleasure, because hee could not vnderstand his language, and much lesse his meaning. The King gaue our Captaine at his departure a plume of fenne of Bernshawes feathers died in red, and a basket made of Palme-boughes after the Indian fashion, and wrought very artificially, and a great skime painted and drawen throughout with the pictures of diuers wilde beasts so liuely drawen and portrayed, that nothing lacked but life. The Captaine to shew himselfe not vnthankfull, gaue him prettye time bracelets, a cutting hooke, a looking glasse, and certaine knives: wherupon the King shewed himselfe to be very glad and fully contented. Hauing spent the most part of the day with these Indians, the Captaine imbarcked himselfe to passe ouer to the other side of the Riuer, whereto the king seemed to bee very sorie. Neuertheless being not able to stay vs, hee commaunded that with all diligence they should take fish for vs: which they did with all speede. For being entred into their Meares or inclosures made of reedes and framed in the fashion of a Labyrinth or Maze, they loaded vs with Troutes, great Gullers, Plasse, Turbutts, and maruelous store of other sortes of fishes altogether different from ours.

This done, we entred into our Boates and went toward the other shore. But before we came to the shore, we were saluted with a number of other Indians, which entring into the water to their arimepits, brought vs many litle baskets full of Maiz, and goodly Hubberries both red and white: Others offered themselves to beare vs on shoare, where being landed we perceiued their King sitting vpon a place dressed with boughes, and vnder a little Arbour of Cedars and Bay trees somewhat distant from the waters side. He was accompanied with two of his sonnes which were exceeding faire and strong, and with a troope of Indians who had all their bowes and arrowes in maruelous good order. His two sonnes receiued our Captaine very graciously: but the king their father, representing I wot not what kinde of grauitie, did nothing but shake his head a litle: then the Captaine went forward to salute him, and without any other mouing of himselfe he retained so constant a kind of grauitie, that hee made it seeme vnto vs that by good and lawfull right hee bare the title of a King. Our Captaine knowing not what to iudge of this mans behauiour, thought he was ielous because wee went first vnto the other king, or else that he was not well pleased with the

the Pillar or Colunne which he had planted. While thus he knew not what hereof to thinke our Captaine shewed him by signes, that he was come from a farre Countrey to seeke him, to let him understand the amitie which he was desirous to haue with him: for the better confirmation whereof, hee drew out of a budget certaine trifles, as certaine bracelets couered as it were with siluer and gulse, which hee presented him with all, and gaue his sonnes certaine other trifles. Whereupon the King beganne very louingly to intreate both our Captaine and vs. And after these gentle intertainments, wee went our selues into the woods, hoping there to discover some singularities: where were great store of Hulberrie trees white and red, on the toppes whereof there was an infinite number of silkewoymes. Following our way wee discovered a faire and great meadowe, diuided notwithstanding with diuers Harshes, which constrained vs by reason of the water, which euironed it about, to returne backe againe toward the Riuer side. Finding not the King there, which by this time was gone home to his house, wee entred into our Boates and sayled toward our shippes: where after we arriued, we called this Riuer The Riuer of May, because we discovered it the first day of the sayde moneth.

Great store of
silkewoymes.

The river of
May.

Soone after we returned to our shippes, wee weighed our ankers and hoysed our sailes to discover the coast farther forward, along the which wee discovered another faire Riuer, which the Captaine himselfe was minded to search out, and hauing searched it out with the king and inhabitants thereof, hee named it Seine, because it is very like vnto the Riuer of Seine in France. From this Riuer wee retired toward our shippes, where being arriued, we trimmed our sailes to saile further toward the North, and to descry the singularities of the coast. But wee had not sayled any great way before wee discovered another very faire Riuer, which caused vs to cast anker ouer against it, and to trimme out two Boates to goe to search it out. Wee found there an Ile

The river of
Seine.

and a king no lesse affable then the rest, afterwarde we named this Riuer Soume. From thence wee sayled about fixe leagues, after wee discovered another Riuer, which after wee had viewed was named by vs by the name of Loyre. And consequently we there discovered five others: whereof the first was named Cherente, the second Garonne, the third Gironde, the fourth Belle, the fift Grande: which being very well discovered with such things as were in them, by this time in lesse then the space of threescore leagues wee had found out many singularities along nine Riuers. Neuerthelesse not fully satisfied wee sayled yet further toward the North, following the course that might bring vs to the Riuer of Iordan one of the fairest Riuers of the North, and holding our wonted course, great fogges and tempests came vpon vs, which constrained vs to leaue the coast to beate toward the maine Sea, which was the cause that we lost the sight of our Pinnelles a whole day and a night vntill the next day in the morning, what time the weather waxing faire and the Sea calme, wee discovered a Riuer which wee called Belle a veoir. After wee had sayled thre or foure leagues, wee began to espie our Pinnelles which came straight toward vs, and at their arriual they reported to the Captaine, that while the foule weather and fogges endured, they harboured themselves in a mightie Riuer which in bignesse and beautie exceeded the former: wherewithall the Captaine was exceeding ioyfull, for his chiefe desire was to finde out an Hauen to harbour his shippes, and there to refresh our selues for a while. Thus making thitherward wee arriued athwart the sayde Riuer, (which because of the fairenesse and largenesse thereof wee named Port Royall) wee strooke our sailes and cast anker at ten fathom of water: for the depth is such, namely when the Sea becommeth to flowe, that the greatest shippes of France, yea, the Arguzes of Venice may enter in there. Hauing cast anker, the Captaine with his Souldiers went on shoare, and hee himselfe went first on land: where we found the place as pleasaunt as was possible, for it was all couered ouer with mightie high Dakes and infinite store of Cedars, and with Lenticles growing vnderneath them, smelling so sweetly, that the very fragrant odor only made the place to seeme exceeding pleasant. As we passed thorow these woods we saw nothing but Turkepeocks flying in the Forrests, Partridges gray and red, little different from ours, but chiefly in bignesse. Wee heard also within the woods the voyces of Stagges, of Beares, of Lulernes, of Leopards, & diuers other sortes of Beastes vnknewen vnto vs. Being delighted with this place we set our selues to fishing with nets, & we caught such a number of fish, that it was wonderfull. And amongst other wee tooke a certaine kind of fish which we call Salliroques, which were no lesse then Creusles, so that two draughts of the net were sufficient to feede all the companie of our two ships for a whole day. The Riuer at the mouth thereof from Cape to Cape is no lesse then 3. French leagues broad: it is diuided into two great armes, whereof the one runneth toward the West, the other towards the North: And I beleue in my iudgement that the arme which stretcheth toward the North runneth vp into the Countrey as faire as the Riuer Iordan, the other arme runneth into the Sea, as it was known and vnderstood by those of our

The Riuer of
Soume.
The Riuer of
Loyre.
The Riuers of
Cherente,
Garonne,
Gironde,
Belle,
Grande.

The river Bel-
le a veoir.

The Riuer of
Port Royall in
32. degrees of
latitude.

Turkepeocks,
Partridges
gray and red.

Fish in abun-
dance.

The Riuer 3.
leagues at the
mouth.

the passage by
a Riuer into the
Sea.

Store of rare
Simples.

Ribault sailed
12. leagues
by the River.

Cape Lucerne.

Chamois
Pearles.

Store of
pearles and
Silver.

A Pillar of
free stone
wherein the
Armes of
France were
graven, set by
in an Island in
the river of
Port Royal.
The River of
Liborne.
The Ile of Ce-
dars.

company, which were left behind to dwell in this place. These two armes are two great leagues broad: and in the midst of them there is an Ile, which is pointed towardes the opening of the great River, in which Island there are infinite numbers of all sortes of strange beasts. There are Simples growing there of so rare properties, and in so great quantitie, that it is an excellent thing to behold them. On every side there is nothing to be seene but Palme trees, and other sortes of trees bearing blossoms and fruite of very rare shape and very good smell. But seeing the evening approach, and that the Captaine determined to returne unto the shippes, wee prayed him to suffer vs to passe the night in this place. In our absence the Pilots and chiefe Mariners aduertised the Captaine that it was needefull to bring the shippes further by within the River, to auoyde the dangers of the windes which might annoy vs, by reason of our being so neere to the mouth of the River: and for this cause the Captaine sent for vs. Being come to our shippes, wee sayled three leagues further by within the River, and there we cast anchor. A little while after, John Ribault accompanied with a good number of souldiers imbarcked himselfe, desirous to sayle further by into the arme that runneth toward the West, and to search the commodities of the place. Having sayled twelue leagues at the least, we perceiued a troope of Indians, which alldone as euer they espied the Pinnelles, were so afrayd that they fled into the woods leauing behind them a yong Lucerne which they were a turning vpon a spit: for which cause the place was called Cape Lucerne: proceeding forth on our way, we found another arme of the River, which ranne toward the East, by which the Captaine determined to sayle and to leaue the great current. A little while after they began to espie diuers other Indians both men and women halfe hidden within the woods: who knowing not that wee were such as desired their friendship, were dismayed at the first, but soone after were emboldened, for the Captaine caused stoepe of marchandise to bee shewed them openly whereby they knew that we meant nothing but well unto them: and then they made a signe that we should come on lande, which wee would not refuse. At our comming on shoare diuers of them came to salute our Generall according to their barbarous fashion. Some of them gaue him skins of Chamois, others little baskets made of Palme leaues, some presented him with Pearles, but no great number. Afterwards they went about to make an arbour to defend vs in that place from the parching heate of the Sunne. But wee would not stay as then. Wherefore the Captaine thanked them much for their good will, and gaue presents to each of them: wherewith hee pleased them so well before hee went thence, that his suddaine departure was nothing pleasant unto them. For knowing him to bee so liberall, they would haue wished him to haue stayed a little longer, seeking by all meanes to giue him occasion to stay, shewing him by signes that he should stay but that day onely, and that they desired to aduertise a great Indian Lord which had Pearles in great abundance, and Silver also, all which things should bee giuen unto him at the Kings arriuall: saying further that in the meane time while that this great Lord came thither, they would lead him to their houses, and shewe him there a thousand pleasures in shooting, and seeing the Stagge killed, therefore they prayed him not to denie them their request. Notwithstanding wee returned to our shippes, where after wee had bene but one night, the Captaine in the morning commanded to put into the Pinnelle a pillar of hard stone fashioned like a colunne, wherein the Armes of the king of France were grauen, to plant the same in the fairest place that he could finde. This done, wee imbarcked our selues, and sayled three leagues towards the West: where we discovered a little riuer, by which we sayled so long, that in the ende we found it returned into the great current, and in his returne to make a little Island separated from the firme land, where wee went on shore: and by commandement of the Captaine, because it was exceeding faire and pleasant, there wee planted the Pillar vpon a hillock open round about to the view, and environed with a lake halfe a fathom deepe of very good and sweete water. In which Island wee sawe two Stagges of exceeding bignesse, in respect of those which we had seene before, which we might easily haue killed with our harguebuzes, if the Captaine had not forbidden vs, moued with the singular fairnesse and bignesse of them. But before our departure we named the little riuer which enuironed this Ile, The River of Liborne. Afterward we imbarcked our selues to search another Ile not farre distant from the former: wherein after wee had gone a land, wee found nothing but tall Cedars, the fairest that were scene in this Countrey. For this cause wee called it The Ile of Cedars: so wee returned into our Pinnelle to go towards our shippes.

A few dayes afterward John Ribault determined to returne once againe toward the Indians which inhabited that arme of the River which runneth toward the West, and to carrie with him good stoepe of souldiers. For his meaning was to take two Indians of this place to bring them into France, as the Queene had commaunded him. With this deliberation againe wee tooke our former course so farre forth, that at the last wee came to the selfe same place where at the first we found

found the Indians, from thence we tooke two Indians by the permission of the king, which thinking that they were more fauoured then the rest, thought themselves very happy to stay with vs. But these two Indians seeing we made no shew at all that we would goe on land, but rather that wee followed the middlest of the current, began to be somewhat offended, and would by force haue leapt into the water, for they are so good swimmers that immediately they would haue gotten into the forrestes. Neuer thelesse being acquainted with their humour, wee watched them narrowly and sought by all meanes to appeale them: which we could not by any meanes do for that time, though we offered them things which they much esteemed, which things they disdained to take, and gaue backe againe whatsoeuer was giuen them, thinking that such giftes should haue altogether bound them, and that in restoring them they should be restored vnto their libertie. In fine, perceiuing that all that they did auayled them nothing, they prayed vs to giue them those things which they had restored, which we did incontinent: then they approached one toward the other and began to sing, agreeing so sweetely together, that in hearing their song it seemed that they lamented the absence of their friendes. They continued their songs all night without ceasing: all which time we were constrained to ly at anker by reason of the tyde that was against vs, but we hoysed sayle the next day very early in the morning, and returned to our ships. Assoone as we were come to our ships, every one sought to gratifie these 2 Indians, & to shew them the best countenance that was possible: to the intent that by such courtesies they might perceiue the good desire and affection which we had to remaine their friends in time to come. Then we offered them meate to eate, but they refused it, and made vs vnderstand that they were accustomed to wash their face and to stay vntill the Sunne were set before they did eate, which is a ceremonie common to all the Indians of Newe France. Neuer thelesse in the end they were constrained to forget their superstitions, and to apply themselves to our nature, which was somewhat strange vnto them at the first. They became therefore more iocunde, every houre made vs a 1000 discourtes, being merueilous sorry that we could not vnderstand them. A few daies after they began to beare so good wil towards mee, that, as I thinke, they would rather haue perished with hunger & thirst, then haue taken their resceiue at any mans hand but mine. Seeing this their good wil, I sought to learne some Indian words, & began to aske them questions, shewing the thing wherof I desired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad to tell it me, and knowing the desire that I had to learne their language, they encouraged me afterward to aske them euery thing. So that putting downe in writing the words and phrases of the Indian speech, I was able to vnderstand the greatest part of their discourtes. Every day they did nothing but speak vnto me of the desire that they had to vse me wel, if we returned vnto their houses, and caule me to receiue all the pleasures that they could deuise, as well in hunting as in seeing their very strange and superstitious ceremonies at a certaine feast which they call Toya. Which feast they obserue as straightly as we obserue the Sunday. They gaue me to vnderstand, that they would bring me to see the greatest Lord of this countrey which they called Chiquola, which exceedeth them in height (as they tolde me) a good foote and a halfe. They said vnto me that he dwelt within the land in a very large place and inclosed exceeding high, but I could not learne wherewith. And as farre as I can iudge, this place wherof they spake vnto me, was a very faire citie. For they said vnto me that within the inclosure there was great store of houses which were built very high, wherewith there was an infinite number of men like vnto themselves, which made none account of gold, of siluer, nor of pearles, seeing they had thereof in abundance. I began then to shew the parts of heauē, to the intent to learne in which quarter they dwelt. And straightway one of them stretching out his hand shewed me y they dwelt toward the North, which makes me thinke that it was the riuer of Iordan. And now I remember, that in the raigne of the Emperour Charles the fift, certaine Spaniards inhabitants of S. Domingo (which made a voyage to get certaine slaues to work in their mines) stole away by subtilty the inhabitants of this riuer, to the number of 40, thinking to cary the into their new Spaine. But they lost their labour: for in despite they died all for hunger, sauing one that was brought to the Emperour, which a litle while after he caused to be baptised, and gaue him his own name & called him Charles of Chiquola, because he spake so much of this Lorde of Chiquola whose subject hee was. Also, he reported continually, that Chiquola made his a bode within a very great inclosed citie. Besides this proof, those which were left in the first voyage haue certified me, that the Indians shewed the by euident signes, that farther within the land toward the North, there was a great inclosure or city, where Chiquola dwelt. After they had staid a while in our ships, they began to be sorry, and stil demanded of me when they should returne. I made them vnderstand that the Captaines will was to send them home againe, but that first he would bestow apparell of them, which fewe dayes after was deliuered vnto them. But seeing he would not giue them licence to depart, they resolved with them

Two Indians taken away.

The dolefull songs of the Indians.

The Indians eat not before the sun be set.

Laudonniers putting downe in writing the words and phrases of the Indians speech.

The feast of Toya.

This seemeth to be La grand Copal.

The 2 Indi-
ans escape
away.

The benefite
of planting.

The Oration
of Iohn Ribault
to his compa-
nies.

Elivs Pertinax
descending
from base pa-
rentage be-
came Empe-
rour of Rome.

Agathocles a
potter's sonne
became king
of Sicilie.

themselves to steale away by night, and to get a litle boat which we had, and by the help of the tyde to saile home toward their dwellings, and by this meanes to saue themselves. Which thing they failed not to doe, and put their enterprize in execution, yet leaving behinde them the apparel which the Captaine had giuen them, and car'ying away nothing but that which was their owne, shewing well hereby that they were not void of reason. The Captaine cared not greatly for their departure, considering they had not bene vnto otherwise then well: and that therefore they woulde not estrange themselves from the Frenchmen. Captaine Ribault therefore knowing the singular fairness of this riuer, desired by all meanes to encourage some of his men to dwell there, well foreseeing that this thing might be of great importance for the Kings seruice, and the releife of the Common wealth of France. Therefore proceeding on with his intent, he commanded the ankers to bee weighed and to set things in order to returne vnto the opening of the riuer, to the ende that if the winde came faire he might passe out to accomplish the rest of his meaning. When therefore we were come to the mouth of the riuer, he made them cast anker, whereupon we stayed without discovering any thing all the rest of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ship should come vp vpon the decke, saying that he had somewhat to say vnto them. They all came vp, and immediately the Captaine began to speake vnto them in this maner.

I thinke there is none of you that is ignorant of how great consequence this our enterprize is, and also how acceptable it is vnto our yong King. Therefore my friendes (as one desiring your honour and benefite) I would not faile to aduertise you all of the exceeding good happe which should fall to them, which, as men of valure and worthy courage, would make tryall in this our first discoverie of the benefits and commodities of this new land: which should be, as I assure my selfe, the greatest occasion that euer could happen vnto them, to arise vnto the title and degree of honour. And for this cause I was desirous to propose vnto you and set downe before your eyes the eternall memorie which of right they deserue, which forgetting both their parents and their countrey haue had the courage to enterprize a thing of such importance, which euen kings themselves vnderstanding to be men aspiring to so high degree of magnanimitie and increase of their maiesties, doe not disdain so wel to regard, that afterwards imploying them in maters of weight & of high enterprize, they make their names immortall for euer. Howbeit, I would not haue you perswade your selues, as many doe, that you shall neuer haue such good fortune, as not being knowne neither to the king nor the Princes of the Realme, and besides descending of so poore a stocke, that few or none of your parents, hauing euer made profession of armes, haue bene knowne vnto the great estates. For albeit that from my tender yeeres I my selfe haue applyed all my industry to follow them, and haue hazarded my life in so many dangers for the seruice of my prince, yet could I neuer attaine therunto (not that I did not deserue this title and degree of gouernment) as I haue seene it happen to many others, onely because they descende of a noble race, since more regard is had of their birth then of their vertue. For wel I know that if vertue were regarded, ther would more be found worthy to deserue the title, & by good right to be named noble and valiant. I will therefore make sufficient answeere to such propositions and such things as you may object against me, laying before you the infinite examples which we haue of the Romans; which concerning the point of honour were the first that triumphed ouer the world. For how many finde we among them, which for their so valiant enterprizes, not for the greatnesse of their parentage, haue obtained the honour to triumph? If we haue recourse vnto their ancessors, wee shall finde that their parents were of so meane condition, that by labouring with their hands they liued very basely. As the father of *Elivs Pertinax*, which was a poore artisan, his Grandfather likewise was a bond man, as the historiographers do witnes: and neuerthelesse, being moued with a valiant courage, he was nothing dismayed for all this, but rather desirous to aspire vnto high things, he began with a braue stomacke to learne feates of armes, and profited so wel therein, that from step to step he became at length to be Emperour of the Romans. For all this dignitie he despised not his parents: but contrariwise, & in remembrance of them, he caused his fathers shop to be couered with a fine wrought marble, to serue for an example to me descended of base & poore linages, to giue them occasion to aspire vnto high things notwithstanding the meannesse of their ancessors. I wil not passe ouer in silence the excellencie & p'ouesse of the valiant & renowned *Agathocles* the sonne of a simple potter, and yet forgetting the contemptible estate of his father, he so applied himselfe to vertue in his tender yeeres, that by the fauour of armes he came to be king of *Sicilie*: and for all this title he refused not to be counted the sonne of a Potter. But the more to exermize the memorie of his parentes and to make his name renowned, he commanded that he should be serued at the Table in vessels of

of gold and siluer and others of earth: declaring thereby that the dignitie wherein hee was placed came not vnto him by his parents, but by his owne vertue onely. If I shal speake of our time, I will lay before you onely *Rusten Bassha*, which may be a sufficient example to all men: which though he were the sonne of a poore heard-man, did so apply his youth in all vertue, that being brought vp in the seruice of the great Turke, he seemed to aspire to great and high matters, in such sort that growing in yeres he increased also in courage, so far forth, that in fine for his excellent vertues he married the daughter of the great Turke his Prince. Howe much then ought so many worthy examples to moue you to plant here? Considering also that hereby you shalbe registred for euer as the first that inhabited this strang countrey. I pray you therefore all to aduise your selues thereof, and to declare your mindes freely vnto mee, protesting that I will so well imprint your names in the kings eares, and the other princes, that your renowne shall hereafter shine vnquenchable through our Realme of France. He had scarcely ended his Oracion, but the greatest part of our souldiers replied: that a greater pleasure could neuer betide them, perceiuing well the acceptable seruice which by this meanes they shoulde doe vnto their Prince: besides that this thing should be for the increase of their honours: therefore they besought the Capitaine, before he departed out of the place, to begin to build them a Fort, which they hoped afterward to finish, and to leaue them munition necessarie for their defence, shewing as it seemed that they were displeased, that it was so long in doing. Whereupon Iohn Ribault being as glad as might be to see his men so well willing, determined the next day to search the most fit and conuenient place to be inhabited. Therefore he embarked himselfe very early in the morning and commanded them to followe him that were desirous to inhabite there, to the intent that they might like the beter of the place. Having sayled by the great riuer on the North side, in coasting an Isle which ended with a sharpe point toward the mouth of the riuer, hauing sailed a while, he discovered a small riuer, which entered into the Islande, which hee would not faile to search out. Which done, & finding the same deep enough to harbour therein Gallies and Gallies in good number, proceeding further, he found a very open place, lying upon the brinke thereof, where he went on land, and seeing the place fit to build a Fortresse in, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he resolved incontinent to cause the bignes of the fortification to be measured out. And considering that there stayed but sixe and twentie there, he caused the Fort to be made in length but sixtene fathome, and thirteene in breadth, with flankes according to the proportion thereof. The measure being taken by me and Captaine Salles, we sent vnto the shippes for men, and to bring shouels, pickaxes and other instruments necessarie to make the fortification. We traualled so diligently, that in a short space the Fort was made in some sort defensible. In which meane time Iohn Ribault caused victuals and warrelike munition to be brought for the defence of the place. After he had furnished them with all such things as they had neede of, he determined to take his leaue of them. But before his departure he used this speech vnto Capitaine Albert, which he left in this place.

Rusten Bassha of an heardmans sonne through his valure became the great Turkes sonne in law.

The souldiers answered to Ribaults Oracion,

Having sailed about ten leagues from thence, we espied a riuer, whereupon we sent our pinnesse thither to discover it. At their returne they brought vs word that they found not past halfe a fathom water in the mouth thereof. Which whē we understood, without doing any thing els, we continued our way, and called it the Base or Shallow riuer. As we still went on sounding we found

The length and breadth of the Fort taken by Laudonnic and Captaine Salles. The Fort built in Port Royal by Ribault.

Ribaults speech to Capitaine Albert.

His speech to the souldiers.

The aforesaid Fort was called Charles-fort.

Port Royal. The riuer Base, 15 leagues Southward of Port Royal

not

Shallow
water.

Their arrivall
in France 1562.
the 20 of July.

King Audusta.

Note.

Mayon.
Hoya.
Touppa.
Scalame.

The countrey
of king Stala-
me 15 leagues
Northward of
Charles-fort.

Chamops
kinnes.

The feast of
Toya largely
described.

not past five or six fathome water, although we were six good leagues from the shoare: at length we found not past three fathomes, which gave vs occasion greatly to muse. And without making any farther way we strook our sayles, partly because we wanted water, & partly because the night approached: during which time Captaine John Ribault bethought with himselfe whether it were best for him to passe any farther, because of the eminent dangers which euery houre we saw before our eyes: or whether he should content himselfe with that which he had certainly discovered, & allow left men to inhabite the countrey. Being not able for that time to resolue with himselfe, he referred it vntill the next day. The morning being come he proposed to all the company what was best to be done, to the end that with good aduise ment euery man might deliuer his opinion. Some made answer, that according to their iudgement he had occasion fully to content himselfe, considering that he could doe no more: laying before his eyes, that he had discovered more in six weekes, then the Spaniards had done in two yeres in the conquest of their New Spaine: and that he should do the king very great seruice, if he did bring him newes in so short a time of his happy discoverie. Other shewed vnto him the losse and spoile of his victuals, and on the other side the inconuenience that might happen by the shallow water that they found continually along the coast. Which things being well and at large debated, we resolved to leaue the coast, forsaking the North, to take our way toward the East, which is the right way and course to our France, where we happily arrived the twentieth day of July, the yere 1562.

The state and condition of those which were left behind in *Charles-fort.*

Our men after our departure neuer rested, but night and day did fortifie themselves, being in good hope that after their fort was finished, they would begin to discover farther vp within the riuer. It happened one day, as certaine of them were in cutting of rootes in the groues, that they espied on the sudden an Indian that hunted the Deere, which finding himselfe so neere vpon them, was much dismayed, but our men began to draw neere vnto him and to vse him so courteously, that he became assured and followed them to Charles-fort, where euery man sought to doe him pleasure. Captaine Albert was very ioyfull of his comming, which after he had giuen him a shirt and some other trifles, he asked him of his dwelling: the Indian answered him that it was farther vp within the riuer, and that he was vassal of king Audusta: he also shewed him with his hand the limits of his habitation. After much other talke the Indian desired leaue to depart, because it drew toward night, which Captaine Albert granted him very willingly. Certaine dayes after the Captaine determined to saile toward Audusta, where being arrived, by reason of the honest entertainment which he had giuen to the Indian, he was so courteously receiued, that the king talked with him of nothing else but of the desire which he had to become his friend: giuing him besides to vnderstand, that he being his friend and allie, he should haue the amitie of foure other kings, which in might & authoritie were able to do much for his sake: Besides all this, in his necessitie they might be able to succour him with victuals. One of these kings was called Mayon, another Hoya, the third Touppa, and the fourth Scalame. He told him moreover, that they would be very glad, when they should vnderstand the newes of his comming, and therefore he prayed him to vouchsafe to visit them. The Captaine willingly consented vnto him, for the desire that he had to purchase friends in that place. Therefore they departed the next morning very early, and first arrived at the house of king Touppa, and afterward went into the other kings houses, except the house of king Scalame. He receiued of each of them all the amiable courtesies that might be: they shewed themselves to be as affectioned friends vnto him as was possible, and offered vnto him a thousand small presents. After that he had remained by the space of certaine daies with these strange kings, he determined to take his leaue: and being come backe to the house of Audusta, he commanded all his men to goe aboard their Pinnesse: for he was minded to goe towardes the countrey of king Scalame, which dwelt toward the North the distance of 15 great leagues from Charles-fort. Therefore as they sailed by the riuer they entered into a great current, which they followed so farre till they came at the last to the house of Scalame: which brought him into his lodging, where he sought to make them the best cheere he could deuise. He presented immediately vnto Captaine Albert his bow and arrowes, which is a signe and confirmation of alliance betweene them. He presented him with Chamops kinnes. The Captaine seeing the best part of the day was now past, tooke his leaue of king Scalame to returne to Charles-fort, where hee arrived the day following. By this time the friendship was growne so great betweene our men and king Audusta, that in a manner all things were common betweene him and them: in such sort that this good Indian king did nothing of importance, but he called our men therunto. For when the time drew neere of the celebrating their feasts of Toya, which are ceremonies most strange to recite, he sent Ambassadors to our men to request

request them on his behalfe to be there present. Whereunto they agreed most willingly for the desire that they had to understand what this might be. They imbarcked themselves therefore and sailed towards the kings house, which was already come forth on the way towards the, to receive them courteously, to bid them welcome & bring them to his house, where he sought to intreat them the best he might. In the meane while the Indians prepared themselves to celebrate the feast the morrow after, and the king brought them to see the place, wherein the feast should be kept: where they saw many women round about, which laboured by all meanes to make the place cleane & neat. This place was a great circuit of ground with open prospect and round in figure. On the morrow therefore early in the morning, all they which were chosen to celebrate the feast, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers of divers colours, put themselves on the way to go to the kings house toward the place of Toya: wherunto when they were come they set themselves in order, & followed three Indians, which in painting and in gesture were differing from the rest: each of them bare a Tabret in their hand, dancing & singing in a lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the midst of the round circuit, being followed of others which answered them again. After that they had sung, danced, and turned 3 times, they set on running like unbridled horses, through the midst of the thickest woods. And then the Indian women continued all the rest of the day in teares as sad & woful as was possible: & in such rage they cut the armes of the pong girls, which they lanced so cruelly with sharpe shels of Muskles that the blood followed which they slung into the ayre, crying out three times, He Toya. The king Audusta had gathered all our men into his house, while the feast was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he saw them laugh. This he did, because the Indians are very angry when they are seene in their ceremonies. Notwithstanding one of our men made such shift that by subtle meanes he gat out of the house of Audusta, and secretly went and hid himselfe behinde a very thicke bush, where at his pleasure, he might easily descry the ceremonies of the feast. They three that began the feast are named Iawas: and they are as it were three Priestesses of the Indian law: to whom they giue credite and beliefe partly because that by kinred they are ordained to be ouer their Sacrifices, and partly also because they be so subtle magicians that any thing that is lost is straightway recovered by their meanes. Againe they are not onely reuerenced for these things, but also because they heale diseases by I wotte not what kinde of knowledge and skill they haue. Those that ran so through the woodes returned two dayes after: after their returne they began to dance with a cherefull courage in the midst of the faire place, and to cheere up their good olde Indian fathers, which either by reason of their too great age, or by reason of their naturall indisposition and feebleness were not called to the feast. When all these dances were ended, they fell on eating with such a greedynesse, that they seemed rather to deuoure their meate then to eat it, for they had neither eaten nor drinke the day of the feast, nor the two dayes following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheere, for the Indians sent for them all thither, shewing themselves very glad of their presence. While they remained certaine time with the Indians, a man of ours got a pong boy for certaine trifles, and inquired of him, what the Indians did in the wood during their absence: which boy made him vnderstand by signes, that the Iawas had made inuocations to Toya, and that by Magicall Characters they had made him come that they might speake with him and demand diuers strange things of him, which for feare of the Iawas he durst not vtter. They haue also many other ceremonies, which I will not here rehearse for feare of molesting the reader with a matter of so small importance.

When the feast therefore was finished our men returned vnto Charles-fort: where hauing remained but a while their victualles beganne to waxe short, which forced them to haue recourse vnto their neighbours, and to pray them to succour them in their necessitie: which gaue them part of all the victualles which they had, and kept no more vnto themselves then would serue to sow their fields. They tolde them farther that for this cause it was needefull for them to retire themselves into the woods, to liue of Mast and rootes untill the time of haruest, being as long as might be that they were not able any farther to ayde them. They gaue them also counsell to goe toward the countreys of King Couexis a man of might and renoume in this prouince, which maketh his aboad toward the South abounding at all seasons and replenished with such quantitie of mill corne, and beanes that by his onely succour they might be able to liue a very long time. But before they should come into his territories, they were to repayre vnto a king called Ouade the brother of Couexis, which in mill, beanes, and corne was no lesse wealthy, and withall is very liberall, and which would be very ioyfull if he might but once see them. Our men perceiuing the good relation which the Indians made them of those two kings resolved to go thither: for they felt already the necessity which oppressed them. Therefore they made request vnto king Maccou, that it would please him to giue them one of his subiects to guide the right way thither: wherupon he

The Indians trimming of themselves with rich feathers.

Iawas are their Priestesses.

Magicians. Whysions

Inuocation of the Iawas or Priestesses vnto Toya.

Their victualles supply them.

The Indians manner of liuing in the winter time of mast and rootes. King Couexis mightie and renoumed.

King Ouade, King Maccou.

condi-

Ouades countrey
in the river Belle.

Capistris of
feathers.
White cover-
lets edged
with red fringe

The liberality
of king Ouade.

Ouades countrey
about
fine leagues
Southward
from Charles
fort.

The fort set on
fire by casual-
tie.

The fort re-
built by the
Savages in
the space of
12 houres.

Crocodiles.

Cypresses.
Their second
journey to the
countrey of
Ouade.

condescended very willingly, knowing that without his saueur they should haue much ado to bring their interprise to passe. Wherefore after they had giuen order for all things necessary for the voyage, they put themselves to Sea, and sailed so farre that in the end they came into the countrey of Ouade, which they found to be in the river Belle. Being there arrived they perceiued a company of Indians, which as soone as they knew of their being there came before them. As soone as they were come neere them, their guides shewed them by signes that Ouade was in this company, wherefore our men set forward to salute him. And then two of his sonnes which were with him, being goodly and strong men saluted them againe in very good sort, and vied very friendly entertainment on their part. The king immediatly began to make an Oration in his Indian language of the great pleasure and contentment which he had to see them in that place, protesting that he would become so loyall a friend of theirs hereafter, that he would be their faithfull defendour against all them that would offer to be their enemies. After these speeches he led them toward his house, where he sought to entreate them very courteously. His house was hanged about with Capistris of feathers of diuers colours the height of a pike. Moreover the place where the king tooke his rest was couered with white Couerlettes embroydered with deuilles of very wittie and fine workmanship, and fringed round about with a Fringe dyed in the colour of Skarlet. They aduertised the king by one of the guides which they brought with them, how that (hauing heard of his great liberality) they had put to the Sea to come to beseech him to succour them with victuals in their great want and necessitie: and that in so doing, he should binde them all hereafter to remaine his faithfull friends and loyall defenders against all his enemies. This good Indian as soone ready to doe them pleasure, as they were to demand it, commanded his subiects that they should fill our Pinnesse with mil and beanes. Afterward he caused them to bring him sixe pieces of his Capistris made like little couerlets, & gaue them to our men with so liberal a minde, as they easily perceiued the desire which he had to become their friend. In recompence of all these gifts our men gaue him two cutting hookes and certaine other trifles, wherewith he held himselfe greatly satisfied. This being done, our men tooke their leaue of the king, which for their farewell, sayd nothing els but that they should returne if they wanted victuals, & that they might assure themselves of him, that they should neuer want any thing that was in his power. Wherefore they imbarcked themselves, and sayled towards Charles-fort, which from this place might be some fife and twenty leagues distant. But as soone as our men thought themselves at their ease, & free from the dangers wherinto they had exposed themselves night and day in gathering together of victuals here and there: Lo, euen as they were asleepe, the fire caught in their lodgings with such furie, being increased by the winde, that the roome that was built for them before our mens departure, was consumed in an instant, without being able to saue any thing, sauing a little of their victualles. Whereupon our men being farre from all succours, found themselves in such extremitie, that without the ayd of Almighty God, the onely searcher of the hearts and thoughts of men, which neuer forsaketh those that seeke him in their afflictions, they had bene quite and cleane out of all hope. For the next day betimes in the morning the King Audusta and King Maccou came thither, accompanied with a very good companie of Indians, which knowing the misfortune, were very sorry for it. And then they vttered vnto their subiects the speedy diligence which they were to vse in building another house, shewing vnto them that the Frenchmen were their louing friends, & that they had made it euident vnto them by the gifts and presents which they had receiued: protesting that whosoever put not his helping hand vnto the worke with all his might, should be esteemed as vniprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the Sauages feare aboue all things. This was the occasion that euery man began to endeavour himselfe in such sort, that in lesse then 12 houres, they had begun and finished a house which was very neere as great as the former. Which being ended, they returned home fully contented with a few cutting hookes, and hatchets, which they receiued of our men. Within a small while after this mischance, their victuals began to waxe short: and after our men had taken good deliberation, thought and bethought themselves againe, they found that there was no better way for them then to returne againe to the king Ouade and Couexis his brother. Wherefore they resolved to send thither some of their company the next day following: which with an Indian Canoe sayled vp into the countrey about 10 leagues: afterward they found a very faire & great river of fresh water, which they failed not to search out: they found therein a great number of Crocodiles which in greatnes passe those of the river Nilus: moreover, al along the bankes thereof, there grow mighty high Cypresses. After they had stayed a small while in this place, they purposed to follow their journey, helping themselves so wel with the tydes, that without putting themselves in danger of the continuall perill of the Sea, they came into the countrey of Ouade: of whom they were most courteously receiued. They aduertised him of the occasion,

casion wherefore they came againe to visite him, and told him of the mischance, which happened vnto them since their last voyages: how they had not onely lost their household stuffe by casualtie of fire, but also their victuals which he had giuen them so bountifullly: that for this cause they were so bolde as to come once againe vnto him, to beseech him to vouchsafe to succour them in such neede and necessitie.

After that the king had vnderstood their case, he sent messengers vnto his brother Couexis, to request him vpon his behalfe to send him some of his mill and beanes, which thing he did: and the next morning, they were come againe with victuals, which the king caused to be borne into their Canoa. Our men would haue taken their leaue of him, finding themselves more then satisfied with this liberalitie. But for that day hee would not suffer them, but retained them, and sought to make them the best cheere hee could deuise. The next day very early in the morning, he tooke them with him to shewe them the place where his corne grewe, and saide vnto them that they should not want as long as all that mil did last. Afterward he gaue them a certaine number of exceeding faire pearles, & two stones of fine Christal, and certaine silver paxe. Our men forgot not to giue him certaine trifles in recompence of these presentes, and required of him the place whence the silver paxe and the Christal came. He made them answere, that it came ten dayes journey from his habitation by within the countrey: and that the inhabitants of the countrey did dig the same at the foote of certaine high mountaines, where they found of it in very good quantitie. Being ioyfull to vnderstand so good newes, and to haue come to the knowledge of that which they most desired, they tooke their leaue of the king, and returned by the same way, by which they came.

Exceeding faire pearles, fine Christal, silver axe. The place where christall groweth in very good quantitie ten dayes journey from the river Belle More.

Behold therefore how our men behaued themselves very well hitherto, although they had endured many great mishaps. But misfortune or rather the iust iudgement of God would haue it, that those which could not bee ouercome by fire nor water, should be vndone by their owne selues. This is the common fashion of men, which cannot continue in one state, and had rather to ouerthrow themselves, then not to attempt some new thing daily. We haue infinite examples in the ancient histories, especially of the Romanes, vnto which number this little handfull of men, being farre from their countrey and absent from their countrey men, haue also added this present example. They entred therefore into partialities and dissensions, which began about a souldier named Guernache, which was a drummer of the French bands: which, as it was told me, was very cruelly hanged by his owne captaine, and for a smal fault: which captaine also vnto the threaten the rest of his souldiers which staid behind vnder his obedience, and peradventure (as it is to be presumed) were not so obedient to him as they should haue bene, was the cause that they fell into a mutinie, because that many times he put his threatnings in execution: whereupon they so chased him, that at the last they put him to death. And the principall occasion that moued them therunto was, because he degraded another souldier named La Chere (which he had banished) and because he had not performed his promise: for hee had promised to send him victuals, from 8 dayes to 8 dayes, which thing he did not, but said on the contrary, that he would be glad to heare of his death. He said moreouer, that he would chastise others also, & vied so euill sounding speeches, that honestie forbiddeth me to repeat the. The souldiers seeing his madness to increase from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, resolved to kil him. Hauing executed their purpose, they went to seeke the souldier that was banished, which was in a small Island distant fro Charles-fort about 3 leagues, where they found him almost half dead for hunger. When they were come home againe, they assembled themselves together to choole one to be gouernour ouer them, whose name was Nicolas Barre a man worthy of commendation, and one which knewe so well to quite himselfe of his charge, that all rancour and dissention ceased among them, and they liued peaceably one with another. During this time, they began to build a small house, with hope to return into France, if no succours came vnto them, as they expected from day to day. And though there were no man among them that had any skill, notwithstanding necessitie, which is the maistrresse of all sciences, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finished, they thought of nothing else sauing how to furnish it with all things necessarie to vndertake the voyage. But they wanted those things that of all other were most needefull, as cordage and sayles, without which the enterprise coulde not come to effect. Hauing no meanes to recouer these things, they were in worse case then at the first, and almost ready to fall into despayre. But that good God, which neuer forsakeeth the afflicted, did succour them in their necessitie.

Putting as gainst the captaine, and the causes thereof.

Captaine Albert slain by his owne souldiers.

Nicolas Barre, chosen capitaine

A new Bre-gard built in Florida.

As they were in these perplexities, king Audust and Maccou came to them, accompanied

D d

with

Chosen to buy
ships,
as well to calke
ships,
Cordage for
tackle,

They put to
the sea with-
out sufficient
victuals,

Their victuals
were con-
sumed.

They drinke
their urine for
want of fresh
water.

Extreme fa-
mine.

The French
incountred by
an English
Barke.

with two hundred Indians at the least, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meete withall, and shewed the king in what neede of cordage they stood: who promised them to returne within two dayes, and to bring so much as should suffice to furnish the *Pinelle* with tackling. Our men being pleased with these good newes & promises, bestowed upon them certaine cutting hookes and shirres. After their departure our men sought all meanes to recouer rosen in the woodes, wherein they cut the pine trees round about, out of which they drew sufficient reasonable quantitie to buy the vessell. Also they gathered a kind of mosse which groweth on the trees of this countrey, to serue to calke the same withall. There now wanted nothing but sayles, which they made of their owne shirres and of their sheetes. Within few dayes after the Indian kings returned to Charles fort with so good store of cordage, that there was found sufficient for tackling of the small *Pinelle*. Our men as glad as might be, used great liberalitie towards them, and at their leaving of the countrey, left them all the marchandise that remained, leaving them thereby so fully satisfied, that they departed from them with all the contentation of the worlde. They went forward therefore to finish the *Brigandine*, & used so speedie diligence, that within a short time afterward they made it ready furnished with all things. In the meane season the winde came so fit for their purpose that it seemed to invite them to put to the Sea: which they did without delay, after they had set all their things in order. But before they departed they embarked their artillerie, their forge, and other munitions of warre which Captaine Ribault had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But being drunken with the too excessive ioy, which they had conceived for their returning into France, or rather deprived of all foresight & consideration, without regarding the inconstancie of the winds, which change in a moment, they put themselves to sea, and with so slender victuals, that the end of their enterprise became unluckily and unfortunate.

For after they had sayled the third part of their way, they were surprized with calmes which did so much hinder them, that in three weekes they sailed not above five and twentie leagues. During this time their victuals consumed, and became so short, that every man was constrained to eat not past twelve graines of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelve peason. Pea, and this felicitie lasted not long: for their victuals failed them altogether at once: and they had nothing for their more assured refuge but their shooes and leather ierkins which they did eat. Touching their beverage, some of them dranke the sea water, others did drinke their owne urine: and they remained in such desperate necessitie a very long space, during the which part of them died for hunger. Beside this extreme famine, which did so grievously oppresse them, they fell every minute of an houre out of all hope ever to see France againe, insomuch that they were constrained to cast the water continually out, that on all sides entered into their Barke. And every day they fared worse and worse: for after they had eaten by their shooes and their leather ierkins, there arose so boisterous a winde and so contrary to their course, that in the turning of a hande, the waues filled their vessell halfe full of water and brused it upon the one side. Being now more out of hope the ever to escape out of this extreme peril, they cared not for casting out of the water which now was almost ready to drowne them. And as men resolved to die, every one fell downe backward, and gaue themselves over altogether unto the will of the waues. When as one of them a little having taken heart unto him declared unto them how little way they had to sayle, assuring them, that if the winde held, they should see land within three dayes. This man did so incourage them, that after they had throwne the water out of the *Pinelle* they remained three dayes without eating or drinking, except it were of the sea water. When the time of his promise was expired, they were more troubled then they were before, seeing they could not descry any land. Wherefore in this extreme despaire certaine among them made this motion, that it was better that one man should dye, then that so many men should perishe: they agreed therefore that one should die to sustaine the others. Which thing was executed in the person of La Chere, of whom we have spoken heretofore, whose flitch was deuided equally among his fellowes: a thing so pitifull to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.

After so long time and tedious trauels, God of his goodnesse vnto his accustomed fauour, changed their sorrow into ioy, and shewed vnto them the sight of land. Whereof they were so exceeding glad, that the pleasure caused them to remaine a long time as men without sence: whereby they let the *Pinelle* flote this and that way without holding any right way or course. But a small English barke boarded the vessell, in the which there was a Frenchman which had bene in the first voyage into Florida, who easily knew them, and spake vnto them, and after ward gaue them meat and drinke. Incontinently they recovered their naturall courages, and declared vnto

unto him at large all their navigation. The Englishmen consulted a long while what were best to be done, and in fine they resolved to put on land those that were most feeble, and to carry the rest unto the Queene of England, which purposed at that time to send into Florida. Thus you see in brieft that which happened to them which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida. And now will I go forward with the discourse of mine owne voyage.

It seemeth here
meaneth the
voyage intrens
ded by Stukely.

The second voyage vnto Florida, made and written by Cap-
taine Laudonniere, which fortified and inhabited there two Summers
and one whole Winter.



After our arriuall at Diepe, at our comming home, from our first voyage (which was the twentieth of July 1562) we found the ciuill warres begun, which was in part the cause why our men were not succoured, as Captaine Iohn Ribault had promised them: whereof it followed that Captaine Albert was killed by his souldiers, and the country abandoned, as heretofore we haue sufficiently discoursed, and as it may more at large be vnderstood by those men which were there in person. After the peace was made in

The ciuill
warres the
cause why the
Frenchmen
were not sup-
plied, which
were left be-
hinde in their
first voyage.

France, my Lord Admirall De Chastillon shewed vnto the king, that he heard no newes at all of the men which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida, & that it were pity to suffer them to perish. In which respect, the king was content he should cause 3 ships to be furnished, the one of fife score tonnes, the other of 100, and the third of 60, to seeke them out, and to succour them.

My Lord Admirall therefore being well informed of the faithfull seruice which I had done, aswell vnto his Maestie as to his predecessors kings of France, aduertised the king how able I was to doe him seruice in this voyage, which was the cause that he made me chiefe Captaine ouer these 3 shippes, and charged me to depart with diligence to performe his commandement, which for mine owne part I would not gaine say, but rather thinking my selfe happy to haue bene chosen out among such an infinite number of others, which in my iudgement were very well able to haue quitted themselves in this charge, I embarked my selfe at New Hauen the 22 of Aprill 1564, and sayled so, that we fell neere vnto the coast of England: and then I turned towards the South, to sayle directly to the fortunate Islands, at this present called the Canaries, one of which called the Isle Saluage (because as I thinke it is altogether without inhabitants) was the first that our ships passed. Sayling therefore on forward, we landed the next day in the Isle of Teneriffa, otherwise called the Pike, because that in the middell thereof there is an exceeding high mountaine, neere as high as that of Etna, which riseth vp like a pike, into the top whereof no man can go by but from the middell of May vntill the middell of August, by reason of the ouer great colde which is there all the yere: which is a wonderfull strange thing, considering that it is not past 27 degrees and an half distant from the Equator. We saw it all covered ouer with snow, although it were then but the fift of May. The inhabitants in this Isle being heretofore pursued by the Spaniards, retired themselves into this mountaine, where for a space they made warre with them, and would not submit themselves to their obedience, neither by foule nor faire meanes, they disdained so much the losse of their Island. For those which went thither on the Spaniards behalfe, left their carkasses there, so that not so much as one of them returned home to bring newes. Notwithstanding in the ende, the inhabitants not able to live in that place according to their nature, or for want of such things as were necessary for the commoditie of their liuelyhood, did all die there. After I had furnished my selfe with some fresh water, very good and excellent, which sprang out of a rocke at the foote of this mountaine, I continued my course toward the West, wherein the windes fauoured me so well, that 15 dayes after our ships arrived safe and sound at the Antilles: and going on land at the Isle of Martinico, one of the first of them, the next day we arrived at Dominica, twelue leagues distant from the former.

Laudonniere
second voyage
to Florida, with
three ships the
22 of Aprill
1564.

The Isle of
Teneriffa, or the
Pike.

The Isle of
Martinico,
Dominica and
Island.

Dominica is one of the fairest Islands of the West, full of hilles, and of very good smell. Whose singularities desiring to know as we passed, and seeking also to refresh our selues with fresh water, I made the Partners cast anker, after wee had sayled about halfe along the coast thereof. As soone as we had cast anker, two Indians inhabitants of that place sayled toward vs in two Canoas full of a fruite of great excellencie which they call Ananas. As they approached vnto our Barke, there was one of them which being in some misdoubt of vs, went backe againe on land, and fled his way with as much speed as he could possibly. Which our men per-

Ananas a fruite
of great excel-
lencie.

ceived and entered with diligence into the other Canoa, wherein they caught the poore Indian, & brought him unto me. But the poore fellow became so astonied in beholding vs, that he knew not which way to behaue himselfe, because that (as after ward I understood) he feared that he was fallen into the Spaniards hands, of whom he had bene taken once before, and which, as he shewed vs, had cut of his stones. At length this poore Indian was secure of vs, and discoursed unto vs of many things, wherof we receiued very small pleasure, because we understood not his minde but by his signes. Then he desired me to giue him leaue to depart, and promised me that he would bring me a thousand presents, whereunto I agreed on condition that he would haue patience untill the next day, when I purposed to goe on land, where I suffered him to depart after I had giuen him a shirte, and certaine small trifles, wherewith he departed very well contented from vs.

The place where we went on shore was hard by a very high Rocke, out of which there ran a litle riuer of sweet and excellent good water: by which riuer we stayed certaine dayes to discover the things which were worthy to be seene, and traffiqued dayly with the Indians: which about all things belought vs that none of our men should come neere their lodgings nor their gardens, otherwise that we should giue them great cause of ielousie, and that in so doing, wee should not want of their fruite which they call Ananas, whereof they offered vs very liberally, receiuing in recompence certaine things of small value. This notwithstanding, it happened on a day that certaine of our men desirous to see some new things in these strange countries, walked through the woods: and following still the litle riuers side, they spied two serpents of exceeding bignes, which went side by side ouerthwart the way. My souldiers went before them thinking to let them from going into the woods: but the serpents nothing at all astonied at these gestures glanced into the bushes with fearful hyssings: yet for all that, my men drew their swords and killed them, and found them after ward 9 great foote long, and as big as a mans leg. During this combate, certaine others more indiscreete went and gathered their Ananas in the Indians gardens, trampling through them without any discretion: and not therewithall contented they wet toward their dwellings, whereat the Indians were so much offended, that without regarding any thing they rushed upon them and discharged their shot, so that they hit one of my men named Martine Chauveau, which remained behind. We could not know whether hee were killed on the place, or whether he were taken prisoner: for those of his company had inough to doe to saue themselves without thinking of their companion. Whereof Monsieur de Origni my Lieutenant being aduertised, sent unto me to know whether I thought good that he should lay an ambush for the Indians which had either taken or killed our man, or whether hee should go directly to their dwellings to know the truth. I sent unto him after good deliberation hereupon, that he should not attempt any thing, and that for diuers occasions: but contrariwise that he should embarke himself with al diligence, & consequently al they that were on land: which he did with speed. But as he sailed towards our ships he perceiued along the shore a great number of Indians which began to charge them with their arrowes: hee for his part discharged store of shot against them, yet was not able to hurt them, or by any meanes to surpise them: for which cause he quite forsooke them, and came unto our ship. Where staying untill the next day morning we set saile following our wonted course, and keeping the same, we discovered diuerse Isles conquered by the Spaniards, as the Isles of S. Christopher, and of the Saintes, of Monserrate, and La Redonda: Afterward we passed between Anguilla and Anegada, sayling toward New France. Where we arriued 15 dayes after, to witte, on Thursday the 22 of June about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, and landed neere a litle riuer which is 30 degrees distant from the Equator, and 10 leagues about Cape Francois drawing toward the South, and about thirtie leagues about the Riuer of May. After wee had strooken saile and cast anker athwart the Riuer, I determined to goe on shore to discover the same. Therefore being accompanied with Monsieur Origni, with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, & a certaine number of Gentlemen and souldiers, I embarked my selfe about 3 or 4 of the clocke in the euening. And being arriued at the mouth of the riuer, I caused the chanell to be sounded, which was found to be very shallow, although that farther within the same the water was there found reasonable deepe, which separateth it selfe into two great aimes, whereof one runneth toward the South, and the other toward the North. Having thus searched the Riuer, I went on land to speake with the Indians which waited for vs upon the shore, which at our comming on land, came before vs, crying with a loude voyce in their Indian language, Anticola Bonassou, which is as much to say, as brother, friend, or some such like thing. After they had made very much of vs, they

This arrival in Florida the 22 of June 1564. Cape Francois being between the Riuer of Dolphins and the Riuer of May, maketh the distance 30 leagues about, which is but 10 leagues over land.

they shewed vs their Paracoussy, that is to say, their King and Gouvernour, to whom I presented certaine toys, where with he was well pleased. And for mine owne part, I prayle God continually, for the great loue which I haue found in these Sauages, which were loy for nothing, but that the night approached, and made vs retire vnto our ships.

The great
loue and cour-
tesie of the
Indians.

For though they endeouored by al meanes to make vs tary with them, and shewed by signes the desire that they had to present vs with some rare things, yet neuerthelesse for many ill and reasonable occasions I would not stay on shore all night: but excusing my selfe for all their offers, I embarked my selfe againe and returned toward my ships. Howbeit, before my departure, I named this Riuer, the riuer of Dolphines, because that at mine arriual, I saw there a great number of Dolphines, which were playing in the mouth thereof. The next day the 23 of this moneth (because that toward the South I had not found any commodious place for vs to inhabit, and to build a fort) I gaue commandement to weigh anker, & to hoile our sailes to saile toward the riuer of May, where we arrived two dayes after, & cast anker. Afterward going on land, with some number of Gentlemen and Souldiers to know for a certaintie the singularities of this place, we espied the Paracoussy of the countrey, which came towards vs (this was the very same that we saw in the voyage of Captaine Iohn Ribault) which hauing espied vs, cryed very far off, Antipola, Antipola: and being so loyful that he could not containe himselfe, he came to meet vs, accompanied then with two of his sonnes, as faire and mightie persons as might be found in al the world, which had nothing in their mouthes but this word, Amy, Amy: that is to say, friend, friend: yea, and knowing those which were there in the first voyage, they went principally to them to vse this speech vnto them. There was in their trayne a great number of men and women, which still made very much of vs, and by euident signes made vs understand how glad they were of our arriual. This good entertainment past, the Paracoussy prayed me to goe see the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of Iohn Ribault (as we haue declared heretofore) as a thing which they made great account of.

The riuer of
Dolphins, called
Selo by the
Sauages.

Their arriual
at the riuer of
May.

Hauing peeld vnto him and being come to the place where it was set vp, wee found the same crowned with crownes of Bay, and at the foote thereof many little baskets full of Shell which they call in their language Tapaga Tapola. Then when they came thither they kissed the same with great reuerence and belought vs to do the like, which we would not denie them, to the ende we might drawe them to be more in friendship with vs. This done, the Paracoussy tooke me by the hand, as if he had desire to make me understand some great secret, & by signes shewed me very well vp within the riuer the limits of his dominion, and said that he was called Paracoussy Satourioua, which is as much as King Satourioua. His children haue the selfe same title of Paracoussy: The eldest is named Athore, a man, I dare say, perfect in beautie, wisdom, and honest sobrietie, shewing by his modest grauitie that he deserueth the name which he beareth; besides that he is gentle and tractable. After we had sojourned a certaine space with them, the Paracoussy prayed one of his sonnes to present vnto me a wedge of silver, which hee did & that with a good will: in recompence whereof I gaue him a cutting hooke and some other better present: wherewith he seemed to be very well pleased. Afterward we tooke our leaue of them, because the night approached, & then returned to lodge in our shippes. Being assured with this good entertainment I failed not the next day to imbarke my selfe againe with my Lieutenant Ottigni and a number of souldiers to returne toward the Paracoussy of the riuer of May, which of purpose waited for vs in the same place, where the day before we conferred with him. We found him under the shadow of an arbour accompanied with fourescore Indians at the least, and apparelled at that time after the Indian fashion, to wit, with a great Harts skinnie dressed like Chamois, and painted with deuices of strange and diuers colours, but of so liuely a portraiture, and representing antiquity, with rules so iustly compassed, that there is no Painter so exquisite that could finde fault therewith: the naturall disposition of this strange people is so perfect and well guided, that without any ayd and fauour of artes, they are able by the helpe of nature onely to content the eye of artizans, yea euen of those which by their industry are able to aspire vnto things most absolute.

The pillar set
up before by
Ribault crown-
ed with gar-
lands of Lau-
rell and inuol-
ued with small
paniers full of
corne, worship-
ped by the
Sauages.
Paracoussy
Satourioua.

A wedge of
silver.

Then I aduertised Paracoussy Satourioua, that my desire was to discouer farther vp into the riuer, but that this should be with such diligence that I would come againe vnto him very speedily: wherewith he was content, promising to stay for me in the place where he was: and for an earnest of his promise, he offered me his goodly skinnie, which I refused then, and promised to receiue it of him at my returne. For my part I gaue him certaine small trifles, to the intent to retaine him in our friendship.

Grosses.

Monsieur de
Ottigni.The curtesie
of the Floris-
bians to the
French.Open of excee-
ding olde age.

Departing from thence, I had not sayled three leagues up the river, still being followed by the Indians, which coasted me a long the river, crying still, Amy, Amy, that is to say friends, friends: but I discovered an hill of meane height, neere which I went on land, hard by the fieldes that were sowed with mill, at one corner whereof there was an house built for their lodging, which keepe and garde the mill: for there are such numbers of Cornish choughes in this Countrey, which continually deuoure and spoyle the mill, that the Indians are constrained to keepe and watch it, otherwise they should be deceiued of their harvest. I rested my selfe in this place for certaine houres, & commanded Monsieur de Ottigni, and my Sergeant to enter into the woodes to search out the dwellings of the Indians: where after they had gone awhile, they came vnto a Parish of Reeds, where finding their way to bestopped, they rested vnder the shadow of a mightie Bay tree to refresh themselves a little and to resolute which way to take. Then they discovered, as it were on the suddaine, five Indians halfe hidden in the woodes, which seemed somewhat to distrust our men, untill they said vnto them in the Indian language Antipola Bonassou, to the end that understanding their speech they might come vnto vs more boldly, which they did incontinently. But because they sawe, that the foure that went last, bare by the traine of the skinne wherewith he that went foremost was apparrelled, our men imagined that the foremost must needes bee some man of greater qualitie then the rest, seeing that withal they called him Paracously, Paracously, wherfore some of our company went towards him, and vsing him courteously shewed him, Monsieur de Ottigni, their Lieutenant, for whom they had made an harbour with Bay and Palme boughes after the Indian fashion, to the ende that by such signes the Sauages might thinke the Frenchmen had companied with such as they at other times.

The Indian Paracously drew neere to the French, and began to make him a long Oration, which tended to no other end, but that he besought the Frenchmen very earnestly to come and see his dwelling and his parents, which they granted him, and straight for pledge of better amitie, he gaue vnto my Lieutenant Ottigni, the very skinne that he was clad with.

Then he tooke him by the hande, leading him right toward the Parishes, ouer which the Paracously, Monsieur Ottigni, and certaine other of our men were borne vpon the Indians shouldiers: and the rest which could not passe because of the myze and reedes, went through the woodes, and followed a narrow path which led them forth untill they came vnto the Paracouslies dwelling: out of which there came about fiftie Indians to receiue our men gallantly, and to feast them after their manner. After which they brought at their entrance a great vessell of earth, made after a strange fashion full of fountaine water cleare and very excellent.

This vessell was borne by an Indian, and there was another younger which bare of this water in another little vessell of wood, and presented thereof to euery one to drinke, observing in doing the same, a certaine order and reuerence, which hee made to each of them, to whome hee gaue drinke. Our thirst well quenched by this meanes, and our men being sufficiently refreshed, the Paracously brought them to his fathers lodging, one of the oldest men that liued vpon the earth. Our men regarding his age, began to make much of him, vsing this speech, Amy, Amy, that is to say, friends, friends, wherewith the olde fier shewed himselfe very glad.

Afterward they questioned with him concerning the course of his age: whereunto he made answer, shewing that he was the first liuing originall, from whence five generations were descended, as he shewed vnto them by another olde man that sat directly ouer against him, which farre exceeded him in age. And this man was his father, which seemed to be rather a dead carkeis then a liuing body: for his sinewes, his veines, his artiers, his bones, and other parts, appeared so cleerly thorow his skinne, that a man might easily tell them, and discern them one from another. Altho his age was so great, that the good man had lost his sight, and could not speake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. Monsieur de Ottigni hauing scene so strange a thing, turned to the younger of these two olde men, praying him to vouchsafe to answer him to that which he demanded touching his age. Then the olde man called a company of Indians, and striking twice vpon his thigh, and laying his hand vpon two of them, he shewed him by signes, that these two were his sonnes: againe limiting vpon their thighs, he shewed him others not so olde, which were the children of the two first, which he continued in the same manner untill the fift generation. But though this olde man had his father aloue more olde then himselfe, and that both of them did weare their haire very long, and as white as was possible,

yet

yet it was tolde them, that they might yet live thirtie or fortie yeeres more by the course of nature: although the younger of them both was not lesse then two hundred and fiftie yeeres olde. After he had ended his communication, hee commaunded two young Eagles to be given to our men, which he had bred up for his pleasure in his house. Hee caused also little Paniers made of Palme leaues full of Gourds red and blew to bee delivered unto them. For recompence of which presents he was satisfied with French toys.

These two olde men caused our men to be guided backe againe to the place from whence they came, by the young Paracoussy which had brought them thither. And having taken leave of the Paracoussy, they came and sought me out in the place where I stayed, and rehearsed unto mee all that they had seene, praying mee also that I would rewarde their guide, which so frankly and heartily had received them into his house, which I would not faile to doe by any meanes.

Howe was I determined to search out the qualities of the hill. Therefore I went right to the toppe thereof, where we found nothing else but Cedars, Palme, and Baytrees of so soureigne odour, that Baulme smelleth nothing like in comparision. The trees were environed rounde about with Vines bearing grapes in such quantitie, that the number would suffice to make the place habitable. Besides this fertilitie of the soyle for Vines, a man may see Esquine wreathed about the shrubs in great quantitie. Touching the pleasure of the place, the Sea may be seene plaine and open from it, and more then fife great leagues off, neere the River Belle, a man may beholde the medowes divided asunder into Isles and Illets enterlacing one another: Briefly the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholicke would be enforced to change their humour.

After I had stayed there a while, I imbarcked againe my people to sayle towards the mouth of the River, where wee found the Paracoussy, which according to his promise waited for vs. Therefore to content him, we went on shore, and did him that reuerence that on our part was requisite. Then hee gaue me the skinne so richly painted, and I recompensed him with somewhat of our marchandise. I forgot not to demand of him the place whence the wedge of silver came which he had given me before: whereunto he made me a very sudden answer, which notwithstanding I understood not, which he well perceived. And then he shewed me by evident signes that all of it came from a place more within the River by certaine dayes iourneyes from this place, and declared unto vs that all that which they had thereof, they gat it by force of armes of the inhabitants of this place, named by them Thimogoa, their most ancient and naturall enemies, as hee largely declared. Whereupon when I sawe with what affection hee spake when hee pronounced Thimogoa, I understood what he would say. And to bring my selfe more into his fauour, I promised him to accompany him with all my force, if hee would fight against them: which thing pleased him in such sorte, that from thenceforth hee promised himselfe the victorie of them, and assured mee that hee would make a voyage thither within a short space, would cause store of Mill to be prepared, and would commaund his men to make ready their Bowes, and furnish themselves with such store of arrowes, that nothing should be wanting to giue battaile to Thimogoa. In fine hee prayed mee very earnestly not to faile of my promise, and in so doing, hee hoped to procure mee Golde and Silver in such good quantitie, that mine affaires should take effect according to mine owne and his desire.

The matter thus fully resolved upon, I tooke my leave of him to returne unto my shippes, where after wee had rested our selves all the night following, wee hopled sayles the next day very early in the morning, and sayled towards the River of Seine, distant from the River of May about foure leagues: and there continuing our course towards the North, wee arrived at the mouth of Somme, which is not past fife leagues distant from the River of Seine: where wee cast Anker, and went on shoare to discover that place as wee had done the rest. There wee were graciously and courteously received of the Paracoussy of the Countrey, which is one of the tallest men and best proportioned that may be founde. His wife late by him, which besides her Iudian beautie, wherewith shee was greatly endewed, had so vertuous a countenance and modest grauitie, that there was not one amongst vs but did greatly commend her: shee had in her traine five of her daughters of so good grace and so well brought up, that I easily perswaded my selfe that their mother was their Mistresse, and had taught them well and straightly to preserve their honestie. After that the Paracoussy had received vs as I haue sayde, hee commaunded his wife to present mee with a certaine number of

Sanages in Florida of 250. yeeres olde. Eagles in Florida.

Cedars, Palms, Bayes exceeding sweeter, Abundance of grapes. Esquine a drugges excellent against the poxes.

Silver certain dayes iourney by within the river of May. Thimogoa mostall enemies to Paracoussy.

The river of Seine. The river of Somme. The countesse of the Paracoussy of the river of Somme.

to the V. of Somme.

to the V. of Somme.

bullets

bullets of silver, for his owne part hee presented mee with his bowe and his arrowes, as hee had done unto Captaine Iohn Ribault in our first voyage, which is a signe of a perpetuall amitie and alliance with those which they honour with such a kinde of present. In our discouraging with one another, wee entred into speech as touching the exercise of armes. Then the Paracoussy caused a corselet to be set on end, and prayed me to make a prooofe of our Harguebuzes and their bowes: but this prooofe pleased him very little; for assoone as hee knew that our Harguebuzes did easily pearce that which all the force of their bowes could not hurt, he seemed to be lozie, musing with himselfe how this thing might bee done. Neuerthelesse, going about to dissemble in his minde that which his countenance could not doe by any meanes, hee began to fall into another matter, and prayed vs very earnestly to stay with him that night in his house or lodging, affirming that no greater happinesse could come unto him then our long abode, which he desired to recompence with a thousand presents.

Laudonniere's
consultation
with his com-
panie where
it might be
best for them
to plant.

Neuerthelesse wee could not grant him this poynt, but tooke our leaue of him to returne to our shippes: where soone after I caused all my companie to bee assembled, with the Masters and Pilots of my shippes, to consult together of the place whereof wee should make choise to plant our habitation. First I let them vnderstand, howe none of them were ignorant, that the part which was toward the Cape of Florida, was altogether a marish Countrey, and therefore vnpromisable for our inhabitation: A thing which could yeelde neither profite to the King, nor any contentment or pleasure to vs, if peradventure we would inhabite there. On the other side if wee passed further toward the North to seeke out Port Royall, it would be neither very profitable nor conuenient: at the least if wee should giue credit to the report of them which remained there a long time, although the Hauens were one of the fairest of the West Indies: but that in this case the question was not so much of the beautie of the place, as of things necessary to sustaine life. And that for our inhabiting it was much more needefull for vs to plant in places plentifull of victuall, then in goodly Hauens, faire, deepe and pleasant to the view. In consideration whereof that I was of opinion, if it seemed good vnto them, to seate our selues about the Riuer of May: seeing also that in our first voyage wee found the same onely among all the rest to abounde in Barz and corne, besides the Golde and Silver that was found there: a thing that put me in hope of some happye discouerie in time to come.

Golde and Sil-
uer found at
the riuer of
May.

June the 29.

After I had proposed these things, euery one gaue his opinion thereof: and in fine all resolved, namely those which had bene with me in the first voyage, that it was expedient to seate themselves rather on the Riuer of May then on any other, vntill they might heare newes out of France. This poynt being thus agreed vpon, wee sayled toward the Riuer, and vied such diligence, that with the fauour of the windes wee arrived there the morrow after about the breake of day, which was on Thursday the 29. of the moneth of Iune. Having cast anchor, I embarked all my stuffe and the souldiers of my companie, to sayle right toward the opening of the Riuer: wherein we entred a good way vp, and found a Creeke of a reasonable bignesse, which invited vs to refresh our selues a little, while wee reposed our selues there. Afterward wee went on shoare to seeke out a place plaine without trees, which wee perceiued from the Creeke.

But because wee found it not very commodious for vs to inhabite there: wee determined to returne vnto the place which wee had discovered before, when wee had sayled by the Riuer. This place is ioyning to a mountaine, and it seemed vnto vs more fit and commodious to build a fortesse, then that where we were last. Therefore we tooke our way towards the forrests being guided therein by the young Paracoussy which had ledde vs before to his fathers lodging. Afterward we found a large plaine couered with high Junetrees distant a little from the other: vnder which wee perceiued an infinite number of Stagges which brayed amidst the plaine, athwart the which we passed: then wee discovered a little hill adioyning vnto a great vale very Greene and in forme flat: wherein were the fairest meadowes of the world, and grasse to feede cattel. Moreover it is inuironed with a great number of brookes of fresh water, & high woods, which make the vale more delectable to the eye. After I had taken the viewe thereof at mine ease, I named it at the request of our souldiers, The Vale of Laudonniere. Thus we went forward. Anon having gone a little forward, we met an Indian woman of tall stature, which also was an Hermaphrodite, who came before vs with a great basket full of cleere fountaine water, wherewith she greatly refreshed vs. For we were exceeding faint by reason of the ardent heate which molested vs as we passed through those high woods. And I beleue that without the succour of that Indian Hermaphrodite, or rather, if it had not bene for the great desire which we had

The Vale of
Laudonniere.

An Hermaph-
rodite.

had to make vs resolute of our selues, we had taken vp our lodging all night in the wood. Being therfore refreshed by this meane, wee gathered our spirits together, and marching with a cheerefull courage, wee came to the place which wee had chosen to make our habitation in: whereupon at that instant neere the riuers brinke we strowed a number of boughes and leaues, to take our rest on them the night following, which wee found exceeding sweete, because of the paine which before we had taken in our trauell.

On the morrow about the breake of day, I commaunded a trumpet to be sounded, that being assembled we might giue God thanks for our sauourable and happie arriual. There wee sang a psalme of thanksgiuing vnto God, beseeching him that it would please him of his grace to continue his accustomed goodnesse toward vs his poore seruants, and ayde vs in all our enterprises, that all might turne to his glory and the aduancement of our King. The prayer ended, euery man began to take courage.

They began their planting with prayer to God.

Afterward hauing measured out a piece of ground in forme of a triangle, wee indeuoured our selues of all sides, some to bring earth, some to cut fagots, and others to rattle and make the rampire, for there was not a man that had not either a shouell, or cutting hooke, or hatchet, as well to make the ground plaine by cutting downe the trees, as for the building of the Fort, which we did hasten wth such cheerefulness, that within few dayes the effect of our diligence was apparant: in which meane space the Paracoussy Satourioua our neerest neighbour, & on whose ground wee built our Fort, came vsually accompanied with his two sonnes and a great number of Indians to offer to doe vs all courtesie. And I likewise for my part bestowed diuers of our trifles frankly on him, to the end he might know the good will we bare him, and thereby make him more desirous of our friendship, in such sort, that as the dayes increased, so our amitie and friendship increased also.

After that our Fort was brought into forme, I began to build a Grange to retire my munition and things necessarie for the defence of our Fort: praying the Paracoussy to command his subiects to make vs a couering of Palme leaues, and this to the end that when that was done, I might unfraight my shippes, and put vnder couerture those things that were in them. Suddenly the Paracoussy commaunded in my presence all the Indians of his companie to besse the next day morning so good a number of Palme leaues, that the Grange was couered in lesse then two dayes: so that businesse was finished. For in the space of those two dayes, the Indians neuer ceased from working, some in fetching Palme leaues, others in interlacing of them: in such sort that their Kings commandement was executed as he desired.

In Florida they couer their houses with Palme leaues

Our Fort was built in forme of a triangle. The side toward the West, which was toward the lande, was inclosed with a little trench and raised with turues made in forme of a Battlement of nine foote high: the other side which was toward the Riuer, was inclosed with a Pallisado of planks of timber after the maner that Gabions are made. On the South side there was a kinde of bastion within which I caused an house for the munition to be built: it was all builded with fagots and sand, sauing about two or three foot high with turues, whereof the battlements were made. In the midst I caused a great Court to be made of eightene paces long and broad, in the midst whereof on the one side drawing toward the South I builded a Corps de gard, and an house on the other side toward the North, which I caused to be raised somewhat too high: for within a short while after the wind beat it down: and experience taught me, that we may not build with high stages in this Countrey, by reason of the windes whereunto it is subiect. One of the sides that inclosed my Court, which I made very faire and large, reached vnto the Grange of my munitions: and on the other side towardes the Riuer was mine owne lodging, round about which were galleries all couered. The principall doore of my lodging was in the midst of the great place, and the other was toward the Riuer. A good distance from the Fort I built an Ouen to auoyde the danger against fire, because the houses are of Palme leaues, which will soone be burnt after the fire catcheth holde of them, so that with much adoe a man shall haue leasure to quenck them. Doe here in briebe the description of our Fortresse, which I named Caroline in the honour of our Prince King Charles.

The forme of the Fort Caroline. The West side. The South side.

High building is not good for this Countrey.

Nota.

Caroline.

After wee were furnished with that which was most necessarie, I would not lose a minute of an houre, without imploying of the same in some vertuous exercise: therefore I charged Monsieur de Orrigni my Lieutenant, a man in truely worthy of all honour for his honestie and vertue, to search vp within the Riuer, what this Thimogoa might be, whereof the Paracoussy Satourioua had spoken to vs so often at our coming on shoare. For execution hereof

the

The first voy-
age twenty
leagues.

Ten leagues
further.

Mayra a king
rich in golde
and silver.

The second
voyage.

King Molloua.
Olata Ouac
Vina a great
king.

Five or six
pounds weight
of silver.

Fortie kings
vassals to Vi-
na.

the Paracouly gaue him two Indians for his guides, which taking vpon them to lead him in this voyage, seemed to goe vnto a wedding, so desirous they were to fight with their enemies.

Being imbarked they hoisted sayle, and hauing sayled about twentie leagues, the Indians which still looked on this side and that side to elpie some of their enemies, discovered three Canoas. And immediatly they began to crie Thimogoa, Thimogoa, and spake nothing else but to hasten forward to goe fight with them: which the Captaine seemed to be willing to doe, to content them. When they came to boord them, one of the Indians gat holde of an Halbert, another of an Coutelas in such a rage, that hee would haue leapt into the water to haue fought with them alone. Neuerthelesse Orrigni would not let them doe it, for while hee deferred to boord them, he gaue the others respit to turne the prowes of their Canoas toward the shoare, and so to escape into the woods. Again, the meaning of Orrigni was not to make warre vpon them of Thimogoa, but rather to make them friends, and to make them thenceforth to liue in peace one with another if it were possible, hoping by this meane to discover dayly some new thing, & especially the certaine course of the Riuer. For this purpose he caused the barke to retire, wherein were the two Indians his guides, and went with his men toward the Canoas which were on the Riuer's side. Being come vnto them, he put certaine trifles into them, and then retired a good way from them, which thing caused the Indians which were fled away to returne to their boats, and to vnderstand by this signe, that those of our Barke were none of their enemies, but rather come onely to traffique with them. Wherefore being thus assured of vs, they called to our men to come neere vnto them: which they did incontinently and set foote on lande, and spake freely vnto them, with diuers ceremonies ouer long to recount. In the ende Orrigni demaunded of them by signes if they had any Golde or Silver among them. But they tolde him they had none as then: and that if he would send one of his men with them, they would bring him without danger into a place where they might haue some. Orrigni seeing them so willing, deliuered them one of his men which seemed very resolute, to undertake this voyage: this fellow stayed with them vntill tenne of the clocke the next morning, so that Captaine Orrigny somewhat offended with his long stay, sayled ten great leagues further by the Riuer: although he knew not which way he should goe, yet he went so farre by that hee espied the Boate wherein his souldier was: which reported vnto him, that the Indians would haue carried him three great dayes iourney further, & told him that a King named Mayra rich in Gold and Silver, dwelt in those quarters, and that for small quantitie of marchandise enough might be had of him: yet that hee would not hazard himselfe without his leaue, and that he brought but a very little Golde. This being done, our men returned toward our Fort Caroline, after they had left the souldier with the Indians to enscourme himselfe more and more of such things as he might discover more at leasure.

Fifteene dayes after this voyage to Thimogoa, I dispatched Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant also to returne againe into this Countrey, and to seeke out the souldier which remained there in the former voyage. Being therefore imbarked, they sayled two whole dayes: and before they came to the dwelling of the Indians, they found two of them on the Riuer's side, which were expressely sent vnto that place to descry whether any of their enemies were come to that part, with intention to surpriue them, as they did vsually.

When they perceiued Captaine Vasseur, they knew incontinently that he was none of their enemies, and therefore made no difficultie to come neere vnto the Barke, and shewed him by signes that the Souldier which they sought was not in that place, but was at that present in the house of King Molloua which was vassall vnto another great King named by them Olata Ouac Vina: and that if the Captaine would sayle thitherward, hee should come thither very quickly: wherewith he was content, and caused his men to rowe to that part which the Indians shewed him: wherewith they were so glad, that they ranne quickly before by land to declare his arriual, which was at the lodging of king Molloua, after he had rowed not past halfe a league. While king Molloua had ended entertaining Captaine Vasseur and his men, the souldier came in with five or six pounds weight of silver which he had trucked and traffiqued with Indians.

This King caused bread to bee made, and fish to bee dressed after the Indian fashion to feast our men: to whom, while they were at meate, hee made a discourse of diuers other Kings his friends & allies, reckoning vp to the number of nine of them by name, to wit, Cadecha, Chilibi, Eclauon, Enacappe, Calany, Anacharaqua, Omuraqua, Aequera, Moquoso: all which with him to the number of more then fortie, hee assured vs to bee the vassals of the most renowned Olata Ouac Vina.

This

This done, hee went about likewise to discover the enemies of Ouac Vcina, in which number hee placed as the first the Paracouffy Satourioua Monarch of the confines of the riuer of May, which hath vnder his obeyfance thirtie other Paracouffies, whereof there were ten which were all his brethren, and that therefore hee was greatly esteemed in those partes: then hee named three others no lesse puissant then Satourioua, whereof the first dwelt two dayes iourney from his lord Olata Ouac Vcina, and ordinarily made warre vpon him, whose name was Potanou, a man cruell in warre, but pitifull in the execution of his furie. For hee tooke the prisoners to mercy, being content to marke them on the left arme with a great marke like vnto a seale, and so imprinted as if it had bene touched with an hotte yron, then hee let them goe without any more hurt. The two others were named Onatheaqua, and Houstaqua, being great Lords, and abounding in riches, and principally Onatheaqua, which dwelt neere vnto the high mountaines, wherein there was abundance of many rare things, and infinite quantitie of a kinde of slate stone, wherewith they made wedges to cleaue their wood. The occasion which (as he sayd) moued Potanou to wage warre against Olata Ouac Vcina, was the feare that he had, lest he and his companions should get of that hard stone in his Countrey, wherewith they headed their arrowes, and could not get it in any neerer place.

King Potanou.

An exceeding rich place.

Besides all this, Molloua recited to Captaine Vasseur, that the kings allies the bassals of the great Olata, armed their vests, armes, thighes, legs, & foreheads with large plates of gold and siluer: and that by this meanes the arrowes that were discharged vpon them could do them no manner of hurt at all, but rather were broken against them. Hereupon Captaine Vasseur inquired whether the Kings Onatheaqua and Houstaqua were like vnto vs. For by the description that they made of them, he began to doubt whether they were Spaniards or no: but Molloua tolde him that they were not, but that they were Indians like the rest, sauing that they painted their faces with blacke, and that the rest as Molloua, painted them with red. Then my Lieutenant Vasseur, and my Sergeant promised him, that one day I should march with my forces into those Countreys, and that ioyning my selfe with his Lord Olata, I would subdue the inhabitants of the highest of those mountaines. Hee was very glad of this speech, and answered that the least of these Kings which hee had named, should present vnto the Generall of these succours the height of two foot of gold and siluer, which by force of armes they had already gotten of those two Kings, Onatheaqua, and Houstaqua.

Large plates of gold and siluer.

Some paint their faces with blacke, and some with red.

The good cheere being done, and the discourtes ended, my men imbarcked themselves againe, with intention to bring mee those good newes vnto the Fort Caroline. But after they had sayled a very long while downe the Riuer, and were come within three leagues of vs, the tyde was so strong against them, that they were constrained to goe on lande, and to retire themselves because of the night, vnto the dwelling of a certaine Paracouffy named Molona, which shewed himselfe very glad of their arriual: for hee desired to know some newes of Thimogoa, and thought that the French men went thither for none other occasion but for to invade them. Which Captaine Vasseur perceiuing, dissembled so well that he made him beleue that he went to Thimogoa with none other intention, but to subdue them, and to destroy them with the edge of the sword without mercy, but that their purpose had not such successe as they desired, because that the people of Thimogoa being aduertised of this enterpryse, retired into the woods, and saued themselves by flight: that neuertheless they had taken some as they were fleeing away, which carried no newes thereof vnto their fellowes.

The Paracouffy was so glad of this relation, that he interrupted him, and asked Vasseur of the beginning and manner of his execution, and prayed him that hee would shew him by signes howe all things passed. Immediately Francis la Caille the Sergeant of my band tooke his sword in his hand, saying, that with the point thereof he had thrust through two Indians which ranne into the woods, and that his companions had done no lesse for their partes. And that if fortune had so fauoured them, that they had not bene discovered by the men of Thimogoa, they had had a victorie most glorious and worchie of eternall memorie. Hereupon the Paracouffy shewed himselfe so well satisfied, that he could not deuise how to gratifie our men, which hee caused to come into his house to feast them more honourably: and hauing made Captaine Vasseur to sit next him, and in his owne chaire (which the Indians esteeme for the chiefest honour) and then vnderneath him two of his sonnes, goodly and mightie fellowes, hee commanded all the rest to place themselves as they thought good. This done, the Indians came according to their good custome, to present their drinke Cassine to the Paracouffy, and then to certaine of his chiefest friends, and the Frenchmen. Then hee which brought it set the

cup

cup aside, and drew out a little dagger stucke vp in the rooſe of the houſe, and like a mad man he liſt his head aloft, and raine apace, and went and ſmote an Indian which ſate alone in one of the corners of the hall, crying with a loud voyce, Hyou, the poore Indian ſtiring not at all for the blowe, which he ſeemed to endure patiently. He which held the dagger went quickly to put the ſame in his former place, and began againe to giue vs drinke, as hee did before: but he had not long continued, and had ſcarce giuen three or ſoure thereof, but he left his bowle againe, tooke the dagger in his hand, and quickly returned vnto him which hee had ſtrooken before, to whom he gaue a very ſore blow on the ſide, crying Hyou, as he had done before: and then hee went to put the dagger in his place, and ſet himſelfe downe among the reſt. A little while after he that had bene ſtricken fell downe backwards, ſtretching out his armes and legs, as if hee had bene ready to yeeld by the latter gaspe. And then the younger ſonne of the Paracouſſy apparellled in a long white ſkinne, fell downe at the feete of him that was fallen backward, weeping bitterly halfe a quarter of an houre: after, two other of his brethren clad in like apparell, came about him that was ſo ſtricken, and began to ſigh pittifully. Their mother hearing a little infant in her armes came from another part, and going to the place where her ſonnes were, at the firſt ſhee bleſt infinite numbers of outcries, then one while liſting vp her eyes to heauen, another while falling downe vnto the ground, ſhee cryed ſo dolefully, that her lamentable mournings would haue moued the moſt hard and ſtony heart in the world with pittie. Yet this ſufficed not, for there came in a companie of young gyles, which did neuer leaue weeping for a long while in the place where the Indian was fallen downe, whom after ward they tooke, and with the ſaddeſt geſtures they could deuife, carried him away into another houſe a little way off from the great hall of the Paracouſſy, and continued their weepings and mournings by the ſpace of two long houres: in which meane while the Indians ceaſed not to drinke Caſſine, but with ſuch ſilence that one word was not heard in the parlour.

King Malica.

Vaſſeur being grieued that he vnderſtood not theſe ceremonies, demanded of the Paracouſſy what theſe things meant: which answered him ſlowly, Thimogoa, Thimogoa without ſaying any more. Being more diſpleaſed then he was before with ſo ſleight an anſwere, he turned vnto another Indian the Paracouſſyes brother, who was a Paracouſſy as well as his brother, called Malica, which made him a like anſwere as hee did at the firſt, praying him to aſke no more of theſe matters, and to haue patience for that time. The ſubtil old Paracouſſy prayed him with- in a while after, to ſhew him his ſword, which he would not denie him, thinking that hee would haue beheld the faſhion of his weapons: but he ſoone perceiued that it was to another end: for the old man holding it in his hand, behelde it a long while on euery place, to ſee if he could finde any blood vpon it, which might ſhew that any of their enemies had bene killed: for the Indians are wont to bring their weapons wherewith their enemies haue bene defeated, with ſome blood vpon them, for a token of their victories. But ſeeing no ſigne thereof vpon it, he was vpon the point to ſay vnto him, that he had killed none of the men of Thimogoa: when as Vaſſeur preventing that which hee might object, declared and ſhewed vnto him by ſignes, the manner of his enterpriſe, adding, that by reaſon of the two Indians which he had ſlaine, his ſword was ſo bloudy, that hee was inforced to waſh and make it cleane a long while in the Riuer: which the olde man beleued to be like to be true, and made no manner of replie therunto.

Tapiſtry made of ſmall reeds.

Vaſſeur, La Caille, and their other companions went out of the hal to go into the roome whither they had carried the Indian: there they found the Paracouſſy ſitting vpon tapiſtries made of ſmall reeds, which was at meate after the Indian faſhion, and the Indian that was ſmiten hard by him lying vpon the ſelfe ſame tapiſtry, about whom ſtoode the wiſe of the Paracouſſy, with all the young damſels which before bewailed him in the hall: which did nothing elſe but warme a great deal of moſſe in ſtead of naphkins to rub the Indians ſide. Per vpon our men aſked the Paracouſſy againe for what occaſion the Indian was ſo perſecuted in his preſence: hee anſwered, that this was nothing elſe but a kinde of ceremonie, whereby they would call to minde the death and perſecutions of the Paracouſſies their anceſtors executed by their enemy Thimogoa: alleaging moreouer, that as often as he himſelfe, or any of his friends and allies returned from the Countrey, without they brought the heads of their enemies, or without bringing home ſome priſoner, hee bleſt for a perpetuall memorie of all his predecessors, to beate the beſt beloued of all his children with the ſelfe ſame weapons, wherewith they had bene killed in times paſt: to the end that by renewing of the wound their death ſhould be lamented afreſh. Now whē they were thus informed of thoſe ceremonies, they thanked the Paracouſſy for their good intertainment which they had receiued, & ſo ſetting ſaile came to me vnto the ſort: where they

They laype moſſe about their woundes and ble it in ſtead of naphkins. A ceremonie to call to mind the death of their anceſtors ſlaine by their enemies.

they declared all vnto me as I haue recited it heretofore. The eight and twentieth of July our shippes departed to returne into France. And within a while, about two moneths after our arrivall in Florida, the Paracouffy Satourioua sent certaine Indians vnto mee to knowe whether I would stande to my promise which I had made him at my first arrivall in that Countrey, which was that I would shewe my selfe friend to his friendes, and enemie vnto his enemies, and also to accompany him with a good number of Harquebuzes, when he should see it expedient, and should finde a fit occasion to goe to warre. Now seeing he rested vpon this promise, he prayed mee not to deferre the same: seeing also that making accompt thereof, hee had taken such good order for the execution of his enterprize, that he was ready, and was furnished with all things that were necessary for the voyage: I made him answer, that for his amitie I would not purchase the enmitie of the other, and that albeit I would, yet notwithstanding I wanted meanes to doe it. For it behoued mee at that present to make prouision of victuals and munition for the defence of my Fort. On the other side, that my Barkes were nothing ready, and that this enterprize would require time: Whereouer, that the Paracouffy Satourioua might holde himselfe ready to depart within two moneths, and that then I would thinke of fulfilling my promise to him.

The Indians caried this answer to their Paracouffy, which was little pleased with it, because hee could not deferre his execution or expedition, aswell because all his victuals were ready, as also because tenne other Paracouffies were assembled with him for the performance of this enterprize. The ceremonie which this Sauage vled before hee embarked his armie deserueth not to be forgotten. For when hee was set downe by the Riuer side, being compassed about with ten other Paracouffies, hee commaunded water to be brought him speedily. This done, looking vp into heauen, he fell to discourse of diuers things with gestures that shewed him to be in exceeding great choller, which made him one while shake his head hither and thither, and by and by with I wote not what furie to turne his face toward the Countrey of his enemies, and to threaten to kill them. Hee oftentimes looked vpon the Sunne, praying him to graunt him a glorious victory of his enemies. Which when hee had done by the space of halfe an houre, hee sprinkled with his hand a little of the water which hee helde in a vessell vpon the heads of the Paracouffies, and cast the rest as it were in a rage and despite into a fire which was there prepared for the purpose. This done, hee cried out thise, He Thimogoa, and was followed with fise hundred Indians at the least, which were there assembled, which cried all with one voyce, He Thimogoa. This ceremonie, as a certaine Indian tolde mee familiarly, signified nothing else, but that Satourioua besought the Sunne to graunt vnto him so happy a victory, that hee might shed his enemies blood, as he had shed that water at his pleasure. Whereouer, that the Paracouffies which were sprinkled with a part of that water, might returne with the heads of their enemies, which is the onely and chiefe triumph of their victories.

The Paracouffy Satourioua had no sooner ended his ceremonies and had taken a viewe of all his company, but he embarked himselfe, and vled such diligence with his Almadies or boates, that the next day two houres before the Sunnes set, he arrived on the territories of his enemies about eight or tenne leagues from their villages. Afterward causing them all to goe on land, hee assembled his counsell, wherein it was agreed that fise of the Paracouffies should saile by the Riuer with halfe of the troupes, and by the breake of the day should appoche vnto the dwelling of their enemies: for his owne part, that hee would take his journey through the woods and Forrests as secretly as hee coulde: that when they were come thither, as well they that went by water as hee which went by land should not faile by the breake of the day to enter into the village, and cut them all in pieces, except the women and little children.

These things which were thus agreed vpon, were executed with as great fury as was possible: which when they had done, they tooke the heades of their enemies which they had slaine, and cut off their haire round about with a piece of their skulles: they tooke also foure and twentie prisoners, which they led away, and retired themselves immediatly vnto their Boates which waited for them. Being come thither, they beganne to singe praises vnto the Sunne, to whom they attributed their victorie. And afterwards they put the skins of those heades on the end of their ianelings, and went altogether toward the territories of Paracouffy Omoloa, one of them which was in the company. Being come thither, they deuised their prisoners equally to each of the Paracouffies, and left thirteene of them to Satourioua, which straightway dispatched an Indian his subject, to carry netwes before of the victory to them which stayed at home to guard their houses, which immediatly beganne to weepe. But alldone as night was come, they neuer left dancing and playing a thousand gambols in honour of the feast.

The next day the Paracouffy Satourioua came home, who before hee entered into his lodging caused

The returne of
their ships to-
ward France
the 28. of
Iulij.

The ceremo-
nie which they
vled before they
goe to warre,

Satourioua fol-
lowed with
fise hundred
Indians.

Consultation
before they
assault their
enemies.

How they ble
their enemies
which they
take in warre.

King Omoloa.

*Their manner
of triumph.*

caused all the haire skuls of his enemies to bee set by before his doore, and crowned them with branches of Lawrell, shewing by this glorious spectacle the triumph of the victorie which hee had obtained. Straightway beganne lamentation and mournings, which as soone as the night beganne were turned into pleasures and dances.

After that I was aduertised of these things, I sent a Souldier vnto Satourioua, praying him to sende mee two of his prisoners: which hee denied mee, saying that hee was nothing beholding vnto mee, and that I had broken my promise, against the oath which I had swoyne vnto him at my arriuall. Which when I vnderstoode by my Souldier, which was come backe with speede, I deuised howe I might be reuenged of this Sauage, and to make him know how dearely this bolde brauado of his should cost him: therefore I commanded my Sergeant to prouide mee twentie Souldiers to goe with mee to the house of Satourioua: Where after I was come and entered into the hall without any manner of salutation, I went and sate mee downe by him, and stayed a long while without speaking any woordes vnto him, or shewing him any signe of friendship, which thing put him deeply in his dumps: besides that certaine Souldiers remained at the gate, to whom I had giuen expresse commaundement to suffer no Indian to goe forth: hauing stood still about halfe an houre with this countenance, at length I demaunded where the prisoners were which hee had taken at Thimogoa, and commaunded them presently to bee brought vnto me.

Ashore.

Thereunto the Paracouffy angry at the heart, and astonied wonderfully, stood a long while without making any answer, notwithstanding at last hee answered me very stoutly, that being a fraide to see vs comming thither in such warrelke maner they fled into the woods, and that not knowing which way they were gone, they were not able by any meanes to bring them againe; Then I seemed to make as though I vnderstood not what he saide, and asked for his prisoners againe, and for some of his principall allies. Then Satourioua commaunded his sonne Achore to seeke out the prisoners, and to cause them to be brought into that place, which thing he did within an houre after.

*Excellent
Pumpions.*

After they were come to the lodging of the Paracouffy, they humbly saluted mee, and lifting vp their hands before me, they would haue fallen downe prostrate as it were at my feet: but I would not suffer them, and soone after ledde them away with me vnto my owne Fort. The Paracouffy being wonderfully offended with this brauado, bethought himselfe by all meanes how hee might be reuenged of vs. But to giue vs no suspition thereof, and the better to couer his intention, hee sent his messengers oftentimes vnto vs bringing alwayes with them some kinde of presents. Among others one day hee sent three Indians, which brought vs two baskets full of great Pumpions, much more excellent then those which we haue in France, and promised me in their kings behalfe, that during mine abode in that Countrey, I should neuer want victuals: I thanked them for their Kings good will, and signified vnto them the great desire which I had, as well for the benefit of Satourioua, as for the quiet of his Subiects, to make a peace betweene him and those of Thimogoa: which thing coulde not choose but turne to their great benefite, seeing that being allied with the Kings of those parts, hee had an open passage against Onatheaqua his ancient enemy, which other wise he coulde not set vpon. Moreover that Olata Ouac Vtina was so mightie a Paracouffy, that Satourioua was not able to withstand his forces: but being agreed together they might easily ouerthrow all their enemies, and might passe the confines of the farthest Riuers that were towards the South. The messengers prayed mee to haue patience vntill the morowe, at what time they would come againe vnto me to certifie me of their Lords inclination: which they failed not to doe, aduertising me that Paracouffy Satourioua was the gladdest man in the world to create of this accord (although indeed hee was quite contrary) and that he besought mee to be diligent therein, promising to obserue and performe whatsoeuer I should agree vpon with those of Thimogoa: which things the messengers also rehearsed vnto the prisoners which I had ledde away. After they were departed, I resolved within two dayes to sende backe againe the prisoners to Olata Ouac Vtina, whose subiects they were: but before I embarked them, I gaue them certaine small trifles, which were little knives or tablets of glasse, wherein the image of King Charles the ninth was drawn very liuely, for which they gaue me very great thanks, as also for the honest entertainment which was giuen him at the Fort Caroline. After this they embarked themselves, with Captaine Vasseur, and with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, which I had sent of purpose to remaine a certaine time with Ouac Vtina, hoping that the fauour of this great Paracouffy would serue my turne greatly to make my discoueries in time to come. I sent with him also one of my Sergeants, and five gallant Souldiers.

Thus things passed on this maner, and the hatred of Paracouffy Satourioua against mee did

still

will continue, until that on the nine and twentieth of August a lightning from heauen fell within halfe a league of our Fort, more worthy I beleue to be wondered at, and to bee put in writing, then all the strange signes which haue bene seene in times past, and whereof the histories haue neuer written. For although the medowes were at that season all greene, and halfe covered ouer with water, neuertheless the lightning in one instant consumed aboue five hundred acres therewith, and burned with the ardent heate thereof all the foules which tooke their pastime in the medowes, which thing continued for three dayes space, which caused vs not a little to muse, not being able to iudge whereof this fire proceeded: for one while wee thought that the Indians had burnt their houses, and abandoned their places for feare of vs: another while wee thought that they had discovered some shippes in the Sea, and that according to their custome they had kindled many fires here and there, to signifie that their Countrey was inhabited: neuertheless being not assured, I determined to sende to Paracoussy Serranay to knowe the trueth thereof. But euen as I was vpon the point to sende one by boate to discover the matter, five Indians came vnto mee from Paracoussy Allimacany, which at their first entrie made vnto mee a long discourse, and a very large and ample oration (after they had presented mee with certaine baskets full of Peas, of Pumpions and of Grapes) of the louing amitie which Allimacany desired to continue with mee, and that hee looked from day to day when it would please mee to employ him in my seruice. Therefore considering the seruiceable affection that hee bare vnto mee, hee found it very strange, that I thus discharged mine Ordinance against his dwelling, which had burnt by an infinite sight of greene medowes, and consumed euen downe vnto the bottome of the water, and came so neere vnto his mansion, that hee thought hee sawe the fire in his house: wherefore hee besought mee most humbly to commaund my men that they would not shoote any more towards his lodging, otherwise that hereafter he should be constrained to abandon his countrey, and to retire himselfe into some place further off from vs.

Having understood the foolish opinion of this man, which notwithstanding coulde not choose but bee very profitable for vs, I dissembled what I thought thereof for that time, and answered the Indians with a cherefull countenance, that the relation which they made vnto mee of the obedience of their Paracoussy did please mee right well, because that before hee had not behaued himselfe in such sort towards mee, especially when I summoned him to sende mee the prisoners of great Olata Odae Vcina which he detained, whereof notwithstanding he made no great accompt, which was the principall cause wherefore I had discharged mine Ordinance against him: not that I meant to reach vnto his house (as I might haue done easily, if it had pleased me) but that I was content to shoote the halfe way to make him knowe my force: assuring him furthermore, that on condition that he would continue in his good affection, no more ordinance should be discharged against him hereafter: and besides that I would become his faithfull protectour against his greatest enemies.

The Indians contented with mine answer returned to assure their Paracoussy, which notwithstanding the assurance withorewe himselfe from his dwelling twentie or five and twentie leagues off, and that for the space of more then two moneths. After that three dayes were expired, the fire was quite extinguished. But for two dayes after there followed such an excessive heate in the aire, that the Riuer neere vnto which we planted our habitation, became so hot, that I thinke it was almost ready to seeth. For there died so great abundance of fish, and that of so many diuers sorts, that in the mouth of the Riuer onely there were founde dead ynough to haue laden fiftie Carts, whereof there issued a putrefaction in the aire, which bred many dangerous diseases amongst vs, insomuch that most of my men fell sicke, and almost ready to ende their dayes. Yet notwithstanding it pleased our mercifull God so to prouide by his prouidence, that all our men recovered their health without the losse of any one of them.

Monsieur de Arlac, Capitaine Vasseur, and one of my Sergeants being embarked with their tenne Souldiers about the tenth of September, to cary backe the prisoners vnto Vcina, sailed so farre by the Riuer, that they discovered a place called Mayarquas distant from our Fort about fourescore leagues, where the Indians gaue them good entertainment, and in many other villages which they found. From this place they rowed to the dwelling of Paracoussy Vcina, which after hee had feasted them according to his abilitie and power, prayed Monsieur de Arlac and all his Souldiers to stay a while with him, to ayde and assist him in battaille against one of his enemies called Porahou, whereunto Monsieur de Arlac consented willingly. And because hee knew not how long he might haue occasion to stay in these parts, hee sent mee Capitaine Vasseur and the Barke backe againe, which brought home onely five Souldiers with him.

Now because the custome of the Indians is alwayes to wage war by surprize, Vcina resolved to

20 wonderfull lightning the 29. of August.

King Serranay

King Allimacany.

The Sauiages thinke the lightning to be discharging of the Christians Ordinance.

Laudonniere had the pretence occasion to his profite.

21 wonderfull heate.

Fiftie cart load of fish dead in the Riuer with this heat.

The thirde voyage the tenth of September.

Mayarquas a place 80. leagues by the Riuer of May.

King Patanou,

The Indians manner of war.

Two hundred
Indians.

A village in-
closed with
trees.

Vina getteth
the victory of
Potanou by the
helpe of the
French.

Silver, and
gold, and pain-
ted skinnies.

La Roquette's
conspiracie.

Monsieur de
Genre.

Genres message
to Laudonniere
in the Souldi-
ers name.

His answer.

A dangerous
practice a-
gainst the Cap-
taine and his
Lieutenant.

Laudonniere
sicknesse.

Laudonniere's
Physicarie.

take his enemy Potanou in the morning by the breake of the day : to bring this to passe, hee made his men to trauaile all the night, which might be in number two hundred persons, so well advised, that they prayed our French-shot to be in the fore-front, to the ende (as they saide) that the noise of their pieces might astonish their enemies : notwithstanding they coulde not march so secretly, but that those of the village of Potanou, distant from the dwelling of Vina about fise and twentie leagues, were ware of them : which suddenly employed and bestowed all their endeouour to defend their village enclosed all with trees, and issued out in great companies: but finding themselves charged with shotte, (a thing wherewith they neuer had bene acquainted) also beholding the Captaine of their bande fall downe dead in the beginning of their skirmish, with a shot of an Harquebuse which strooke him in the forehead, discharged by the bande of Monsieur de Arlac, they left the place : and the Indians of Vina gate into the village, taking men, women, and children prisoners. Thus Paracouffy Vina obtained the victory by the ayde of our men, which slew many of his enemies, and lost in this conflict one of their companions, wherewith Vina was very much grieved. Eight or tenne dayes after, I sent Captaine Vasseur backe againe with a Barke to fetch home Monsieur de Arlac and his Souldiers, which at their returne brought mee certaine presents from Vina, as some silver, a small quantitie of golde, painted skinnies, and other things, with a thousand thanks, which the Paracouffy gaue me, which promised that if in any enterprize of importance I should haue neede of his men, he would furnish mee with three hundred and aboue.

While I thus trauailed to purchase friends, & to practise one while with one here, an other while with another there, certaine Souldiers of my company were suborned vnder hand by one named La Roquette of the Countrey of Perigori, which put in their heads that hee was a great Magician, and that by the secrets of Art-magick he had discovered a Mine of golde and silver farre by within the Riuer, whereby (vpon the losse of his life,) every Souldier should receiue in ready Bullion the value of tenne thousand Crownes, beside and aboue fiftene hundred thousand which should be reserved for the Kings Maestie : wherefore they allied themselves with La Roquette and another of his confederates, whose name was Le Genre, in whom notwithstanding I had great affiance. This Genre exceeding desirous to enrich himselfe in those parts, and seeking to be reuenged, because I would not giue him the carriage of the Paquet into France, secretly enfourmed the Souldiers that were already suborned by La Roquette, that I would deprive them of this great gaine, in that I did let them dayly on worke, not sending them on euery side to discover the Countreys : therefore that it were a good deede, after they had made mee vnderstand so much, to seeke meanes to dispatch mee out of the way, and to choose another Captaine in my place, if I would not giue them victuals according to their disordinate appetite. Hee also brought mee word hereof himselfe, making a large discourse vnto mee of the good affection of the Souldiers, which all besought mee that I would conduct them to the Countreys where the Mine was : I made him answer that all could not goe thither, and that it was necessary before their departure to settle our Fortresse in such estate, that those which were to stay at home behind should remaine in securitie against the Indians which might surprisethem. Furthermore, that their manner of proceeding seemed strange vnto mee, for that they imagined, that the Kings Maestie was at the charges of our voyage for none other ende, but onely to enrich them at their first arrivall, in as much as they shewed themselves much more giuen vnto couetousnesse, then vnto the seruice of their Prince : But seeing mine answer tended vnto none other ende but to make our Fortresse strong and defensible, they determined to trauaile in the worke, and made an ensigne of olde linnen, which ordinarily they bare vpon the rampart when they went to worke, alwayes wearing their weapons, which I thought they had done to incourage themselves to worke the better. But as I perceived afterwards, and that by the confession of Genre sent mee in letters which he writ to mee of that matter, these gentle Souldiers did the same for none other ende, but to haue killed mee, and my Lieutenant also, if by chance I had giuen them any hard speeches. About the twentieth of September, as I came home from the woods and coppises to finish the building of my Fort, (and that according to my vsuall maner, I marched first to giue encouragement vnto my Souldiers) I chafed my selfe in such sort, that I fell into a sore and grievous sicknesse, whereof I thought I should haue died : During which sicknesse, I called Le Genre often vnto mee, as one that I trusted aboue all others, and of whose conspiracies I doubted not any whit at all. In this meane while assembling his complices, sometime in his chamber and sometime in the woods to consult with them, hee spake vnto them to choose another Captaine besides mee, to the intent to put mee to death : but being not able by open force to execute his malicious intention, hee gate him vnto mine Apothecarie, praying him instantly to mingle in my medicine,

medicine, which I was to receiue one or two dayes after, some drugges that should make mee pitch ouer the pearch, or at the least that hee would giue him a little Arsenike or quicke Siluer, which hee himselfe would put into my drinke. But the Apothecary denied him, as did in like manner Master S. which was Master of the fire-works. Thus wholly disappointed of both his meanes, hee with certaine others resolved to hide a little barrell of gunne-powder vnderneath my bed, and by a traine to set it on fire.

The Master of the fire-works.

Upon these practises a Gentleman which I had dispatched to retorne into France, being about to take his leaue of me, aduertised me, that Gieure had giuen him a booke full of all kinde of lewde inuectiues and slanders against me, against Monsieur de Ottigny, and against the principal of my company: vpon which occasion I assembled all my Souldiers together, and Captaine Bourdet with all his, which on the fourth of September arriued in the roade, and were come into our Riuer. In their presence I caused the contents of the booke to be read aloud, that they might heare record of the vntruths that were written against mee. Gieure, which had gotten him into the woods for feare of being taken, (where he liued for a while after with the Sauages by my permission,) writ vnto mee often, and in many of his letters confessed vnto mee, that he had deserued death, condemning himselfe so farre forth, that he referred all to my mercie and pitie.

Captaine Bourdet arriued in Florida the 4. of September.

The seventh or eighth day of Nouember, after I had caused sufficient provision of such victuals as were needefull to be made, I sent two of my men, to wit, La Roche Ferriere, and another towarde King Vcina, to discouer euery day more and more of the Countrey: where hee was the space of five or sixe moneths, during which hee discouered many small villages, and among others one named Hostagua, the King whereof being desirous of my friendship, sent vnto mee a quiver made of a Luserna skinne full of arrowes, a couple of bowes, foure or five skinnies painted after their maner, and a chaine of Siluer weying about a pounce weight. In recompence of which presents I sent him two whole suites of apparell, with certaine cutting hookes or hatchets.

The 4. voyage the 7 of Nouember.

Hostagua a village.

After these things therfore in this sort passed, about the tenth of this moneth, Captaine Bourdet determined to leaue mee and to retorne into France. Then I requested him, yea rather was exceeding importunate with him, to carry home with him some sixe or seuen Souldiers, whom I could not trust by any meanes: which hee did for my sake, and would not charge himselfe with Gieure, which offered him a great summe of money, if it would please him to carry him into France: hee transported him onely to the other side of the Riuer. Thre dayes after his departure thirteene Hariners which I had brought out of France, suborned by certaine other Hariners which Captaine Bourdet had left me, stole away my Barkes in maner following. These Hariners of Captaine Bourdet put mine in the head, that if they had such Barkes as mine were, they might gaine very much in the Isles of the Antilles, and make an exceeding profitable voyage. Whereupon they beganne to deuise howe they might steale away my Barkes, and consulted that when I should command them to goe vnto the village of Sarauahi distant about a league and an halfe from our Fort, and situated vpon an arme of the Riuer, (whither according to my maner I sent them daily to seeke clay, to make bricke and morter for our houses) they would retorne no more, but would furnish themselves with victuals as well as they might possibly: and then would embarke themselves all in one vessel, and would goe their way: as in deede they did, And that which was worse, two Flemish Carpenters, which the saide Bourdet had left mee, stole away the other Barke, and before their departure cut the cables of the Barke, and of the ship-boate, that it might goe away with the tyde, that I might not pursue them: so that I remained without either Barke or boate, which fell out as unluckily for mee as was possible. For I was ready to imbarke my selfe with all speede, to discouer as farre by our Riuer, as I might by any meanes. Nowe my Hariners, (as I vnderstood afterwards) tooke a Barke that was a passenger of the Spaniards neere the Isle of Cuba, wherein they founde a certaine quantitie of golde and siluer, which they seized vpon. And hauing this bootie they lay a while at Sea, vntill their victuals beganne to faile them: which was the cause, that oppressed with famine they came vnto Hauana the principall Towne of the Isle of Cuba: whereupon proceeded that mischiefe which hereafter I will declare more at large. When I saw my Barkes returned not at their wonted houre, and suspecting that which fell out indeed, I commanded my Carpenters with all diligence to make a little boat with a flat bottome, to search those Riuers for some newes of these Hariners. The boate dispatched within a day and a night, by reason that my Carpenters found planks and timber ready sawed to their hands, as commonly I caused my Sawyers to prouide it, I sent men to seeke some newes of my thieues: but all was in vaine. Therefore I determined to cause two great Barkes to be built, eche of which might be thirtie five, or thirtie sixe foote long in the keele.

One of his Barkes stolne away by his Hariners.

The village of Sarauahi.

Another of his Barkes stolne away by two Carpenters.

One of these Hariners named Francis Iean betrayed his own countrey men to the Spaniards, and brought them into Florida.

A Saw-mill necessary here.

The thirde
sedition.

Up Peru the
French meate
the coast of
Cartagena and
Nombre de
Dios.

The capitaine
charge at his
setting forth.

Laudonniere
kept 15. dayes
prisoner by
his owne fault
Diers.

And now the worke was very well forwarde which I set my workmen about, when ambition and auarice, the mother of all mischief, tooke roote in the hearts of foure or five souldiers which could not away with the worke and paines taking: and which from hence forward (namely one Fourniaux, and one La Croix, and another called Steuen le Geneuois, the three principall authours of the sedition) beganne to practise with the best of my troupe, shewing them that it was a vile thing for men of honest parentage, as they were, to mople themselves thus with abiect and base worke, seeing they had the best occasion of the worlde offered them to make themselves all riche: which was to arme the two Barkes which were in building, and to furnish them with good men: and then to saile vnto Peru, and the other Isles of the Antilles, where euery Souldier might easily enrich himselfe with tenne thousand Crownes. And if their enterprise should bee misliked withall in France, they should bee alwayes able, by reason of the great wealth that they should gaine, to retire themselves into Italy, vntill the heate were ouerpasse, and that in the meane season some warre would fall out, which would cause all this to be quite forgotten.

This word of riches sounded so well in the eares of my Souldiers, that in fine, after they had oftentimes consulted of their affaires, they grew to the number of threescore and sixe: which to colour their great desire which they had to goe on stealing, they caused a request to bee presented vnto mee by Francis de la Caille Sergeant of my company, contayning in sum a declaration of the small store of victuals that was left to maintaine vs, vntill the time that shippes might returne from France: for remedy whereof they thought it necessary to sende to New Spaine, Peru, and all the Isles adioyning, which they besought mee to be content to graunt. But I made them answer, that when the Barkes were finished, I would take such good order in generall, that by meanes of the Kings marchandise, without sparing mine owne apparell, wee would get victuals of the inhabitants of the Countrey: seeing also that wee had ynough to serue vs for foure moneths to come. For I feared greatly, that vnder pretence of searching victuals, they would enterprise somewhat against the King of Spaines Subiects, which in time to come might iustly bee layde to my charge, considering that at our departure out of France, the Queene had charged me very expressely, to doe no kinde of wrong to the King of Spaines Subiects, nor any thing whereof he might conceiue any ielousie.

They made as though they were content with this answer. But eight dayes after, as I continued in working vpon our fort, and on my Barkes, I fell sicke. Then my seditious companions forgetting all honour and duetie, supposing that they had found good occasion to execute their rebellious enterprise, beganne to practise afresh their former designes, handling their businesse so well, during my sicknesse, that they openly vowed that they would seaze on the Corps de gard, and on the fort, yea, and force mee also, if I would not consent vnto their wicked desire. My Lieutenant being hereof aduertised, came and tolde mee that he suspected some euill practise: and the next day in the morning I was saluted at my gate with men in complet harness, what time my Souldiers were about to play mee a shewde trick: then I sent to seeke a couple of Gentlemen whom I most trusted, which brought mee word that the Souldiers were determined to come to me to make a request vnto me: But I tolde them that this was not the fashion to present a request vnto a Capitaine in this manner, and therefore they should send some set vnto me to signifie vnto mee what they would haue. Hereupon the five chiefe authours of the sedition armed with Corsets, their Pistolles in their handes already bent, prest into my chamber, saying vnto mee, that they would goe to New Spaine to seeke their aduenture. Then I warned them to bee well aduised what they meant to doe: but they forthwith replied, that they were fully aduised already, and that I must graunt them this request. Seeing then (quoth I) that I am enforced to doe it, I will sende Capitaine Vasseur and my Sergeant, which will make answer and giue mee an accompt of euery thing that shall be done in this voyage: And to content you, I thinke it good that you take one man out of euery chamber, that they may accompany Capitaine Vasseur and my Sergeant. Whereupon, blaspheming the Name of God, they answered that they must goe thither: and that there lacked nothing, but that I should deliuer them the armour which I had in my custodie, for feare least I might vse them to their disadvantage (being so villanously abused by them:) wherein notwithstanding I would not yeeld vnto them. But they tooke all by force, and caried it out of my house, yea and after they had hurt a Gentleman in my chamber, which spake against their doings, they layd hands on mee, and caried mee very sicke, as I was, prisoner into a shippe which rode at anker in the midst of the Riuer, wherein I was the space of fiftene dayes, attended vpon with one man onely without permission for any of my seruants to come to visite mee: from euery one of whom, as also from the rest that tooke my part, they tooke away their armour. And they sent mee a passport to signe, telling me plainly after I had denied them, that

that if I made any difficulty, they would all come and cut my throat in the shippe. This was I constrained to signe their Passe-port, and forthwith to grant them certaine mariners, with Trenchant an honest and skilfull Pilot. When the barks were finished, they armed them with the kings munition, with powder, with bullets, and artillery, as much as they needed, and chose one of my Sergeants for their Captain, named Bertrand Conferrent, and for their Ensigne one named La Croix. They compelled Captaine Vasseur to deliuer them the flag of his ship. Then hauing determined to saile vnto a place of the Antilles, called Leauguaue, belonging vnto the king of Spaine, and there to goe on land on Christmasse night, with intention to enter into the Church while the Masse was sayd after midnight, and to murder all those that they found there, they set saile the eight of December. But because the greatest part of them by this time repented them of their enterpryse, and that now they began to fall into mutinies among themselves, when they came forth of the mouth of the riuer, the two barks diuided themselves; the one kept along the coast vnto Cuba, to double the Cape more easily, and the other went right forth to passe athwart the Isles of Lucaya: by reason whereof they mette not vntill sixe weeks after their departure. During which time the barke that tooke her way along the coast, wherein one of the chiefe conspiratours named De Orange was Captaine, and Trenchant his Pilot, neere vnto a place called Archaha, tooke a Bzigantine laden with a certaine quantity of Cassau, which is a kinde of bread made of roots, and yet neuertheless is very white, and good to eat, and some little Wine, which was not without some losse of their men: for in one assault that the inhabitants of Archaha made vpon them, two of their men were taken, to wit, Steven Gondeau, and one named Grand Pré, besides two more that were slaine in the place, namely Nicolas Master and Doublet: yet neuertheless they tooke the Bzigantine, wherein they put all their stuffe that was in their owne Barke, because it was of greater burthen and better of saile then their owne. Afterward they sailed right vnto the Cape of Santa Maria nere to Leauguaue, where they went on land to calke and bray their ship which had a great leake. In this meane while they resolved to saile to Baracou, which is a village of the Isle of Iamaica: where at their arriual they found a Carauel of fifty or threescore tunnes burden, which they tooke without any body in it: and after they had made good cheere in the village the space of five or sixe dayes, they embarked themselves in it, leauing their second ship: then they returned to the Cape of Tiburon, where they met with a Patach, which they tooke by force after a long conflict. In this Patach the gouernour of Iamaica was taken, with great store of riches, as well of golde and siluer as of merchandise and wine, and many other things; wherewith our seditious companions not content, determined to seeke more in their carauell, and their gouernour of Iamaica also. After they were come to Iamaica, they missed of another carauel which did saue it selfe in the hauen. The gouernour being fine and subtle, seeing himselfe brought vnto the place which he desired and where he commanded, obtained so much by his faire words, that they which had taken him let him put two little hoes which were taken with him into a little cocke boat, and send them to his wife into the village, to aduertise her that she should make provision of victuals to send vnto him. But in stead of writing vnto his wife, he spake vnto the hoes secretly that with all diligence she should send the vessels that were in the hauens neere that place to succour and rescue him. Which he did so cunningly, that on a morning about the breake of the day, as our seditious companions were at the hauens mouth (which reacheth aboute two leagues by within the land) there came out of the hauen a malgualire which maketh saile both forward and backward, and then two great shippes, which might be ech of them of fourescore or an hundred tunnes a piece, with good store of ordinance, and well furnished with men: at whose coming our mutinous fellows were surprised, being not able to see them when they came, as well because of the darknesse of the weather, as also by reason of the length of the hauen, considering also they mistrusted nothing. True it is that five or six & twenty that were in the bzigantine discovered these ships when they were nere them, which seeing themselves pressed for want of leasure to weigh their anker, cut their cable, and the trumpeter which was in it aduertised the rest: whereupon the Spaniards seeing themselves descried, discharged a volley of canon shot against the French men, which they followed by the space of three leagues, and recovered their own ships: the bzigantine which escaped away, passed in the sight of the Cape des Aigrettes, and the Cape of S. Anthony situate in the Isle of Cuba, & from thence passed with in the sight of Hauana; but Trenchant their pilot, and the trumpeter, and certaine other mariners of this bzigantine, which were led away by force in this voyage (as elsewhere we haue declared) desired nothing more then to returne to me: wherefore these men agreed together (if peraduenture the wind serued them well) to passe the chanell of Bahama, while their seditious companions were asleepe: which they did accomplish with such good successe, that in the morning toward

Trenchant a
skilful pilot.Cassau, bread
made of roots.Baracou a vil-
lage in the Isle
of Iamaica.The capes of
Tiburon.The gouernour
of Iamaica taken.Malgualire a
kinde of vessel
that will saile
forward and
backward.The Cape of
S. Anthony in
Cuba.
Hauana.The chanell of
Bahama.

King Patica.

The returne of
part of Laudon-
nieres seditions
souldiers.Laudonnieres
oration to his
mutinous
souldiers.The sentence
of death.

Execution.

The continu-
ation of the
histoy.

the breake of the day about the five and twentieth of March they arrived vpon the coast of Florida: where knowing the fault which they had committed, in a kinde of mockery they counterfeited the Judges: but they played not this pranke vntill they had tippled well of the Wine which remained yet in their prize. One counterfeited the Judge, another presented my person: one other after he had heard the matter pleaded, concluded thus: Make you your causes as good as it pleaseth you, but if when you come to the fort Caroline the Captaine cause you not to be hanged, I will neuer take him for an honest man: others thought that my choler being passed, I would easily forget this matter. Their saile was no sooner descried vpon our coast, but the king of the place named Patica, dwelling eight leagues distant from our fort, and being one of our good friends, sent an Indian to aduertise me that he had descried a shippe vpon the coast, and that he thought it was one of our nation. Whereupon the brigantine oppressed with famine, came to an anchor at the mouth of the riuer of May, when at the first blush we thought they had bene shippes come from France; which gaue vs occasion of great ioy: but after I had caused her to be better viewed, I was aduertised that they were our seditious companions that were returned. Therefore I sent them word by Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant, that they should bring vp their brigantine before the fortresse: which they promised to doe. Now there was not about two leagues distance from the mouth of the riuer where they cast anchor vnto the fortresse. The next day I sent the same Captaine and Sergeant with thirty souldiers, because I saw they much delayed their coming. Then they brought them: and because certaine of them had sworne at their departure, that they would neuer come againe within the fort, I was well pleased they should keepe their oth. For this purpose I waited for them at the riuers mouth, where I made my barks to be built, and commanded my Sergeant to bring the foure chiefe authours of the mutiny on shore; whom I caused immediatly to be put in fetters: for my meaning was not to punish the rest, considering that they were suborned, and because my counsell expressly assembled for this purpose had concluded that these foure only should die, to serue for an example to the rest. In the same place I made an Oration vnto them in this maner.

MY friends, you know the cause why our king sent vs vnto this country; you know that he is our naturall Prince, whom we are bound to obey according to the comendement of God, in such sort, that we ought neither to spare our goods nor liues to do those things that concerne his seruice: ye know, or at least you cannot be ignorant, that besides this general and naturall obligation, you haue this also ioyned thereunto, that in receiuing of him reasonable pay and wages, you are bound to follow those whom he hath established ouer you to be your gouernours, and to command you in his name, hauing for this purpose giuen him an oth of fidelitie, which you cannot by any meanes reuoke for any faire apparance which you haue to doe the contrary: for this is reason, that seeing you liue vpon his charges on this condition, (this is reason I say) that you should be faithfull vnto him. Notwithstanding you haue had more regard vnto your vnbridled affections then vnto vertue, which inuited you to the obseruance of your oth, in such sort that being become contemnners of all honesty, you haue passed your bonds, and thought that all things were lawfull for you. Whereupon it is fallen out, that while you thought to escape the iustice of men, you could not auoid the iudgement of God, which as a thing by no meanes to be auoided hath led you, and in spight of you hath made you to arrive in this place, to make you confesse how true his iudgements are, and that he neuer suffereth so foule a fault to escape unpunished.

After that I had vsed vnto them these or the like speeches, following that which wee had agreed vpon in counsell, in respect of the crimes which they had committed, aswel against the kings Maiesty as against mee which was their Captaine, I commanded that they should be hanged. Seeing therefore that there was no starting hole, nor meanes at all to saue themselves from this arrest, they tooke themselves vnto their prayers: yet one of the foure, thinking to raise a mutiny among my souldiers, sayd thus vnto them: What, brethren and companions, will you suffer vs to die so shamefully? And taking the word out of his mouth, I sayd vnto him, that they were not companions of authours of sedition and rebels vnto the kings seruice. Whereupon the souldiers besought me not to hang them, but rather let them be shot thorow, & then afterward, if I thought good, their bodies might be hanged vpon certaine gibbets along the hauens mouth: which I caused presently to be put in execution. Loe here what was the end of my mutinous souldiers, without which I had alwayes liued peaceably, and enioyed the good desire which I had to make an happy and quiet voyage. But because I haue spoken of nothing but their accidentes and aduentures which happened vnto them after their departure, without making any mention of our fort, I will returne to the matters from which I digressed, to declare that which fell out after their departure.

departure. First I began to consider, to the end I might confirme and make my selfe more constant in mine affliction, that these murmurers could not ground their sedition vpon want of victuals: for from the time of our arriual, euery souldier dayly vnto this day, and besides vntill the eight and twentieth of February, had a loafe of bread weighing two and twenty ounces. Again I recounted with my selfe that all new conquests by sea or by land are ordinarily troubled with rebellions, which are easie to be raised, as well in respect of the distance of place, as in respect of the hope that the souldiers haue to make their profit, as we may be well informed both by ancient histories and also by the troubles which lately happened vnto Christopher Columbus, after his first discouery, to Francis Pizarro, & Diego de Almagro in Peru, & to Fernando Cortes. An hundred thousand other things came vnto my minde, to incourage and confirme me. My Lieutenant Origony, and my Sergeant of my band came to seeke me in the ship, where I was prisoner, and carried me from thence in a barke as soone as our rebels were departed. After I was come vnto the fort, I caused all my company that remained, to be assembled in the midst of the place before the Corps de garde, and declared vnto them the faults which they that had forsaken vs had committed, praying them to beare them in memory, to beare witnesse thereof when need should require. Fourthly I ordained new Captaines to command the troupes; and prescribed them an order, according whereunto they were to gouerne themselves from thence forward, and to enter into their watch: for the greatest part of the souldiers, of whom I had the best opinion, were gone away with them. My declaration ended, they promised mee all with one accord to obey mee most humbly, and to doe whatsoeuer I should command them, though it were to die at my feet for the Kings seruice; wherein assuredly they neuer after failed: so that I dare say, after the departure of my mutinous companions I was as well obeyed as euer was Captaine in place where he commanded. The next day after my returne vnto the fort, I assembled my men together againe, to declare vnto them that our fort was not yet finished, and that it was needfull that all of vs should put thereto our helping hands, to assure our selues against the Indians: wherein hauing willingly agreed vnto mee, they raised it all withurfes from the gate vnto the riuer which is on the West side. This done, I set my Carpenters on worke to make another barke of the same bignesse that the others were of: I commanded the Sawyers that they should prepare plancks, the Smithes to prepare yron and nails, and certaine others to make coales: so that the barke was finished in eigheteen dayes. Afterward I made another lesser then the first, the better to discover by the riuer. In this meane space the Indians visited me, and brought me dayly certaine presents, as Fish, Deere, Turki-cocks, Leopards, little Beares, and other things according to the place of their habitation. I recompensed them with certaine Hatchets, Knives, Beads of glasse, Combes, and Looking-glasse. Two Indians came vnto me one day to salute me on the behalfe of their King, whose name was Marracon, dwelling from the place of our fort some forty leagues toward the South, and tolde mee that there was one in the house of King Onahagua which was called Barbu or the bearded man, and in the house of King Mathiaca another man whose name they knew not, which was not of their nation; whereupon I conceiued that these might be some Christians. Wherefore I sent to all the kings my neighbours to pray them, that if there were any Christian dwelling in their countreys, they would finde meanes that he might be brought vnto mee, and that I would make them double recompense. They, which loue rewards, tooke so much paine, that the two men, whereof we haue spoken, were brought vnto the fort vnto me. They were naked, wearing their haire long vnto their hanches as the Satiages vse to do, and were Spaniards borne, yet so well accustomed to the fashion of the countrey, that at the first sight they found our manner of apparell strange. After that I had questioned of certaine matters with them, I caused them to be apparellled, and to cut their haire; which they would not loose, but lapped it vp in a linnen cloth, saying that they would carry it into their countrey to be a testimony of the misery that they had indured in the Indies. In the haire of one of them was found a little gold hidden, to the value of fife and twenty crownes, which he gaue vnto me. And examining them of the places where they had bene, and how they came thither, they answered me that fiftene yeeres past, three shippes, in one of which they were, were cast away ouer against a place named Calos vpon the flats which are called The Marcyres, and that the king of Calos recovered the greatest part of the riches which were in the sayd shippes, traouelling in such sort that the greatest part of the people was saued, and many women; among which number there were three or foure women married, remaining there yet, and their childzen also, with this king of Calos. I desired to learne what this king was. They answered me, that he was the goodliest and the tallest Indian of the countrey, a mighty man, a warriour, and hauing many subiects vnder his obedience. They tolde me moreouer, that he had great store of golde and siluer, so farre soorthly

Acto conque
subject to re
bellions and
mutinies.

Laudonniere set
with things in
order after his
returne out of
prison to the
fort.

Reparation of
the West side
of the fort.

King Marracon
King Onaha-
gua
King Mathiaca

Two Spaniards
brought
vnto Laudon-
niere by the
Satiages.

Calos a place
vpon the flats
called The Mar-
cyres nere the
Cape of Flo-
rida.
The King of
Calos.

that

Great quantitie
of golde and
silver.

Plates of gold
as broad as a
sawcer.

One of these
Spaniards
names was
Martin Gomes.

King Oathca-
qua of Houath-
ca.

Sarope an
Island.
Abundance
of Dates.
A root of great
price to make
bread of.

Do not forget
that the king
of Calos is
the greatest
victory among
the Floridians.

The greatest
victory among
the Floridians.

The situation
of Calos.

Cannaueral in
28 degrees.

The Floridians
great traitors
and dis-
semblers.

that in a certaine village he had a pit full thereof, which was at the least as high as a man, and as large as a cumme: all which wealth the Spaniards fully perswaded themselves that they could cause me to recouer; if I were able to march thither with an hundred shot, besides that which I might get of the common people of the countrey, which had also great store thereof. They further also aduertised me, that the women going to dance, did weare about their girdles plates of golde as broad as a sawcer, and in such number, that the weight did hinder them to dance at their ease; and that the men ware the like also. The greatest part of these riches was had, as they sayd, out of the Spanish shippes, which commonly were cast away in this straight; and the rest by the traffique which this king of Calos had with the other kings of the countrey: Finally, that he was had in great reuerence of his subiects; and that hee made them beleue that his sorceries and charmes were the causes that made the earth bring forth her fruit: and that hee might the easier perswade them that it was so, he retired himselfe once or twice a yeere to a certaine house, accompanied with two or three of his most familiar friends, where hee used certaine enchantments; and if any man intruded himselfe to goe to see what they did in this place, the king immediately caused him to be put to death. Moreover, they tolde me, that euery yeere in the time of harvest, this Savage king sacrificed one man, which was kept expressly for this purpose, and taken out of the number of the Spaniards which by tempest were cast away vpon that coast. One of these two declared vnto me, that hee had serued him a long time for a messenger; and that often times by his commandement he had visited a king named Oathcaqua, distant from Calos foure or five dayes iourney, which alwayes remained his faithfull friend: but that in the midway there was an Island situate in a great lake of fresh water, named Sarope, about five leagues in bignesse, abounding with many sorts of fruits, specially in Dates, which growe on the Palme trees, whereof they make a woonderfull traffique; yet not so great as of a kinde of root, whereof they make a kinde of meale, so good to make bread of, that it is impossible to eate better, and that for fiftene leagues about, all the countrey is fed therewith: which is the cause that the inhabitants of the Isle gaine of their neighbours great wealth and profit: for they will not depart with this root without they be well payed for it. Besides that, they are taken for the most warlike men of all that countrey, as they made good prooue when the king of Calos, hauing made alliance with Oathcaqua, was deprived of Oathcaquas daughter, which he had promised to him in marriage. He tolde me the whole matter in this sort: As Oathcaqua well accompanied with his people carried one of his daughters, exceeding beautifull, according to the colour of the countrey, vnto king Calos, to giue her vnto him for his wife, the inhabitants of this Isle aduertised of the matter, layed an ambush for him in a place where he should passe, and so behaued themselves, that Oathcaqua was discomfited, the betrothed young spouse taken, and all the damoels that accompanied her; which they caried vnto their Isle; which thing in all the Indians countrey they esteeme to be the greatest victory: for after ward they marry these virgins, and loue them aboue all measure. The Spaniard that made this relation, tolde mee that after this defeat he went to dwell with Oathcaqua, and had bene with him full eight yeeres, euén vntill the time that he was sent vnto me. The place of Calos is situate vpon a riuer which is beyond the Cape of Florida, forty or fifty leagues towards the South-west: and the dwelling of Oathcaqua is on this side the Cape toward the North, in a place which we call in the Chart Cannaueral, which is in 28 degrees. About the five and twentieth of January Paracussy Saourioia my neighbour sent me certaine presents by two of his subiects, to perswade me to loyne with him, and to make warre vpon Ouac Vrina which was my friend: and further besought me to retire certaine of my men which were with Vrina; for whom if he had not bene, he had often times set vpon him, and defeated him. He besought me heerein by diuers other kings his allies, which for three weekes or a more thence sent messengers vnto mee to this end and purpose: but I would not grant vnto them that they should make warre vpon him; yea rather contrariwise I endeoured to make them friends; whereint they condescended vnto me, so farre forth that they were content to allow of any thing that I would set downe: whereupon the two Spaniards which of long time knew well the nature of the Indians, warned me that in any case I should not trust vnto them, because that when they shewed good countenance and the best cheere vnto men, then was the time that they would surpise and betray them; and that of their nature they were the greatest traitours and most deepe dissemblers of the world. Besides I neuer trusted them but vpon good ground; as one that had discovered a thousand of their crafts and subtilties, as well by experience as by reading of the histories of late yeres. Our two barks were not so soone finished, but I sent Captaine Vasseur to discover along the coast lying toward the North, and commanded him to saile vnto a riuer, the king whereof was called Audusta, which was lord of that place, where those of the yere 1562 inhabited,

habited. I sent him two suites of apparell, with certaine hatchets, knives, and other small trifles, the better to insinuate my selfe into his friendship. And the better to win him, I sent in the barke with capitaine Vasseur a souldier called Aimon, which was one of them which returned home in the first voyage, hoping that king Audusta might remember him. But before they were imbar- ked I commanded them to make inquiry what was become of another called Rouffi, which re- mained alone in those parts when Nicolas Masson and those of the first voyage imbar- ked selues to returne into France. They vnderstood at their arriual there, that a barke passing that way had caried away the same souldier: and afterward I knew for a certainty that they were Spaniards which had caried him to Hauana. The king Audusta sent me backe my barke full of mill, with a certaine quantity of beanes, two stags, some skinnes painted after their maner, and certaine pearles of small value, because they were burnt: and sent me word that if I would dwell in his quarters, he would giue me a great countrey: and that after he had gathered his mill, he would spare me as much as I would haue. In the meane while there came vnto our fort a flocke of stocke-doues in so great number, and that for the space of seuen weeks together, that euery day wee killed with harquebush shot two hundred in the woods about our fort. After that Capitaine Vasseur was returned, I caused the two barks to be furnished againe with souldiers & mariners, and sent them to carry a present from me vnto the widow of king Hiocaia, whose dwelling was distant from our fort about twelue legues Northward. She courteously receiued our men, sent me backe my barks full of mill and acornes with certaine baskets full of the leaues of Cassine, wherewith they make their drinke. And the place where this widow dwelleth is the most plenti- full of mill that is in all the coast, and the most pleasant. It is thought that the queene is the most beautifull of all the Indians, and of whom they make most account: yea, and her subiects honour her so much, that almost continually they beare her on their shoulders, and will not suffer her to go on foot. Within a few dayes after the returne of my barks, she sent to visit me by her Hiaticui, which is as much to say, as her interpreter. Now while I thought I was furnished with victu- als vntill the time that our ships might come out of France (for feare of keeping my people idle) I sent my two barks to discouer along the riuer, and by toward the head thereof, which went so far by that they were thirtie leagues good beyond a place named Machiaqua, and there they disco- uered the entrance of a lake, vpon the one side whereof no land can be seene, according to the report of the Indians, which had oftentimes climed on the highest trees in the countrey to see land, and notwithstanding could not discerne any: which was the cause that my men went no further, but returned backe; and in comming home went to see the Island of Edelano situated in the midst of the riuer, as faire a place as any that may be seene thorow the world: for in the space of some three leagues, that it may containe in length and bredth, a man may see an exceeding rich countrey, and maruellously peopled. At the comming out of the village of Edelano to go vnto the riuers side a man must passe thorow an alley about three hundred paces long and fifty paces broad: on both sides wherof great trees are planted, the boughes whereof are tied together like an arch, and meet together so artificially that a man would thinke it were an arbour made of purpose, as faire I say, as any in all christendome, although it be altogether natural. Our men departing from this place rowed to Eneguape, then to Chilily, from thence to Patica, & lastly they came vnto Coya: where leauing their barks in a litle creeke of the riuer with men to guard them, they went to visit Vana, which receiued them very courteously: and when they departed from his house, he intreated them so earnestly, that five of my men remained with him; of which number there was one gentleman, named Grouald, which after he had abode there about two moneths, and taken great paines to discouer the countrey, with another which I had left a great while thereto that intent, came vnto me to the fort, and tolde me that he neuer saw a fairer countrey. Among other things, he repor- ted vnto me that he had seene a place named Hostaqua, and that the king thereof was so mighty, that he was able to bring three or foure thousand Sauages to the field; with whom if I would toyne and enter into league, we might be able to reduce all the rest of the inhabitants vnto our o- bedience: besides that this king knew the passages vnto the mountaine of Apalaci, which the French men desired so greatly to attaine vnto, and where the enemy of Hostaqua made his a- bode; which was easie to be subdued, if so be wee would enter into league together. This king sent me a plate of a minerall that came out of this mountaine, out of the foot whereof there run- neth a streame of golde or copper, as the Sauages thinke, out of which they dig by the sand with an hollow and drie cane of reed vntill the cane be full; afterward they shake it, and finde that there are many small graines of copper and silver among this sand: which giueth them to vnderstand, that some rich mine must needs be in the mountaine. And because the mountaine was not past five or sixe dayes iourney from our fort, lying toward the North-west, I determined alioone as our

Nicolas Masson
other while cal-
led Nicolas
Barre.

King Audusta
great humani-
ty.
Pearles burn-
ned.

Peter Martyr
writeth cap. 1.
decad. 7. that
the like flockes
of pigeons are
in the Isles of
the Lucayos.
The widow
of King Hio-
caia, or Hio-
hacara.

This queenes
name was
Nia Cubacani.

The first voya-
ge by the ri-
uer of May.

Machiaqua.
The discouery
of a mighty
lake, on the one
side whereof
no land can be
seene.
The Isle of
Edelano.

An excellent
work of na-
ture.

Eneguape;
Chilily.
Patica.
Coya.

The king of
Hostaqua or Ou-
saca able to
bring three or
foure thousand
Sauages to
the field.
The mountaine
of Apalaci.

There is a
mine of golde
or rich copper in
the mountaine
of Apalaci.

Supply

Peter Gamby.
flaine.

The village of
Edelano.
Gold & Silver.

Vcina sendeth
to Laudonniere
for his helpe.

A good note.

Three hundred
Indians.

A lake three
leagues distant
from the vil-
lage of Potan-
nou.

Iawa significeth
their Priest or
Magician.

Potanou accom-
panied with
two thousand
Indians.

The prediction
of the Magician
was found true.

supply should come out of France, to remooue our habitation vnto some riuer moze toward the North, that I might be nerer thereunto. One of my souldiers whose name was Peter Gamby, which had remained a long space befoze in this countrey to learne the languages and traffique with the Indians, at the last came to the village of Edelano, where hauing gotten together a certaine quantity of golde and silver, and purposing to returne vnto me, he prayed the king of the village to lend him a canoa (which is a vessel made of one whole piece of wood, which the Indians vse to fish withal, and to row vpon the riuers) which this lord of Edelano granted him. But being greedy of the riches which he had, he commanded two Indians, which he had charged to conduct him in the canoa, to murder him & bying him the merchandise and the gold which he had. Which the two traitours villanously executed: for they knockt him on the head with an hatchet, as he was blowing of the fire in the canoa to seethe fish. The Paracoussy Vcina sent certeine dayes afterward, to pray me to lend him a dozen or fifteene of my shot, to inuade his enemy Potanou, and sent me word, that this enemy once vanquished, he would make me passage, yea, and would conduct me vnto the mountaines in such sort, that no man should be able to hinder me. Then I assembled my men to demand their aduice, as I was wont to do in all mine enterprises. The greater part was of opinion, that I should do well to send succour vnto this Paracoussy, because it would be hard for me to discouer any further vp into the countrey without his helpe: and that the Spanyards when they were imployed in their conquests, did alwayes enter into alliance with some one king to ruine another. Notwithstanding, because I did alwayes mistrust the Indians, and that the moze after the last aduertisement that the Spanyards had giuen me, I doubted lest the small number which Vcina demanded might incurre some danger; wherefoze I sent him thirty shot vnder the charge of my Lieutenant Outigny, which stayed not about two dayes with Vcina, while he prepared victuals for his voyage, which ordinarily and according to the custome of the countrey are caried by women and yong boyes, and by hermaphrodites. Vcina setting forward with three hundred of his subiects, hauing ech of them their bowe and quiver full of arrowes, caused our thirty shot to be placed in the foreward, and made them march all the day, vntill that the night appoaching, and hauing not gone past halfe the way, they were inforced to lie all night in the woods, nere a great lake, and there to incampe themselves: they separated themselves by fire and fire, making ech of them a fire about the place where their king lay, for whose guard they ordeined a certeine number of those archers, in whom he put most confidence. As soone as day was come, the campe of the Indians marched within three leagues of Potanou: there king Vcina requested my Lieutenant to grant him foure or fife of his men to go and discouer the countrey; which departed immediately, and had not gone farre, but they perceived vpon a lake, distant about three leagues from the village of Potanou, three Indians which fished in a canoa. Now the custome is that when they fish in this lake, they haue alwayes a company of watchmen, armed with bowes and arrowes to guard the fishers. Our men being hereof aduertised by those of the company, durst not passe any further, for feare of falling into some ambush: wherefoze they returned towards Vcina, which suddenly sent them backe with a greater company to surprize the fishers, befoze they might retire and aduertise their king Potanou of the comming of his enemies. Which they could not execute so policieky, but that two of them escaped; the third also did the best he could to saue himselfe by swimming, in which meane while he was stayed with shot of arrowes, and they drew him starke dead vnto the banks side, where our Indians slayed off the skinne of his head, cut off both his armes in the high way, reseruing his haire for the triumph, which their king hoped to make for the defeat of his enemy. Vcina fearing lest Potanou aduertised by the fishers which were escaped, should put himselfe in armes to withstand him valiantly, asked counsell of his Iawa, which is as much to say in their language as his Magician, whether it were best to goe any further. Then this Magician made certeine signes, hidious and fearefull to beholde, and bled certeine words; which being ended, he sayd vnto his king, that it was not best to passe any further, and that Potanou accompanied with two thousand Indians at the least stayed in such and such a place for him, to bidde him battell: and besides this, that all the sayd Indians were furnished with cords to binde the prisoners which they made full account to take.

This relation caused Vcina to be vnwilling to passe any further: whereupon my Lieutenant being as angry as euer he might be, because hee had taken so great paines without doing of any thing of account, sayd vnto him, that hee would neuer thinke well of him nor of his people, if hee would not hazzard himselfe: and that if he would not doe it, at the least, that he would giue him a guide to conduct him and his small company to the place where the enemies were encamped. Whereupon Vcina was ashamed, and seeing the good affection of Monsieur de Outigny determined to go forward: and he failed not to finde his enemies in the very place which the Magician had

had named: where the skirmish beganne, which lasted three long houres: wherein without doubt Vrina had bene defeated; vnlesse our harquebussiers had not borne the burthen and brunt of all the battell, and slaine a great number of the souldiers of Potanou, vpon which occasion they were put to flight. Where withall Vrina being content for the present, caused his people to retire and returne homeward to the great discontentment of Monsieur de Ottigny, which desired nothing moze, then to pursue his victorie. After he was come home to his house he sent messengers to eightene or twentie villages of other kings his vassals, and summoned them to be present at the feasts and dances which he purposed to celebrate because of his victorie. In the meane while Monsieur de Ottigny refreshed himselfe for two dayes: and then taking his leaue of the Paracoussi, and leauing him twelue of his men to see that Potanou, be thinking himselfe of his late losse, should not come to burne the houses of Vrina, he set forward on his way to come vnto me vnto our Fort, where he by and told me how euery thing had passed: and withall that he had promised the twelue souldiers, that he would come backe againe to fetch them. Then the kings my neighbours all enemies to Vrina, being aduertised of the returne of my Lieutenant, came to visite me with presents and to enquire how things had passed, praying me all to receiue them into my fauour, and to become enemy to Vrina, which notwithstanding I would not grant them for my reasons that moued me.

Vrina hath 18
or 20 kings to
his Vassals.

The Indians are wont to leaue their houses and to retire themselves into the woods, the space of three moneths, to wit January, February, and March: during which time by no meanes a man can see one Indian. For when they goe on hunting, they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire themselves, liuing vpon that which they take in hunting. This was the cause that during this time, we could get no victuals by their meanes: and had it not bene that I had made good provision thereof, while my men had store, vntill the end of Aprill (which was the time when at the bettermost, we hoped to haue had succour out of France) I should haue bene greatly amazed. This hope was the cause that the souldiers tooke no great care to looke well vnto their victuals, although I deuided equally among them that which I could get abroad in the countrey, without reseruing vnto my selfe any moze then the least souldier of all the company. The moneth of May approaching and no manner of succour come out of France, we fell into extreme want of victuals, constrained to eat the rootes of the earth and certayne sorrell which we found in the fields. For although the Sauages were returned by this time vnto their villages, yet they succoured vs with nothing but certayne fish, without which assuredly wee had perished with famine. Besides they had giuen vs before the greatest part of their maiz and of their beanes for our marchandise. This famine held vs from the beginning of May vntill the middle of June. During which time the poore souldiers and handicraftsmen became as feeble as might be, and being not able to worke did nothing but goe one after another in Centinel vnto the clift of an hill, situate very neere vnto the Fort, to see if they might discouer any French ship. In fine being frustrated of their hope, they assembled altogether, & came to beseech me to take some order that they might returne into France, considering that if we let passe the season to embarke our selues, we were neuer like to see our countrey, where it could not be chosen but that some troubles were fallen out, seeing they had broken their promise made vnto vs, and that no succour was come from thence. Therupon it was consulted and resolved by all the company, that the barke Breton should be trimmed vp, whereof Capitaine Vasseur had charge. But because the ship was not bigge enough to receiue vs all, some thought good to build the Brigandine two deckes higher, which our malicious souldiers had brought backe, and that 25 men should hazard themselves to passe therein into France. The rest being better aduised said that it should be farre better to build a faire shippe vpon the keele of the Galiole which I had caused to be made, promising to labour courageously therupon. Then I enquired of my shipwrights to knowe in what space they could make this shippe readie. They assured the whole company that being furnished with all things necessarie, they would make it readie by the 8 of August. Immediately I disposed of the time to worke vpon it, I gaue charge to Monsieur de Ottigny my Lieutenant to cause timber necessary for the finishing of both the vessels to be brought, and to Monsieur de Arlac my Standard-bearer to goe with a barke a league off from the Fort to cut downe trees fit to make planks, and to cause the sawiers which he carried with him to saw them: and to my Sergeant of the company to cause fifteene or seeteene men to labour in making coales: and to Master Hance keeper of the Artillery, & to the gunner to gather store of rosent to bray the vessels: wherein he vsed such diligence, that in lesse then 3 weekes he gathered 2 hogs-heads of the same together. There remained now but the principal, which was to recouer victuals to sustaine vs while our worke endured: which I undertooke to doe with the rest of my company & the Mariners of the ship. To this end I embarked my selfe making vp

A custome of
the Indians to
leauie their
houses for 3 or
4 moneths and
to liue in the
woods.

They looke for
succour out of
France by the
end of Aprill at
the bettermost.

Extreme fa-
mine for five
weekes space.

Promise bro-
ken.

Two hogs-
heads of rosent.

the thirtieth in my great barke, to make a voyage of forty or fifty leagues, hauing with vs no prouision at all of victuals: whereby it may easily be gathered how simply those of our Fort were prouided. True it is that certaine souldiers being better husbandes then the rest, and hauing made some prouision of mast, solde a little measure thereof for fiftene and twentie sous vnto their companions. During our voyage we liued of nothing else but raspices, of a certaine round graine little and blacke, and of the rootes of palmitos which we got by the riuer sides: wherein after we had sayled a long time in vaine, I was constrained to returne to the Fort: where the souldiers beginning to be wearie of working, because of the extreme famine which did consume them, assembled themselves and declared vnto me, that seeing we could get no victuals of the Indians, it was expedient for the sauing of their liues, to seaze vpon the person of one of the Kings of the Countrey: assuring themselves that one being taken, the subiects would not suffer our men to want victuals. I made them answer that this enterprize was not rashly to be attempted: But that wee ought to haue good regarde vnto the consequence that might insue thereof. Whereupon they replied vnto me, that seeing the time was past of our succour from France, & that we were resolved to abandon the Countrey, that there was no danger to constrain the Sauages to furnish vs with victuals: which for the present I would not grant vnto them, but promised them assuredly that I would send to aduertise the Indians that they should bring me victuals for exchange of marchandise and apparell: which they also did for the space of certaine daies, during which they brought of their mast and of their fish: which these Indians being traiterous, & mischievous of nature, and knowing our exceeding strange famine, sold vs at so deere a price, that for lesse then nothing they had gotten from vs al the rest of our marchandise which remained. And which was worse, fearing to be forced by vs and seeing that they had gotten all from vs, they came no neerer to our Fort then the shot of an Harquebuz. Thither they brought their fish in their little boats, to which our poore souldiers were constrained to goe, and oftentimes (as I haue seene) to giue away the very shirts from their backs to get one fish. If at any time they shewed vnto the Sauages the excellent price which they tooke, these villaines would answer them roughly & churlishly: if thou make so great account of thy marchandise, eat it, and we will eat our fish: then fell they out a laughing and mocked vs with open throat. Whereupon our souldiers vterly impatient, were oftentimes ready to cut them in pieces, and to make them pay the price of their foolish arrogancie. Notwithstanding considering the importance hereof, Iooke paines to appease the impatient souldier: for I would not by any meanes enter into question with the Sauages, & it sufficed me to delay the time. Wherefore I deuised to send vnto Vcina to pray him to deale so farre forth with his subiects, as to succour me with mast and maiz: which he did very sparingly, sending me 12 or 15 baskets of mast, and two of pinocks, which are a kind of little greene fruits which grow among the weedes in the riuer, and are as big as cherries: yea & this was not but by giuing of them in exchange twice as much marchandise and apparell as they were worth. For the subiectes of Vcina perceived evidently the necessitie wherein we were, & began to vse the like speech vnto vs, as the others did: as it is commonly seene that neede altereth mens affections. While these things were in doing, a certain breathing space presented it selfe: for Vcina gaue me to vnderstand that there was a king his subiect whose name was Astina, which he determined to take prisoner, and to chastise him for his disobedience: that for this cause, if I would giue him aide with a certaine number of my souldiers, he would bring them to the village of Astina, where there was meanes to recouer mast and maiz. In the meane season he excused himselfe vnto me because he had sent me no more maiz, and sent me word that the little store that he had left, was scarcely sufficient for his seede-corne. Now being some what relieved, as I thought, by the hope which I had of this offer, I would not faile to send him the men which he desired of me, which neuerthelesse were very euill intreated: for he deceiued them, and in stead of leading them against Astina, he caused them to march against his other enemies. By Lieutenant which had the charge of this enterprize with Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant was determined to be reuenged of Vcina and to cut him in pieces & his people: and had it not bene that they feared to do any thing against my wil, without all doubt they would haue put their enterprize in execution. Therefore they would not passe any further without aduertising me thereof. Wherefore being come backe againe vnto the Fort, angry & pricked deeply to the quicke for being so mocked, they made their complaints vnto me, declaring vnto me that they were almost dead for hunger. They told the whole matter to the rest of the souldiers, which were very glad that they had not entered into that action, & resolved, assembling themselves againe together, to let me vnderstand that they did persist in their first deliberation, which was, to punish the boldnesse and maliciousnes of the Sauages, which they could no longer endure, & were determined to take one of their kings prisoner: which thing I was enforced to grant vnto them, to p end to auoid a greater

The vile nature of the Indians.

A cruel answer of the Sauages.

Pinocke a certaine kinde of fruit as bigge as cherries.

Astina a king.

a greater mischiefe, and the sedition which I foresaw would ensue, if I had made refusall thereof. For, sayd they, what occasion haue you to deny vs, considering the necessitie wherein we are, and the small account that they make of vs. Shall it not be lawfull for vs to punish them for the wrongs which they doe vnto vs, besides that we know apparantly how little they respect vs? Is not this sufficient although there were no necessitie at all, since they thus delude vs, and haue broken promise with vs? After I had therefore resolued with them to seaze on the person of Vcina, which besides that he had giuen vs occasion hereof, was also most able to help vs to recouer victuals, I departed with fiftie of my best souldiers all embarked in two Barkes & we arriued in the dominions of Vcina, distant from our ffort about 40 or 50 leagues: then going on shore we drew towards his village situated 6 great leagues from the riuer, where we tooke him prisoner, howbeit not without great cries and alarmes, and led him away in our barkes, hauing first signified vnto his ffather in law and his chiefe subiects, that in that I had taken him, it was not for any desire that I had to doe him any harme, but onely to relieue my necessitie and want of victuals which oppressed me, and that in case they would helpe me to some, I would find meanes to set him againe at libertie: that in the meane space I would retire my selfe into my Barkes (for I feared least they would there assemble themselves together, and that some mischiefe might thereof insue) where I would stay for him two dayes to receiue his answer: notwithstanding that my meaning was not to haue any thing without exchange of marchandise. This they promised they would doe. And in very deede the very same euening, his wife accompanied with all the women of the village came vnto the Riuer bzinke, and cryed vnto me to enter into the barke, to see her husband and her sonne, which I held both prisoners. I discovered the next day ffire or sixe hundred Indian archers, which drew neere vnto the riuer side, and came to me to signifie vnto me how that during the absence of their king, their enemy Potanou being thereof aduertised, was entred into their village, and had set all on fire. They prayed me that I would succour them: neuerthelesse in the meane while they had one part of their troope in ambush, with intent to set vpon me if I had come on land, which was easie for mee to discerne. For seeing that I refused so to doe, they greatly doubted that they were discouered, and sought by all meanes to remooue out of my minde that euill opinion which I had conceiued of them. They brought mee therefore fish in their little boates and of their meale of Maiz, they made also of their drinke which they call cassine, which they sent to Vcina and me.

Now albeif I had gotten this point of them that I held their king prisoner, yet neuerthelesse I could not get any great quantitie of victuals for the present: the reason was, because they thought that after I had drawn victuals from them, I would put their king to death. For they measured my will according to their custome, whereby they put to death all the men prisoners that they take in warre. And thus being out of all hope of his libertie, they assembled themselves in the great house, and hauing called all the people together they proposed the election of a new King, at which time the ffather in lawe of Vcina set one of the kings young sonnes vpon the Royall throne: and tooke such paynes that euery man did him homage by the maior part of the voyces. This election had like to haue bene the cause of great troubles among them. For there was a kinsman of the kings neere adioyning, which pretended a Title to the kingdome, and in deede he had gotten one part of the subiects: notwithstanding this enterprise could not take effect, forasmuch as by a common consent of the chiefe, it was consulted and concluded, that the sonne was more meete to succede the ffather then any other. Now all this while I kept Vcina with me, to whom I had giuen some of mine apparell to cloth him, as I had likewise done vnto his sonne. But his subiects which before had an opinion that I would haue killed him, being aduertised of the good entertainment which I vled towards him, sent two men which walked along the riuer, and came to visite him, and brought vs some victuals. These two men at their coming were receiued by me with all courtesie, and entertained according to the victuals which I had. While these things thus passed, there arriued from all quarters many Sauages of the countries adioyning, which came to see Vcina, and sought by all meanes to perswade me to put him to death, offering that if I would do so, they would take order that I should want no victuals. There was also a King my neighbour whose name was Saturioia, a subtil and craftie man, and one that shewed by prooffe that he was greatly practised in affaires. This King sent ordinarily messengers vnto me, to pray me to deliuer Vcina vnto him: and to win me the more easily, he sent twise seuen or eight baskets of Maiz or of Maiz, thinking by this way to allure me, & to make me come to composition with him: in the end notwithstanding when he saw he lost his time, he ceased to visite me with ambassages & victuals: & in the meane while I was not able with the same troope of victuals which I had, so well to proportion out the trauaile vpon the ships which we built to returne into

Vcina taken prisoner in his village by Laudonniere and 50 of his souldiers.

Fire of sixe hundred Indians.

The drepe disssembling of the Indians.

The Indians kill all the men prisoners that they take in warre. The election of a new king.

The hatred among the Sauage kings of Florida.

Note.

Note.

Rootes.

Esquine.

New come by
the end of
May in Flo-
rida.The village of
Enecaque.A little Greene
fruite that
groweth in the
rivers as big
as cherries.
The Ile of
Edelano.Two Carpen-
ters killed for
gathering the
Indians maiz.
The village
Achore.Nia Cubacani
a Queene.

France, but that in the end we were constrained to indure extreme famine, which continued among vs all the moneth of May: for in this latter season, neither Maiz nor Beanes, nor Hatt was to be found in the villages, because they had employed all for to sowe their fields, insomuch that we were constrained to eate rootes, which the most part of our men panned in the morters which I had brought with me to beate gunnepowder in, and the graine which came to vs from other places: some tooke the wood of Esquine, beate it, and made meale thereof, which they boyled with water, and eate it: others went with their harguebules to seeke to kill some foule. Pea this miserie was so great, that one was found that gathered vp among the filth of my house, all the fish bones that he could finde, which he dyed and beate into powder to make bread thereof. The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among vs, for our bones eftsoones beganne to cleave so neere vnto the skinne, that the most part of the souldiers had their skinnes peirced thorow with them in many partes of their bodies: in such sort that my greatest feare was, least the Indians would rise vp against vs, considering that it would haue bene very hard for vs to haue defended our selues in such extreme decay of all our forces, besides the scarcitie of all victuals, which fayled vs all at once. For the very riuer had not such plentie of fish as it was wont, and it seemed that the land and water did fight against vs. Now as we were thus vpon termes of dispayre, about the end of the moneth of May, and the beginning of June, I was aduertised by certaine Indians that were my neighbours, that in the high Countrey vp about the riuer, there was new Maiz, and that that countrey was most forward of all. This caused me to take vpon me to go thither with a certaine number of my men, and I went by the riuer to a place called Enecaque: where I met the sister of Vcina in a village where she made vs very good cheere and sent vs fish. We found that which was tolde vs to be true: for the maiz was now ripe: but by this good lucke one shewde turne happened vnto me. For the most part of my souldiers fell sicke with eating more of it then their weakened stomackes could digest. We had also bene the space of foure dayes since we departed from our Fort, without eating any thing, sauing little pinockes, and a little fish, which we got of the fishers which wee met sometimes along the riuer. And yet this was so little that certaine souldiers eate priuily little whelpes which were newly whelped. The next day I purposed to go into y^e Ile of Edelano to take the king which had caused one of my men to be slaine, as I haue mentioned before: but being aduertised of my departing out of my Fort, and of the way which I tooke vp the riuer, he feared that I went forth with a purpose to be reuenged of the euill turne which he played: so that when I came thither, I found the houses empty, for he was repyed a little before with all his people: & I could not by any meanes keepe my souldiers, being angry because they had lost one of their companions, from setting the village on fire. At my departure from thence I passed backe againe by Enecaque, where I gathered as much maiz as I could possibly: which with great diligence I conueied to our Fort to succour my poore men, which I had left in great necessitie. They therefore seeing me a farre off comming, ranne to that side of the riuer where they thought I would come on land: for hunger so pinched them to the heart, that they could not stay vntill the victuals were brought them to the Fort. And that they well shewed alldone as I was come, and that I had distributed that little maiz among them, which I had giuen to ech man, before I came out of the barke: for they eate it before they had taken it out of the hulke. But seeing my selfe in this extreme neede, I tooke paines day by day to seeke some villages where there was some food. And as I trauailed this way and that way, it happened that two of my Carpenters were killed by the two sonnes of king Emola, and by one whose name was Casti, as they went on walking to the village called Achore. The cause of this murder was, because they could not refraine themselves as they walked through the fields from gathering a little maiz, which as they were doing, they were taken in the maner: wherof I was presently aduertised by an Indian which a little before had brought me a present from Nia Cubacani Queene of a village, and neighbour to our Fort. Upon receipt of this aduertisement, I sent my Sergeant with a number of souldiers which found nothing else but the 2 dead corpes, which they buried and returned without doing any other exploit, because the inhabitants were fled away, fearing they should be punished for such a foule fact. As these things thus passed, & that by this time we had almost dyuen out the moneth of May, two subiects of king Vcina came vnto me with an Hermaphrodite, which shewed mee that by this time the maiz was ripe in the greatest part of their quarters. Whereupon Vcina signified vnto me that in case I would carrie him home to his house, he would take such good order that I should haue plentie of maiz & beanes: and withall, that the field which he had caused to be sown for me, should be referued to my vse. I consulted with my men concerning this matter, and found by the aduice of all my company, that it was best to grant him his request, saying, that he had meanes to succour vs with food sufficient

to serue our turnes for our embarkement, and that therefore I might do well to carry him home. Therefore I caused the two barks forthwith to be made readie, wherein I sailed to Patica, a place distant from his village 8 or 9 leagues, where I found no bodie, for they were gotten into the woods, and would not shew themselves, albeit Vcina shewed himselfe vnto them, for as much as they imagined that I should be constrained to let him go. But seeing no body to shew themselves, I was constrained to hazard one of my men which had bene acquainted with the state of the countrey, to whom I deliuered the young sonne of Vcina, and commanded him to goe with diligence to the village of Vcina, vnto his father in law and his wife, to aduertise them that if they would haue their king againe, they should bring me victuals vnto the side of the little riuer whither I was gone. At my mans comming euery one made much of the little childe, neither was there a man that thought not himselfe well appaied to touch him. His father in law and his wife hearing of these newes came presently towards our barks, and brought bread which they gaue vnto my souldiers, they held me there three dayes, and in the meane while did all that they could to take me: which presently I discovered, and therefore stood diligently vpon my gard. Therefore perceiving they could not haue their purpose, and that they were already discovered, they sent to aduertise me that as yet they could not helpe me to victuals, and that the corne was not yet ripe. Thus I was constrained to returne and to carry backe Vcina home, where I had much adoe to saue him from the rage of my souldiers: which perceiving the maliciousnes of the Indians, went about to haue murdered him. Howouer it seemed they were content that they had gotten the sonne, & that they cared not greatly for the father. Now my hope fayling me on this side, I deuised to send my men to the villages where I thought the maiz was by this time ripe: I went to diuers places, and continued so doing 15 daies after, when as Vcina besought me againe to send him vnto his village, assuring himselfe that his subiects would not sticke to giue me victuals: and that in case they refused so to do, he was content that I should do what I thought good with him. I undertooke this voyage the second time with the two barks furnished as before. At my comming vnto the little riuer, we found his subiects there, which failed not to come thither with some quantitie of bread, beanes, and fish, to giue my souldiers. Neuerthelesse returning againe to their former practise they sought all meanes to entrap me, hoping to cry quittance for the imprisonment of their king, if they might haue gotten the victorie of me. But after that they sawe the small meanes, which they had to annoy me, they returned to intreaties, and offered that if I would giue them their king with certaine of my souldiers, they would conduct them vnto the village, and that the subiects seeing him, would be more willing to giue vs victuals. Which thing notwithstanding I would not grant vnto them (mistrusting their subtiltie, which was not so couert, but that one might espie day at a little hole) vntill they had first giuen me two men in pledge with charge that by the next day they should bring me victuals. Which thing they granted, and gaue mee two men which I put in chaines for feare they should escape away, as I knew well they were instructed to doe. Foure dayes were spent in these conferences, at the end whereof they declared vnto me, that they could not fully and wholly performe their promise: and that the uttermost that they could doe for the present, was to cause ech subiect to bring his burthen of mill. To conclude, they were content to doe so on condition that I would send them their two pledges within ten dayes. As my Lieutenant was ready to depart, I warned him aboue all things to take heede he fell not into the Indians hands: because I knew them to be very subtil and craftie to enterprize and execute any thing to our disadvantage. He departed therefore with his troope, and came to the small riuer whereinto we were accustomed to enter to approach as neere as we could vnto the village of Vcina, being five French leagues distant from thence. There he went on shore, put his men in good array, and drew straight towards the great house that was the kings, where the chiefe men of the countrey were assembled, which caused very great store of victuals to be brought now one and then another, in doing whereof they spent notwithstanding three or foure dayes: in which meane while they gathered men together to set vpon vs in our retreat. They vied therefore many meanes to holbe vs still in breath. For one while they demanded their pledges, another while (seeing my Lieutenant would not yeeld to them, vntill such time as they had brought the victuals vnto the boats, according to the agreement passed betwene vs) they signified vnto him that the women and young children were affraide out of all measure to see fire in their matches to neere their harquebuses: and that therefore they most earnestly besought them to put them out, that they might more easily get people enough to carry the victuals, and that they for their partes would leaue their bowes and arrowes, and would be contented that their seruants should carrie them. This second request was as flatly denied them as the former: For it was an easie matter to smel out their intention. But while these things were thus in handling, Vcina by no meanes

Patica a village.

Desire of revenge rooted in the savages.

A necessarie admonition.

The Florida ans subtilties.

was to be seen, but hid and kept himselfe secret in a little house apart, where certaine chosen men of mine went to see him shewing themselves agreeued with him for the long delayes of his subiects: whereunto he answered, that his subiects were so much incensed against vs, that by no meanes possible he was able to keepe them in such obedience as he willingly would haue done, and that he could not hold them from waging of warre against Monsieur de Ottigny. That he also called to minde, that euen while he was prisoner, at what time our men ledde him into his Country to obtaine some victuals, he saw along the high wayes arrowes stucke vp, at the endes whereof long hairens were fastened, which was a certaine signe of open warre proclaimed, which arrowes the Captaine also carried with him to the fort. He said further that in respect of the good will he bare to the Captaine, he forewarned his Lieutenant that his subiects were determined to cut downe the trees, and cause them to fall a chwart the little riuer where the boates were, to keepe them from departing thence, that they might fight with them at their ease, and that if it thus fell out, he assured him for his part he would not be there to meddle in the matter. And that which much more augmented the suspicion of warre was, that as my messengers departed from Vtina, they heard the voyce of one of my men, which during the voyage had alwayes bene among the Indians, and whom as yet they would neuer render, but till they had gotten their pledges home. This poore fellow cryed out a maine because two Indians would haue carried him into the woods to haue cut his throat: whereupon he was succoured and deliuered. These admonitions being well vnderstoode, after ripe deliberation thereof Monsieur de Ottigny resolved to retire himselfe the seuen and twentieth of July. Wherefore he set his souldiers in order, and deliuered to ech of them a sacke full of mill: and afterward hee marched toward his barkes, thinking to prevent the enterprise of the Sauages. There is at the comming forth of the village a great alley about three or foure hundred paces long, which is couered on both sides with great trees. By Lieutenant disposed his men in this alley and set them in such order as they desired to march: for he was well assured that if there were any ambush, it would be at the comming out of the trees. Therefore he caused Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne to march somewhat before with 8 harquebustiers to discover whether there were any danger: besides he commanded one of my Sergeants & Corporals to march on the out side of the alley with foure harquebustiers while he himselfe conducted the rest of his company through it. Now as he suspected, so it fell out: for Monsieur de Arlac met with two or three hundred Indians at the end of the alley, which saluted him with an infinite number of their arrowes, & with such furie that it was easie to see with what desire they fought to charge vs. Howbeit they were so well sustained in the first assault which mine Ensigne gaue them, that they which fell downe dead, did somewhat abate the choler of those which remained aliu. This done my Lieutenant hastned to gaine ground in such sort as I haue already said. After he had marched about foure hundred paces, he was charged afresh with a new troope of Sauages which were in number about 300, which assailed him before, while the rest of the former set vpon him behind. This second assault was so valiantly sustained, that I may iustly say that Monsieur de Ottigny so well discharged his dutie, as was possible for a good Captaine to doe. And so it stood them vpon: for he had to deale with such kind of men, as knewe well how to fight and to obey their head which conducted them, and which knewe so well to behaue themselves in this conflict, as if Ottigny had not prevented their practise, he had bene in danger to haue bene defeated. Their maner in this fight was, that when two hundred had shot, they retyred themselves and gaue place to the rest that were behind, and all the while had their eye and foot so quicke and readie, that as soone as euer they saw the harquebuz laid to the checke, so soone were they on the ground, and eftsoone vp to answere with their bowes and to flie their way, if by chance they perceived we went about to take them: for there is nothing that they feare so much, because of our swordes and daggers. This conflict continued and lasted from nine of the clocke in the morning, vntill the night departed them. And if Ottigny had not bethought himselfe to cause his men to breake the arrowes which they found in the way, & so to deprive the Sauages of the means to beginne againe, without all doubt he should haue had very much to do: for by this meane they lacked arrowes, and so were constrained to retire themselves. During the time of the conflict they cryed and made signes that they were the Captaines and Lieutenants friends: and that they fought for none other cause but to be reuenged on the souldiers, which were their mortall enemies. By Lieutenant being come vnto his boates tooke a reuiue of his companie, and found two men wanting which were killed, of whom the one was called James Sale, and the others name was Mesureur. He found moreover 22 of them wounded, which with much adoe he caused to be brought vnto the boates. All the mill that he found among his company came but to two mens burdens, which he deuided equally among them. For as soone as the conflict began, every man was

A certaine
signe of warre.

An alley of 3
or 4 hundred
paces long.

A skirmish be-
tweene the Sa-
uages and the
French.

A second fresh
charge of Sa-
uages.

The Flozidi-
ans maner of
fight.

The Flozidi-
ans chiefe
feare.

Two flaine.

Two & twenty
wounded.

was constrained to leaue his sacke to put his hand to his weapon. In this meane while I remained at the forte, and caused euery man diligently to trauell, hoping that my Lieutenant would bring vs victuals. But seeing the time consume away, I began to suspect the truth of that which fell out, whereof I was assured immediately after at their returne. Seeing therefore mine hope frustrate on that side, I made my prayer vnto God, and thanked him of his grace which hee had shewed vnto my pooze souldiers which were escaped: Afterward I thought vpon new meanes to obtaine victuals, aswell for our returne into France, as to driue out the time vntill our embarking. I was aduertised by certaine of our company, which vsually went on hunting into the woods and through the villages, that in the village Sarauahi situated on the other side of the river, and two leagues distant from the forte, and in the village Emoloa there were fields where in the mill was very for ward, and that there was thereof in those partes in great abundance. Wherefore I caused my boates to be made ready, and sent my Sergeant thither with certaine souldiours, which vled such diligence, that wee had good store of mill. I sent also to the river which the Sauages call Iracana, named by Captaine Ribault the River of Somme, where Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant arrived with two boates and their ordnary furniture, and found there a great assembly of the Lords of the countrey, among whome was Achore the sonne of Satourioua, Apalou, and Tacadocorou, which were there assembled to make merrie: because that in this place are the fairest maids and women of all the countrey. Captaine Vasseur in my name gaue certaine small trifles to all the Lords, to the Queene, to the maids and women of the villages. Whereupon the boates were forthwith laden with mill, after they had made our men as good cheere as they could deuise. The Queene sent me two small Mats so artificially wrought as it was impossible to make better. Nowe finding our selues by this meane sufficiently furnished with victuals, we began each of vs in his place, to traualle and vse such diligence, as the desire to see our native countrey might moue vs. But because two of our Carpenters were slaine by the Indians (as heretofore I mentioned) Iohn de Hais, master Carpenter, a man very worthy of his vocation, repaired vnto me, and tolde me that by reason of want of men hee was not able to make me vp the ship against the time that he had promised me: which speech caused such a mutinie among the souldiers that very hardly he escaped killing: howbeit I appeased them aswell as I could, and determined to worke no more from thenceforth vpon the shippe, but to content our selues to repaire the Brigandine which I had. So we began to beate downe all the houses that were without the forte, and caused coles to be made of the timber thereof: likewise the souldiers beate downe the palisade which was toward the waters side, neither was I neuer able to keepe them from doing it. I had also determined to beat downe the forte before my departure and to set it on fire, for feare least some new-come guest should haue enioyed and possessed it. In the meane while there was none of vs to whom it was not an extreme grieue to leaue a countrey, wherein wee had endured so great traualles and necessities, to discouer that which we must forsake through our owne countreymens default. For if wee had bene succoured in time a place, according to the promise that was made vnto vs, the warre which was between vs and Veina, had not fallen out, neither should wee haue had occasion to offend the Indians, which with all paines in the world I entertained in good amitie, aswell with merchandise and apparel, as with promise of greater matters, and with whom I so behaued my self, that although sometimes I was constrained to take victuals in some few villages, yet I lost not the alliance of eight Kings and Lords my neighbours, which continually succoured and ayded me with whatsoever they were able to afford. For this was the principall scope of all my purposes, to winne and entertaine them, knowing how greatly their amitie might auance our enterprize, and principally while I discouered the commodities of the countrey, and sought to strengthen my selfe therein. I leaue it to your cogitation to thinke how neere it went to our hearts, to leaue a place abounding in riches (as we were thoroughly enformed thereof) in comming wherunto, and doing seruice vnto our Prince, we left our owne countrey, wiues, children, parents, and friends, and passed the perils of the sea, and were therein arrived, as in a plentifull treasure of all our hearts desire. As each of vs were much tormentted in minde with these or such like cogitations, the third of August I descried foure sayles in the sea, as I walked vpon a little hill, whereof I was exceeding well apaid: I sent immediately one of them which were with me to aduertise those of the forte thereof, which were so glad of those newes, that one would haue thought them to bee out of their wittes to see them laugh and leape for ioy. After these ships had cast anchor, we descried that they sent one of their ship boates to land: whereupon I caused one of mine to be armed with diligence, to send to meete them, and to know who they were. In the meane while fearing lest they were Spaniards, I set my souldiers in order and in readinesse, attending the returne of

Prayer and thanks vnto God for their deliuerance.

The village Sarauahi. The village Emoloa.

The river of Iracana called by Ribault the river of Somme.

Courtesie and liberaltie the best meanes to deale with the sauages. Most artificiall matters.

The beating downe of the houses without the forte, & the palisade.

The cause why the French lost Florida.

Eight kings Laudouniers friends and allies. The principall scope of planters in strange countreys. Florida a rich countrey.

Aug. 1565.

Captaine

John Hawkins
kins of English
Generall

Spelled
-A spelled

Sheepe and
poultrye carried
into Florida.

an advantage
wisely taken.

The French
mistreated that
the English
men would
plant in Flo-
rida.

Silver found
in Florida.

Note.

The great im-
portance of
this enterprize.

Captaine Vasseur and my Lieutenant, which were gone to meete them, which brought me word that they were Englishmen: and in trueth they had in their company one whose name was Martine Arinas of Diepe, which at that time was in their service, which on the behalfe of Master John Hawkins their Generall came to request mee that I would suffer them to take fresh water, whereof they stood in great neede, signifying unto me that they had bene aboue fiftene dayes on the coast to get some. Dee brought unto mee from the Generall two flagons of wine, and bread made of wheate: which greatly refreshed me, forasmuch as for seven moneths space I never tasted a drop of wine: neuertheless it was all divided among the greatest part of my souldiers. This Martine Arinas had guided the Englishmen unto our coast, where with he was acquainted: for in the yeere 1562 he came thither with me, and therefore the Generall sent him to me. Therefore after I had granted his request, hee signified the same unto the Generall, which the next day following caused one of his small shippes to enter into the riuer, and came to see me in a great ship-boate, accompanied with gentlemen honourably apparelled, yet unarmed. He sent for great store of bread and wine, to distribute thereof to every one: On my part I made him the best cheere I could possibly, and caused certaine sheepe and poultry to be killed, which vntill this present I had carefully preferred hoping to store the countrey withall. For notwithstanding all the necessities and sicknesse that happened unto me, I would not suffer so much as one chicken to be killed: by which meanes in a short time I had gathered together aboue an hundred pullets. Nowe three dayes passed, while the English Generall remained with me, during which time the Indians came in from all parts to see him, and asked me whether he were my brother: I tolde them he was so, and signified unto them, that he was come to see me and apde me with so great store of victuals, that from thence forthward I should haue no neede to take any thing of them. The bruit hereof incontinently was spread ouer ouer all the countrey, in such sort as Ambassadors came unto me from all parts, which on the behalfe of the kings their masters desired to make alliance with me: and euen they, which before sought to make warre against me, came to offer their friendship and service unto me: Whereupon I receiued them and gratified them with certaine presents. The Generall immediately vnderstood the desire & vrgent occasion which I had to returne into France: whereupon he offered to transport me and all my company home: whereunto notwithstanding I would not agree, being in doubt vpon what occasion he made so large an offer. For I knewe not how the case stood betweene the French and the English: and although hee promised me in his faith to put mee on land in France, before hee would touch in England, yet I stood in doubt least he would attempt somewhat in Florida in the name of his mistresse. Wherefore I flatly refused his offer: whereupon there arose a great mutinie among my souldiers, which sayd that I sought to destroy them all, and that the Brigandine, wherof I spake before, was not sufficient to transport them, considering the season of the yeere wherein wee were. The bruit and mutiny increased more and more: for after that the Generall was returned to his ships, he told certaine gentlemen and souldiers which went to see him, partly to make good cheere with him, hee declared, I say vnto them, that he greatly doubted that hardly we should be able to passe safely in those vessels which we had: and that in case we should enterprize the same, we should no doubt be in great jeopardy: notwithstanding, if I were so contented, he would transport part of my men in his ships, and that he would leaue me a small ship to transport the rest. The souldiers were no sooner come home, but they signified the offer vnto their companions, which incontinently consented together that in case I would not accept the same, they would embarke themselves with him and forsake mee, so that he would receiue them according to his promise. They therefore assembled themselves all together and came to seeke me in my chamber, and signified vnto me their intention, wherunto I promised to answer within one houre after. In which meane space I gathered together the principall members of my company, which after I had broken the matter with them, answered me all with one voyce, that I ought not to refuse this offer, nor contemne the occasion which presented it selfe, and that they could not thinke euill of it in France, if being forsaken, as we were, we aided our selues with such means as God had sent vs. After sundry debatinges of this matter, in conclusion I gaue mine aduise, that wee ought to deliuer him the price of the ship which he was to leaue vs, and that for my part I was content to giue him the best of my stuffe, and the silver which I had gathered in the countrey. Whereupon notwithstanding it was determined that I should keepe the silver, for feare lest the Queene of England seeing the same, should the rather be encouraged to set footing there, as before she had desired: that it was far better to carie it into France to giue encouragement vnto our Princes not to leaue off an enterprize of so great importance for our commonwealth, and that seeing wee were resolved to depart, it was farre better to giue him our Artillerie, which otherwise we should be constrained to leaue behind vs, or to hide it in the

the ground by reason of the weakenesse of our men, being not able to embarke the same. This point being thus concluded and resolved on, I went my selfe vnto the English Generall, accompanied with my Lieutenant, and Captaine Vasseur, Captaine Verdier, and Trenchant the Pilot, and my Sergeant, all men of experience in such affaires and knowing sufficiently how to vniue such a bargain. We therefore tooke a view of the ship which the Generall would sell, whom we dyed to such reason, that he was content to stand to mine owne mens iudgement, who esteemed it to be worth seuen hundred crowns, whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore I deliuered him in earnest of the summe, two bastards, two myntons, one thousand of iron, & one thousand of powder. This bargain thus made, he considered the necessity wherein we were, hauing for all our sustentance but mill and water: whereupon being moued with pittie, he offered to relieue me with 20 barrels of meale, five pipes of beanes, one hoghead of salt, and a hundred of ware to make candels. Moreover forasmuch as he sawe my souldiers goe barefoote, hee offered me besides fifty paires of shoes, which I accepted and agreed of a price with him, and gaue him a bill of mine hand for the same, for which vntill this present I am indebted to him. He did more then this: for particularly he bestowed vpon my selfe a great iarre of oyle, a iarre of vineger, a barell of Oliues, and a great quantitie of Rice, and a barell of white Biscuit. Besides he gaue diuers presents to the principall Officers of my company according to their qualities: so that I may say that we receiued as many courtellies of the Generall, as it was possible to receiue of any man liuing. Wherein doubtlesse he hath wonne the reputation of a good and charitable man, deseruing to be esteemed as much of vs all as if he had saued all our liues. Incontinent after his departure I spared no paine to ha- ken my men to make biscuits of the meale which he had left me, and to hooke my caske to take in water needfull for the voyage. A man may well thinke what diligence we vsed, in respect of the great desire we had to depart, wherein we continued so well, that the fifteenth day of August the biscuit, the greatest part of our water, & all the souldiers stuffe was brought aboard: so that from that day forward wee did nothing but stay for good windes to vniue vs into France: which had freed vs from an infinite number of mischiefes which afterward wee suffered, if they had come as we desired: but it was not Gods good pleasure, as shall appeare hereafter. Being thus in a readinesse to set sayle, we bethought our selues that it would doe well to bring certaine men and women of the countrey into France, to the end that if this voyage should be taken in hand againe they might declare vnto their Kings the greatnesse of our King, the excellencie of our Princes, the goodnesse of our Countrey, and the maner of liuing of the Frenchmen: and that they might also learne our language, to serue our turnes thereby in time to come. Wherein I tooke so good order, that I found meanes to bring away with me the goodliest persons of all the countrey, if our intentions had succeeded as I hoped they would haue done. In the meane season the Kings my neighbours came often to see and visite me: which, after that they understood that I would returne into France, demanded of mee whether I meant to returne againe or no, and whether it should be in short time. I signified vnto them that within tenne Moones (so they call their Mo- neths) I would visite them againe with such force, that I would be able to make them Conque- rours ouer all their enemies. They prayed me that I would leaue them my house, that I would forbid my souldiers to beate downe the Fort and their lodgings, and that I would leaue them a boate to adde them withall in their warre against their enemies. Which I made as though I would grant vnto them, to the end I might alwaies remaine their friend vntill my last departure.

The great hu- manity and bounty of Ma- ster Iohn Haw- kins to the French.

The departure of the English Generall.

August 15.

The Florida- ans measure their moneths by the reuolu- tions of the spoone.

The third voyage of the Frenchmen made by Captaine Iohn Ribault vnto Florida.

AS I was thus occupied in these conferences, the winde and the tide serued well to set sayle, which was the eight and twentieth of August, at which instant Cap- taine Vasseur which commanded in one of my shippes, and Captaine Verdier which was chiefe in the other, now ready to goe forth, began to descrie certaine sayles at sea, whereof they aduertised mee with diligence: whereupon I appointed to arme forth a boate in good order to goe to discerie and know what they were. I sent also to the Centinels, which I caused to be kept on a little knappe, to cause certaine men to climbe vp to the toppe of the highest trees the better to discouer them. They descried the great boate of the shippes, which as yet they could not perfectly discerne, which as farre as they could iudge, seemed to chafe my boate, which by this time was passed the barre of the riuer: so that we could not possibly iudge whether they were enemies which would haue caried her away with them: for it was too great a ken to iudge the truerth thereof. Upon this doubt I put my men in order and in

The arrival of Captaine Iohn Ribault at the Fort the 28 of August 1565.

Note.

such

False reports
of Laodonnier
to the Admiral
of France.

The danger of
backbiting.

Alcibiades bani-
shed by back-
biters.

Laodonnier
receiuing of
Captaine Ri-
bault.

such array as though they had beene enemies: and indeede I had great occasion to mistrust the same: for my boate came vnto their ship about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and sent me newes all that day long to put me out of doubt who they should be. The next day in the morning about eight or nine of the clocke I saw seuen boates (among which mine owne was one) full of souldiers enter into the riuer, hauing euery man his harquebuz and morion on his head, which marched all in battaile along the clifles where my centinels were, to whom they would make no kind of answer, notwithstanding all the demandes that were made vnto them, insomuch as one of my souldiers was constrained to bestowe a shot at them without doing hurt neuerthelesse to any of them, by reason of the distance between him and the boates. The report hereof being made vnto me, I placed each of my men in his quarter, with full deliberation to defend our selues, if they had bene enemies, as in trueth wee thought them to haue bene: likewise I caused the two small field-pieces which I had left me, to be trunimed in such sort, as if in appproching to the Fort they had not cryed that it was Captaine Ribault, I had not failed to haue discharged the same vpon them. Afterward I vnderstood that the cause why they entered in this maner, proceeded of the false reports which had bene made vnto my Lord Admirall by those which were returned into France in the first shippes. For they had put in his head, that I played the Lord and the King, and that I would hardly suffer that any other saue my selfe should enter in thither to gouerne there. Thus we see how the good name of the most honest is oftentimes assailed by such, as hauing no meanes to win themselves credit by vertuous and laudable endeours, thinke by debasing of other mens vertues to augment the feeble force of their faint courage, which neuerthelesse is one of the most notable dangers which may happen in a commonwealth, and chiefly among men of warre which are placed in gouernment. For it is very hard, yea vterly vnpossible, that in gouerning of a company of men gathered out of diuers places and sundry Nations, and namely such as we know them to be in our warres, it is, I say, vnpossible, but there will be alwayes some of euill conditions and hard to be ruled, which easily conceiue an hatred against him, which by admonitions and light corrections endeouret to reduce them to the discipline of warre. For they seeke nothing else, but for a small occasion grounded vpon a light pretext to sound into the eares of great Lords that which mischieuously they haue contriued against those, whose execution of iustice is odious vnto them. And albeit I will not place my selfe in the ranke of great and renowned Captaines, such as liued in times passed, yet we may iudge by their examples, how hurtfull backbiters haue bene vnto commonwealths. I will onely take Alcibiades for witness in the commonwealth of the Athenians, which by this meane was cast into banishment, whereupon his citizens felt the smart of an infinite number of mischiefes: insomuch as in the end they were constrained to call him home againe, and acknowledge at length the fault they had committed in forgetting his good seruices, and rather beleening a false report, then hauing had regard vnto so many notable exploits which in former time hee had atchieued. But that I loose not my selfe in digressing so farre in this my iustification, I will returne againe to my first course. Being therfore aduertised that it was Captaine Ribault, I went forth of the Fort to goe to meete him, and to do him all the honour I could by any meanes, I caused him to be welcommed with the artillery, and a gentle volley of my shot, whereunto he answered with his. Afterward being come on shore and receiued honourably with toy, I brought him to my lodging, reioycing not a little because that in this company I knew a good number of my friends, which I intreated in the best sorte that I was able, with such victuals as I could get in the countrey, and that small store which I had left me, with that which I had of the English General. Howbeit I marvelled not a little when as all of them with one voice began to vtter vnto me these or the like speeches. My Captaine, we praise God that we haue found you alieue, and chiefly because we know, that the reports which haue bene made of you, are false. These speeches mooued me in such sort, that I would needes out of hand know more, mistrusting some euill. Wherefore hauing accosted Captaine John Ribault, & going both of vs aside together out of the Fort, he signified vnto me the charge which he had, praying mee not to returne into France, but to stay with him my selfe and my company, and assured me that he would make it well thought of at home. Whereupon I replied that out of this place I would do him all seruice: that for the present I could not nor ought not accept this offer, since he was come for no other intent then to occupie the place which I before possessed, that I could haue no credite to be there commanded: that my friends would neuer like of it, and that he would hardly giue me that counsaile, if in good earnest I should demand his aduise therein. He made me answer, that he would not command me, that we should be companions, & that he would build another fortresse, & that he would leaue mine owne vnto me. This notwithstanding I fully aduertised him that I could not receiue a greater comfort then the newes which he brought me to returne into France:

and

and farther that though I should stay there, yet it must needs be that one of vs both was to command with title of the Kings Lieutenant, that this could not well agree together: that I had rather haue it cast in my teeth to be the poorest begger in the world, then to be commanded in that place, where I had endured so much to inhabite and plant there, if it were not by some great Lord or Knight of the order: and that in these respects I prayed him very hartly to deliuer me the letters which my Lord Admirall had written vnto me, which he performed.

The contents of those letters were these.

Captaine Landonniere, because some of them which are returned from Florida speake indifferently of the Countrey, the King desireth your presence, to the end, that according to your tryall, he may resolute to bestow great cost thereon, or wholly to leaue it: and therefore I send Captaine Iohn Ribault to bee gouernour there, to whom you shall deliuer whatsoever you haue in charge, and informe him of all things you haue discovered. And in a postscript of the letter was thus written. Thinke not, that whereas I send for you, it is for any euill opinion or mistrust that I haue of you, but that it is for your good and for your credit, and assure your selfe that during my life you shall find me your good Master.

Letters of the
Lord Admirall
vnto Landon-
niere.

CHASTILLON.

Now after I had long discoursed with Captaine Ribault, Captaine la Grange accosted mee, and told me of an infinite number of false reports which had bene made of mee to my great hindrance: and among other things he informed me, that my Lord Admirall tooke it very euill that I had caried a woman with mee: likewise that some bodie had tolde him that I went about to counterfeite the King, and to play the tyrant: that I was too cruell vnto the men that went with mee: that I sought to be aduanced by other meanes then by my Lord Admirall: and that I had written to many Lords of the Court, which I ought not to haue done. Whereunto I answered, that the woman was a poore chambermayd, which I had taken by in an Inne, to ouersee my household businesse, to looke to an infinite sort of diuers beasts, as sheepe and poultrie which I caried ouer with me to store the countrey withall: that it was not meete to put a man to attend this businesse: likewise, considering the length of the time that I was to abide there, mee thought it should not offend any body to take a woman with me, as well to help my souldiers in their sicknesses, as in mine owne, whereinto I fell afterward. And how necessary her seruice was for vs, ech one at that time might easily perceiue: That all my men thought so well of her, that at one instant there were fixe or seuen which did demand her of mee in mariage; as in very deepe on of them had her after our returne. Touching that which was sayd that I playd the King, these reports were made, because I would not beate with any thing which was against the duety of my charge, and the Kings seruice. Whereouer, that in such enterprises it is necessary for a Gouernour to make himselfe knownen and obeyed, for feare least euery body would become a master, perceiuing themselves far from greater forces. And that if the tale-tellers called this rigour, it rather proceeded of their disobedience, then of my nature lesse subiect to cruelty then they were to rebellion. For the two last points, that I had not written to any of the Lords of the Court but by the aduice & commandement of my Lord Admirall, which willed me at my departure to send part of such things as I should find in the countrey vnto the Lords of the Counsel: to the end that being moued by this meane, they might deale with the Queene mother for the continuance of this enterprise: that hauing bene so small time in the countrey, continually hindred with building of fortresses, and unlading of my ships, I was not able to come by any newe or rare things to send them, whereupon I thought it best to content them in the meane while with letters, vntill such time as I might haue longer space to search out the Countrey, and might recouer something to sende them: the distribution of which letters I meant not otherwise but to referre to my Lord Admirals good pleasure: that if the bearer had forgot himselfe so farre, as that he had broken the couering of the letters, and presented them himselfe for hope of gaine, it was not my commandement. And that I neuer honoured noble man so much, nor did to any man moze willing and faithfull seruice then to my Lord Admirall, nor euer sought aduancement but by his meanes. You see how things passed for this day. The next day the Indians came in from all parts, to know what people these were: to whom I signified that this was he which in the yeere 1562. arrived in this countrey, and erected the pillar which stood at the entrie of the river. Some of them knew him: for in truce he was easie to be knownen by reason of the great bearde which he ware. He receiued many presents of them which were of the villages neere adioping, among whom there were some

Accusations
against him.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

1.
Landonniere
answers there-
unto.

2.
3.
4.

5.

Five Indian
kings.

The mountains
of Apaltec
wherein are
mines of per-
fect gold,
Sieroa Pira red
metall.
Perfect gold.

Good means
to avoid the
danger of fire.

September 4.

The Spaniards
understand-
ing and sur-
prizing of the
French.

The river Seloy
of the river of
Dolphins but 8
or 10 leagues
ouer land from
the foyle: but it
is thirty dol-
phins the Cape
by sea.

Dangerous
flawes of wind
on the coast of
Florida in Sep-
tember.

King Emola.

some that he had not yet forgotten. The kings Homolaa, Serauahi, Alimacani, Mahca, and Ca-
ri came to visit him and welcome him with diuers gifts according to their manner. I aduertised
them that hee was sent thither by the king of France, to remaine there in my roome, and that I
was sent for. Then they demanded and prayed him, if it might stand with his good pleasure, to
cause the merchandise that hee had brought with him to be deliuered them, and that in fewe daies
they would bring him to the mountaines of Apaltec, whither they had promised to conduct me,
and that in case they perfozmed not their promise, that they were content to be cut in pieces. In
those mountaines, as they sayd, is found redde copper, which they call in their language Sieroa
Pira, which is as much to say as red metall, whereof I had a piece, which at the very instant I
shewed to Captaine Ribault, which caused his gold-siner to make an assay thereof, which repo-
zed vnto him that it was perfect golde. About the time of these conferences, coninnings and go-
ings of the kings of the countrey, being weakened with my former trauaile, and fallen into a
melancholy vpon the false repozes that had bene made of mee, I fell into a great continuall fe-
uer, which held me eight or nine daies: during which time Captaine Ribault caused his victuals
to be brought on shore, and bestowed the most part thereof in the house which my Lieutenant
had built about two hundred pases without the foyle: which hee did to the ende they might bee
the better defended from the weather, and likewise to the intent that the meale might bee neerer
to the bake-house, which I had built of purpose in that place, the better to auoide the danger of
the fire, as I sayd before. But loe howe oftentimes misfortune doth searce and pursue vs, euen
then when we thinke to be at rest. Ioe see what happened after that captaine Ribault had brought
vp three of his small ships into the river, which was the fourth of September. Sixe great Spa-
nish ships arrived in the rode, where four of our greatest ships remained, which cast anker, assuring
our men of good amity. They asked how the chiefe captaines of the enterprize did, & called them
all by their names and surnames. I repoze me to you if it could be other wise but these men before
they went out of Spaine must needs be informed of the enterprize & of those that were to execute
the same. About the break of day they began to make toward our men: but our men which tru-
sted them neuer a deale, had hoysed their sayles by night, being ready to cut the strings that tyed
them. Wherefore perceiuing that this making toward our men of the Spaniards was not to doe
them any pleasure, and knowing wel that their furniture was too smal to make head against them,
because that the most part of their men were on shore, they cut their cables, left their ankens, and
set sailer. The Spaniards seeing themselves discovered, sent them certaine volleys of their great
ordnance, made saile after them, and chased them all day long: but our men got way of them still
toward the sea. And the Spaniards seeing they could not reach them, by reason that the French
ships were better of saile then theirs, and also because they would not leaue the coast, turned backe
and went on shore in the river Seloy, which we call the river of Dolphins 8 or 10 leagues distant
from the place where we were. Our men therefore finding themselves better of saile then they,
followed them to descry what they did, which after they had done, they returned vnto the river of
May, where captaine Ribault having descried them, embarked himselfe in a great boat to know
what newes they had. Being at the entry of the river he met with the boat of captaine Coufers
ship, wherein there was a good number of men which made relation vnto him of all the Spaniards
doings: and how the great ship named the Trinicie had kept the sea, and that she was not retur-
ned with them. They told him mozeouer that they had seen three Spanish ships enter into the ri-
uer of Dolphins, & the other three remained in the rode; farther that they had put their souldiers,
their victuals & munition on land. After he vnderstood these newes hee returned to the foztresse,
and came to my chamber where I was sick, and there in the presence of the captaines, La Grange,
S. Marie, Origny, Visty, Yonuille, and other gentlemen, he propounded, that it was necessary for
the kings seruice, to embarke himselfe with all his forces, and with the three ships that were in
the rode to seeke the Spanish flecte, whereupon he asked our aduise. I first replied, and shewed
vnto him the consequence of such an enterprize, aduertising him among other things of the peri-
lous flawes of windes that rise on this coast, and that if it chanced that hee were driuen from the
shore, it would be very hard for him to recouer it againe, that in the meane while they which should
stay in the Foyle should be in feare and danger. The Captaines, Saint Marie, and La Grange
declared vnto him farther, that they thought it not good to put any such enterprize in execution,
that it was farre better to keepe the land, & do their best in deuour to fortifie themselves: And that
after that the Trinicie (which was the principall ship) were returned, there would be much moze
likelihood to enterprize this voyage. This notwithstanding he resolved to undertake it, and that
which moze is, after he vnderstood by king Emola, one of our neighbours which arrived vpon the
handling of these matters, that the Spaniards in great numbers were gone on shore, which had
taken

taken possession of the houses of Seloy, in the most part whereof they had placed their Negroes, which they had brought to labour, and also lodged themselves and had cast diuers trenches about them. Thus for the considerations which he had, and doubting (as he might well doe) that the Spanyards would entrappe themselves there to molest vs, and in the ende to chase vs out of the Countrey, he resolved and continued in his embarkment, caused a Proclamation to be made, that all souldiers that were under his charge should presently with their weapons embarke them, and that his two ensignes should march: which was put in execution. He came into my chamber, and prayed me to lend him my Lieutenant, mine ensigne, and my sergeant, and to let all my good souldiers, which I had, goe with him, which I denied him, because my selfe being sicke, there was no man to stay in the fort. Thereupon he answered me that I needed not to doubt at all, and that he would returne the morrow after, that in the meane space Monsieur de Lys should stay behind to looke to all things. Then I shewed unto him that he was chiefe in this Countrey, and that I for my part had no further authoritie: that therefore hee would take good aduise what hee did, for feare least some inconuenience might ensue. Then he tolde me that he could doe no lesse, then to continue this enterpryse, and that in the letter which he had receiued from my Lord Admirall, there was a postscript, which hee shewed mee written in these wordes: Capitaine Iohn Ribault, as I was enclosing vp this letter, I receiued a certaine aduice, that Don Pedro Melendes departeth from Spaine to goe to the coast of Newe France: see you that you suffer him not to encroch vpon you, no more then he would that you should encroch vpon him. You see (quoth he) the charge that I haue, and I leaue it vnto your selfe to iudge, if you could do any lesse in this case, considering the certaine aduertisement that we haue, that they are already on land, and will inuade vs. This stopped my mouth. Thus therefore confirmed or rather obstinate in this enterpryse, and hauing regard rather vnto his particular opinion then vnto the aduertisements which I had giuen him, and the inconueniences of the time whereof I had forewarned him, he embarked himselfe the eight of September, and tooke mine ensigne and eight and thirtie of my men away with him. I report mee to those that know what warres meane, if when an ensigne marcheth, any souldier that hath any courage in him will stay behind, to forsake his ensigne: Thus no man of commandement stayed behind with mee, for ech one followed him as chiefe, in whose name straight after his arriual, all cries and proclamations were made. Capitaine Grange, which liked not very well of this enterpryse, was vnto the tenth of the moneth with mee, and would not haue gone aboarde, if it had not beene for the instant requestes that Capitaine Ribault made vnto him, which staid two dayes in the robe attending vntill La Grange was come vnto him: Who being come aboarde, they set sayle altogether, and from that time forward I neuer saw them more. The very day that he departed, which was the tenth of September, there rose so great a tempest accompanied with such stormes, that the Indians themselves assured me that it was the worst weather that euer was seene on the coast: whereupon two or thre dayes after, fearing least our ships might be in some distresse, I sent for Monsieur du Lys vnto mee, to take order to assemble the rest of our people to declare vnto them what neede wee had to fortifie our selues: which was done accordingly: and then I gaue them to vnderstand the necessity and inconueniences wherein to we were like to fall, as well by the absence of our ships, as by the neerenesse of the Spanyards, at whose hands we could looke for no lesse then an open and sufficient proclaimed war, seeing they had taken land and fortified themselves so neere vnto vs. And if any misfortune were fallen vnto our men which were at Sea, we ought to make a full account with our selues that wee were to endure many great miseries, being in so small number, and so many wayes afflicted as we were. Thus euery one promised mee to take paines: and therefore considering that their proportion of victuals was small, and that so continuing, they would not be able to doe any great worke, I augmented their allowance: although that after the arriual of Capitaine Ribault my portion of victuals was allotted vnto mee as vnto a common souldier, neither was I able to giue so much as part of a bottell of wine to any man which deserued it: for I was so farre from hauing meanes to doe so, that the Capitaine himselfe tooke two of my boates, wherein the rest of the meale was, which was left me of the victuals which I caused to be made to returne into France: so that if I shoulde say that I receiued more fauour at the handes of the Englishmen beeing Strangers vnto mee, I shoulde say but a trueth. Wee beganne therefore to fortifie our selues and to repaire that which was broken downe, principally toward the water side, where I caused threescore foote of trees to be planted, to repaire the Palisado with the planks which I caused to be taken of the Shippe which I had builded. Neuerthelesse notwithstanding all our diligence and trauaile, wee were neuer able fully to repaire it by reason of the stormes, which commonly did vs so great annoy, that wee could not finish our inclosure. Perceiuing my selfe in such extremitie

A village and river both of that name.

An aduertisement of my Lord Admirall to Capitaine Ribault.

Capitaine Ribaults embarkment Sept. 8.

The tenth of September.

A mightie tempest the tenth of Sept.

Laudonniere hardly used by Ribault.

Laudonniere and his company began to fortifie themselves.

A muster of
the men left
in the fort by
Ribault.

Four score
and five left in
the fort with
Laudonniere.

The Spaniards
discovered
the 20. of
September.

The Spaniards
enter
the fort.

Francis Iean a
traitour to his
nation.
Don Pedro Melendes
captaine
of the Spaniards.

Laudonniere
escape.

I tooke a muster of the men, which captaine Ribault had left me, to see if there were any that wanted weapon: I found nine or ten of them whereof not past two or thre had euer drawn sword out of a scabbard, as I thinke. Let them which haue bene bold to say, that I had men ynough left me, so that I had meanes to defend my selfe, giue eare a litle now vnto mee, and if they haue eyes in their heads, let them see what men I had. Of the nine there were foure but yong striplings, which serued Captaine Ribault and kept his dogs, the fift was a cooke: among those that were without the fort, and which were of the foresaid company of Captaine Ribault, there was a Carpenter of threescore yeres olde, one a Beere-brewer, one olde Trosse-bow maker, two Shoemakers, and foure or fife men that had their wiues, a player on the Virginals, two seruants of Monsieur du Lys, one of Monsieur de Beauhaire, one of Monsieur de la Grange, and about foure score and fife or sixe in all, counting as well Lackeys as women and chyldren. Behold the goodly troupe so sufficient to defend themselves, and so couragious as they haue esteemed them to be: and for my part I leaue it to others consideration to imagine whether Captaine Ribault woulde haue left them with me to haue borrowed my men, if they had bene such. Those that were left me of mine owne company were about sixteene or seuentene that coulde beare armes, and all of them pooze and leane: the rest were sicke and maymed in the conflict which my Lieutenant had against Vcina. This view being thus taken, wee set our watches, whereof wee made two Centinels, that the souldiers might haue one night free. Then wee bethought our selues of those which might bee most sufficient, among whome wee chose two, one of whom was named Monsieur Saint Cler, and the other Monsieur de la Vigne, to whom we deliuered candles and Lanterns to goe round about the fort to viewe the watch, because of the foule and foggie weather. I deliuered them also a sandglasse or clocke, that the Centinels might not be troubled more one then another. In the meane while I ceased not, for all the foule weather nor my sicknesse which I had, to ouersee the Corps de garde. The night betweene the nineteenth and twentieth of September La Vigne kept watch with his company, wherein he vled all endeuour, although it rayned without ceasing. When the day was therfore come, and that hee saw that it rayned still worse then it did before, hee pitied the Centinels so too moyled and wette: and thinking the Spaniards woulde not haue come in such a strange time, hee let them depart, and to say the trueth, hee went himselfe vnto his lodging. In the meane while one which had something to doe without the fort, and my trumpet which went by vnto the rampart perceived a troupe of Spaniards which came downe from a litle knappe. Where incontinently they beganne to cry alarme, and the Trumpetter also: Which alioone as euer I vnderstoode, forthwith I issued out, with my target and sword in my hand, and gatte mee into the midst of the Court, where I beganne to crie vpon my souldiers. Some of them which were of the forward fort went toward the breach, which was on the Southside, and where the munitions of the artillerie lay, where they were repulsed and slaine. By the selfe same place two ensignes entred, which immediately were planted on the wals. Two other ensignes also entred on the other side toward the West, where there was another breach: and those which were lodged in this quarter, & which shewed themselves, were likewise defeated. As I went to succour them which were defending the breach on the southwest side, I encountered by chance a great company of Spaniards, which had already repulsed our men and were now entred, which draue me backe vnto the court of the fort: being there I espied with them one called Francis Iean, which was one of the Hariners which stole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spaniards thither. Alioone as he sawe me, he began to say, This is the Captaine. This troupe was led by a captaine whose name, as I thinke, was Don Pedro Melendes: these made certain pushes at me with their pikes which lighted on my tarker. But perceiuing that I was not able to withstand so great a company, and that the court was already worne, and their ensignes planted on the ramparts, & that I had neuer a man about me, sauing one only whose name was Bartholomew, I entred into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me, and had it not bene for a tent that was set vp. I had bin taken: but the Spaniards which followed me were occupied in cutting of the cordes of the tent, and in the meane while I saued my selfe by the breach which was on the West side neere vnto my Lieutenants lodging, and gace away into the woods: where I found certain of my men which were escaped, of which number there were three or foure which were sore hurt. Then spake I thus vnto them: Sirs, since it hath pleased God that this mischance is happened vnto vs, we must needs take the paines to get ouer the marshes vnto the ships which are at the mouth of the riuer. Some would needs go to a litle village which was in the woods, the rest followed me through the reedes in the water, where being able to go no farther by reason of my sicknesse which I had, I sent two of my men which were with me, which could swim well, vnto the ships, to aduertise them of that which had happened, and to send them

word to come and helpe me. They were not able that day to get vnto the ships to certifie them thereof: so I was constrained to stand in the water vnto the shoulders all that night long, with one of my men which would neuer forsake me. The next day morning, being scarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betooke me to my prayers with the souldier which was with mee, whose name was Iohn du Chemin: for I felt my selfe so feeble, that I was afraid I should die suddenly: and in truth if he had not embraced me in both his armes, and so held me vp, it had not bene possible to saue me. After we had made an ende of our prayers, I heard a voyce, which in my iudgement was one of theirs which I had sent, which were ouer against the ships and called for the ship boat, which was so in deed: and because those of the ships had vnderstanding of the taking of the fort by one called Iohn de Hais, master Carpenter, which fled vnto them in a shallop, they had set saile to run along the coast to see if they might saue any: wherein doubtlesse they did very well their endeavour. They went straight to the place where the two men were which I had sent, and which called them. As soone as they had receiued them in and vnder stood where I was, they came and found me in a pitifull case. Five or sixe of them tooke me and caried me into the shallop: for I was not able by any means to go one foot. After I was brought into the shallop some of the Mariners took their clothes from their backs to lend them me, and would haue caried me presently to their ships to giue me a little Aqua vita. Howbeit I would not goe thither, vntill I had first gone with the boat along the reeds, to seeke out the poore soules which were scattered abroad, where we gathered vp 18 or 20 of them. The last that I took in was the nephew of the Treasurer le Beau. After we were all come to the ships, I comforted them as well as I could, and sent back the boat againe with speed to see if they could find yet any more. Upon her returne, the Mariners told mee how that captaine James Ribault which was in his ship about two muskets shot distant from the fort, had parled with the Spaniards, and that Francis Iean came vnto his ship, where hee staid a long space, whereat they greatly maruelled, considering hee was the cause of this enterprise, how hee would let him escape. After I was come into the ship called the Greyhound, captaine James Ribault & captaine Valuer came to see me: and there we concluded to returne into France. Now forasmuch as I found the ship vnfurnished of Captaine, Pilot, Master, and Masters-mate, I gaue aduice to choose out one of the most able men among al the mariners, & that by their owne voices. I tooke also sixe men out of another small ship, which we had sunke because it wanted ballast and could not be saued. Thus I increased the furniture of the ship wherein I was my selfe embarked, and made one, which had bene Masters-mate in the foresaid small ship, Master of mine. And because I lacked a pilot, I prayed James Ribault that he would grant me one of the foure men that he had in his ship, which I should name vnto him, to serue me for a Pilot: he promised to giue me them, which neuertheless he did not at the instant when wee were ready to depart, notwithstanding all the speech I vsed to him, in declaring that it was for the kings seruice. I was constrained to leaue the ship behind me which I had bought of the English Captaine, because I wanted men to bring her away. For captaine James Ribault had taken away her furniture: I tooke away her ordnance onely, which was all dismounted, whereof I gaue nine pieces to James Ribault to carrie into France, the other sixe I put into my ship. The 23 of September wee set saile to returne into France, and Captaine James Ribault and I kept company all that day and the next vntill three or foure a clock in the afternoone: but because his ship was better at bowline then ours, he kept him to the wind and left vs the same day. Thus we continued our voyage, wherein we had marvellous flawses of wind. And about the eight and twentieth of October in the morning at the breake of the day we descried the Isle of Flores, one of the Açores, where immediately vpon our approaching to the land we had a mightie gust of wind which came from the North-east, which caused vs to beare against it foure dayes: after ward the wind came South and Southeast, and was alwayes variable. In all the time of our passage we had none other foode saving biscuit and water. About the tenth or eleuenth of Nouember, after we had sailed a long time, and supposing we were not farre from land, I caused my men to sound, where they found threescore and fiftene fathoms water, whereat we all reioyced, and praised God because we had sailed so prosperously. Immediately after I caused them to set saile again and so we continued our way: but forasmuch as we had borne too much toward the North-east we entred into Saint Georges chanell, a place much feared of all Sailers, and where as many ships are cast away: But it was a faire gift of God that we entred in it when the weather was cleare. We sailed all the night, supposing wee had bene shot into the narrow Sea betwene England and France, and by the next day to reach Diepe, but we were deceiued of our longing: for about two or three of the clocke after midnight as I walked vpon the hatches, I descried land round about me, whereat wee were astonished. Immediately I caused them to strike saile and sound: we found we had not vnder vs past 8 fathoms of water, whereupon

Iohn du Chemin
a faithfull
seruant.

The diligence
of the Mar-
iners to saue
them that
escaped out of
the fort.

Among these
was Iacques
Morgues painter
former time
living in the
Black-fryers in
London.
Francis Iean
cause of this
enterprise.

The bad bea-
ring of Iames
Ribault.

Our returne
into France the
25. of Sep-
tember 1565.

October 28.

Nouember 10

The chanell of
Saint George.

Laudonnieres
arrivall in
Swanley Bay
in Glamorgan
shire in South-
Wales.

The courtlesse
of oure Master
Morgan.

Briftoll.
London.
Monsieur de
Foix Ambaf-
sador for the
French king
in England.
The conclus-
ion.

The causes
why the
French lost
Florida.

The French
fleete cast a-
way on the
coast of Florida.

I commanded them to stay till breake of day: which being come, and seeing my Mariners told me that they knew not this land, I commanded them to approach unto it. Being neere thereunto I made them cast anchor, & sent the boat on shore to understand in what Countrey we were. Word was brought me that we were in Wales a prouince of England. I went incontinently on land, where after I had taken the appze, a sickenesse tooke mee whereof I thought I should haue dyed. In the meane while I caused the ship to be brought into the bay of a small towne called Swansey, where I found merchants of S. Malo, which lent me money, wherewith I made certaine apparel for my selfe and part of my company that was with me: and because there were no victuals in the ship, I bought two Dren, and salted them, and a tunne of Beere, which I deliuered into his hands which had charge of the ship, praying him to cary it into France, which he promised me to doe: for mine owne part I purposed with my men to passe by land, and after I had taken leaue of my Mariners, I departed from Swansey, and came that night with my company to a place called Morgan, where the Lord of the place, vnderstanding what I was, stayed me with him for the space of 6 or 7 dayes, and at my departure indoued with pitie to see me goe on foot, especially being so weake as I was, gaue me a litle Hackny. Thus I passed on my iourney first to Briftoll, & then to London, where I went to doe my duty to Monsieur de Foix, which for the present was the kings Ambassador, and holpe me with mony in my necessitie. From thence I passed to Caleis, afterward to Paris, where I was informed that the king was gone to Molins to sojourne there: incontinently, & with all the hast I could possibly make, I gate me thither with part of my company. Thus briefly you see the discourse of all that happened in New France since the time it pleased the kings Maiesty to send his subiects thither to discouer those parts. The indifferent and vnpassionate readers may easily weigh the truth of my doings, and be vpright iudges of the endeour which I there vsed. For mine owne part I wil not accuse nor excuse any: it sufficeth mee to haue followed the truth of the history, whereof many are able to beare witnesse, which were there present. I will plainly say one thing, That the long delay that Captaine *John Ribault* vsed in his embarking, and the 15. daies that he spent in rouing along the coast of Florida, before he came to our fort Caroline, were the cause of the losse that we sustained. For he discovered the coast the 14 of August, and spent the time in going from riuer to riuer, which had bene sufficient for him to haue discharged his ships in, and for me to haue embarked my selfe to returne into France. I wote well that al that he did was vpon a good intent: yet in mine opinion he should haue had more regard vnto his charge, then to the deuities of his owne braine, which sometimes hee printed in his head so deeply, that it was very hard to put them out: which also turned to his vtter vndoing: for hee was no sooner departed from vs, but a tempest tooke him, which in fine wrackt him vpon the coast, where all his shippes were cast away, and he with much adoe escaped by swimming, to fall into their hands which cruelly massacred him and all his company.

The fourth voyage of the Frenchmen into Florida, vnder the conduct of Captaine *Gourgues*, in the yeere, 1567.



Captaine *Gourgues* a Gentleman borne in the Countrey neere vnto Bourdeaux incited with a desire of reuenge, to repaire the honour of his nation, borrowed of his friends and sold part of his owne goods to set forth and furnish three ships of indifferent burthen with all things necessary, hauing in them an hundred and fiftie souldiers, and fourescore chosen Mariners vnder Captaine *Cazenoue* his lieutenant, and Francis Bourdelois Master ouer the Mariners. He set forth the 22 of August 1567. And hauing endured contrary winds and stormes for a season, at length hee arriued and went on shore in the Isle of Cuba. From thence he passed to the Cape of Saint Antony at the end of the Isle of Cuba, about two hundred leagues distant from Florida, where the captaine disclosed vnto them his intention which hitherto he had concealed from them, praying and exhorting them not to leaue him being so neere the enemy, so well furnished, and in such a cause: which they all sware vnto him, and that with such courage that they would not stay the full moone to passe the channell of Bahama, but speedily discovered Florida, where the Spanyards saluted them with two Canon shot from their fort, supposing that they had bene of their nation, and *Gourgues* saluted them againe to entertaine them in this errour, that hee might surpriue them at more aduantage, yet failing by them, & making as though he went to some other place vntill he had sailed out of sight of the place, so that about euening, hee landed 15 leagues from the fort, at the mouth of the Riuer Tacatacouru, which the Frenchmen called Seine, because they thought it to bee like Seine in France. Afterward perceiuing the shore to bee couered with Sauages with

The channell of
Bahama be-
twene Florida
and the Isles
of Lucayos.

The French-
mens landing
at the Riuer
Tacatacouru.

with their bowes and arrowes, (besides the signe of peace and amitie which he made them from his ships) he sent his Trumpetter, to assure them, that they were come thither for none other end but to renew the amitie and ancient league of the French with them. The Trumpetter did his message so well (by reason he had bene there before under Laudonniere) that he brought backe from king Satourioua, the greatest of all the other kings, a kisse and other meat to refresh vs, besides the offer of his friendship and amitie. Afterward they ret red danling in signe of ioy, to aduertise all the kings Satouriouaes kinsmen to repaire thither the next day to make a league of amitie with the Frenchmen. Thereupon in the meane space our generall went about to sound the chanel of the riuer to bring in his ships, and the better to traffike and deale with the Sauages, of whom the chiefe the next day in the morning presented themselves, namely the great king Satourioua, Tacatourou, Halinacanir, Athore, Harpaha, Helmacapé, Helicopilé, Molloua, and others his kinsmen and allies, with their accustomed weapons. Then sent they to increate the French general to come on shoze, which he caused his men to do with their swords and hargue bures, which he made them leaue behind them, in token of mutuall assurance, leauing his men but their swords only, after that the Sauages complaining there of had left and likewise sent away their weapons at the request of Gourgues. This done Satourioua going to meet him, caused him to sit on his right hand in a seat of wood of lenticque couered with mosse made of purpose like vnto his owne. Then two of the eldest of the company pulled vp the brambles & other weeds which were before them, and after they had made the place very cleane, they all sat round about them on the ground. Afterward Gourgues being about to speake, Satourioua preuented him, declaring at large vnto him the incredible wrongs, and continuall outrages that all the Sauages, their wiues and children had receiued of the Spanyards since their coming into the Countrey and massacring of the Frenchmen, with their continuall desire if we would assist them throughly to reuenge so shamefull a treason, as well as their owne particular griefes, for the firme good will they alwayes had borne vnto the Frenchmen. Thereupon Gourgues giuing them his faith, and making a league betweene them and him with an othe gaue them certaine presents of daggers, knives, looking glasses, hatchets, rings, belles, and such other things, besides vnto vs, but precious vnto these kings: which moreouer, seeing his great liberality, demanded eche one a shirt of him to weare onely on their festiuall dayes, and to be buried in at their death. Which things after that they had receiued, and Satourioua had giuen in recompense to Captaine Gourgues two chaines of siluer graines which hung about his necke, and eche of the kings certaine drete skimmes dyessed after their manner, they retired themselves danling and very forond, with promise to keep all things secret, and to bring vnto the sayd place good companies of their subjects all well armed to be auenged throughly on the Spanyards. In the meane space Gourgues very narrowly examined Peter de Bré bozine in Newhauen, which being but a yong stripling escaped out of the fort into the woods while the Spanyards murdered the rest of the French, & was afterward brought vp with Satourioua, which at that time belloved him on our generall, whose aduise stood him in great steade: Thereupon he sent to discouer the fort and the estate of the enemies by certaine of his men, being guided by Oloracara Satouriouaes nephew which hee had giuen him for this purpose and for assurance of Estampes a gentleman of Cominges, and others which he sent to discry the state of the enemies. Moreouer he gaue him a somme of his starke naked as all of them are, and his wife which he loued best of all the rest, of eightene yeeres olde, apparelled with the mosse of trees, which for 3 dayes space were in the ships, until our men returned from discrying the state of the enemy, and the kings had furnished their preparation at their rende-vous. Their marching being concluded, and the Sauages rende-vous being appointed them beyond the riuer Salinacani, of our men called Somme, they all dranke with great solemnitie their drinke called Cassine, made of the iuice of certaine hearbs (as they are wont to do, when they go to any place of danger,) which hath such force, that it taketh from them hunger and thirst for 24 houres, and Gourgues was faine to make as though he drank thereof for company. Afterward they lift up their handes and sware all that they would neuer forsake him. Olorocara followed him with pike in hand. Being all met at the riuer of Sarauahi, not without great trouble, by reason of the raine and places full of water which they must needs passe, which hindred their passage, they were distressed with famine finding nothing by the way to eat, their Bark of prouision being not arrived, which was to come vnto him from the ships, the ouersight and charge whereof he had left vnto Burdelois with the rest of the Mariners. Now he had learned that the Spanyards were foure hundred strong, deuided into three forts builded and flanked, and well fortified vpon the riuer of May, the great fort especially beguine by the French, and after ward repaired by them: vpon the most dangerous and principall landing place whereof, two leagues lower and neerer towarde the Riuer's mouth,

Eight sauage kings.

The kings seate.

Complaints of the Sauages against the Spanyards.

Two chaines of siluer giuen to Gourgues.

Peter de Bré had liued about two yeeres with Satourioua.

Three pledges deliuered to Gourgues by Satourioua.

The riuer of Salinacani, called Somme by the French.

The riuer of Sarauahi.

The estate of the Spanyards in Florida.

The river of
Saracary, or Sa-
rauhah.

The assault
and taking of
the first fort.

The hallice of
Olotocara.

The assault
and taking of
the second fort.

The Sauvages
great swim-
mers.

The Spaniards of the sea
could not swim
all.

Note.

A notable
Spaniard sub-
sile.

they had made two smaller Forts, which were defended, the river passing betweene them, with five score souldiers, good store of artillery and other munition, which they had in the same. From Saracary unto these small forts was two leagues space, which he found very painful, because of the bad waies and continual raines. Afterward he departed from the river Caracouru with 10, shor, to view the first fort, and to assault it the next day in the morning by the breake of day, which hee could not doe, because of the foule weather, and darknesse of the night. King Helicopile seeing him out of quiet in that he had failed of his purpose there, assured him to guide him a more easie way, though it were farther about. Insomuch as leading him through the woods, he brought him within sight of the fort, where he discerned one quarter which was but begun to bee entrenched. Thus after he had sounded the small river that falleth downe thereby, hee stayed untill ten of the clock in the morning for an ebbe water, that his men might passe over there, unto a place where he had scene a litle groue between the river & the fort (that he might not be scene to passe and set his souldiers in array) causing them to fasten their flasks to their Hozions, & to hold up their swords and kalivers in their hands, for feare least the water, which reached up to their girdles, should not wet them: where they found such abundance of great oysters, and shels which were so sharpe, that many had their legs cut with them, and many others lost their shoes. Notwithstanding alldone as they were passed over, with a French courage they prepared themselves to the assault on the Sundaye next after Easter day, in Aprill 1568. Insomuch that Gourgues to employ the ardent heat of this good affection, gaue twenty shot to his Lieutenant Cazenoue, and ten Mariners laden with pots and balles of wild fire to burne the gate: and then he assaulted the Fort on another side, after he had made a short speech unto his men of the strange treasons which the Spaniards had plaid their companions. But being discried as they came holding downe their heads within two hundred paces from the Fort, the Gunner being upon the terrace of the Fort, after he had cried, Arme, Arme, these be French men, discharged twise upon them a coluerine, wheron the Armes of France were grauen, which had bin taken from Laudonniere. But as he went about to charge it the third time, Olotocara, which had not learned to keepe his ranke, or rather moued with rage, leapt on the platforme, and thrust him through the bodie with his pike and slew him. Whereupon Gourgues aduanced forward, and after he had heard Cazenoue cry, that the Spaniards which issued out armed at the cry of the alarme, were fled, hee drew to that part, and so hemmed them in betweene him and his Lieutenant, that of threescore there escaped not a man, sauing only fiftene reserved unto the same death which they had put the French unto. The Spaniards of the other fort in the meanwhile ceased not to play with their ordinance, which much annoied the assailants: although to answer them they had by this placed and oftentimes pointed the foure pieces found in the first fort. Whereupon Gourgues being accompanied with fourescore shot went aboard the barke which met him there to good purpose to passe into the wood neere unto the Fort, out of which he supposed the Spaniards would issue to saue themselves through the benefit of the woods in the great fort, which was not past one league distant from y^e same. Afterward the Sauvages not staying for the returne of the bark, leapt al into the water holding up their bowes & arrowes in one hand, & swimming with the other, so that the Spaniards seeing both y^e Hozes couered with so great a number of men, thought to flee towards the woods: but being charged by the French, and afterward repulled by the Sauvages, toward wh^o they would haue retired, they were sooner then they would bereft of their liues. To conclude they al there ended their dayes sauing 15 of those which were reserved to be executed for the example of others. Whereupon Captaine Gourgues hauing caused al that he found in the second fort to be transported unto the first, where he ment to strengthen himselfe to take resolution against the great Fort, the state whereof hee did not vnderstand: in fine a Sergeant of a band one of the prisoners assured him that they might be there very neere 300 well furnished vnder a braue Gouvernor, which had fortified there, attending farther succours. Thus hauing obtained of him the platforme, the height, the fortification and passages vnto it, and hauing prepared eight good lathers, and raised all the Countrey against the Spaniard, that he neither might haue newes, nor succours, nor retract on any side, he determined to march forward. In the meane while the Gouverneur sent a Spaniard disguised like a Sauage to spie out the state of the French. And though he were discovered by Olotocara, yet he vfed all the cunning he could possibly to perswade them that he was one of the second fort, out of which hauing escaped, and seeing none but Sauvages on euery side, he hoped more in y^e Frenchmens then their mercy, vnto whom he came to yeild himselfe disguised like a Sauage, for feare lest if he should haue bin knowne, he should haue bin massacred by those Barbarians: but the spie being brought face to face with the sergeant of the the band, & conuicted to be one of the great fort, was reserved vntill an other time: after that he had assured Gourgues that the truth was that he had 2000 Frenchmen with him for feare

fear of whom the 200 and threescore Spaniards which remained in the great fort, were greatly astonished. Whereupon Gourgues being resolved to set upon them, while they were thus amazed, and leaving his Standard-bearer and a Captaine with fifteene shot to keepe the fort, and the entry of the River, he caused the Sauages to depart by night to lye in ambush within the woods on both sides of the river, then he departed in the Morning, leaving the Sergeant and the spy fast bound along with him, to shew him that in deede, which they had only made him understand before in paynting. As they marched Olotocara a resolute Sauage which neuer left the Captaine, said vnto him, that he had serued him faithfully, and done whatsoever hee had commaunded him, that he was assured to dye in the conflict at the great Fort, wherein neuertheless he would not faile, though it were to saue his life: but he prayed him to giue that vnto his wife, if hee escaped not, which he had meant to bestow on him, that she might bury the same with him, that thereby hee might be better welcome vnto the village of the soules or spirits departed. To whom Captaine Gourgues answered, after he had commended his faithfull valour, the loue toward his wife, and his noble care of immortall honour, that he desired rather to honour him alive then dead, and that by Gods helpe he would bring him home againe with victorie. After the discouerie of the fort, the Spaniards were no niggards of their Canon shotte, nor of two double Coluerines, which being mounted vpon a Bulwarke, commaunded all along the River, which made captaine Gourgues to get to the hill couered with wood, at the foot whereof the fort beginneth, and the Forrest of wood continueth and stretcheth forth beyond it: so that he had sufficient couerture to approach thereunto without offence. He purposed also to remaine there vntill the Morning, wherein hee was resolved to assault the Spaniards by scaling their walles on the side toward the hill, where the Trench seemed not sufficiently flanked for the defence of the courtains, and from whence part of his men might draw them that were besieged, which should shew themselves to defend the rampart while the rest were coming by. But the Gouverneur hastened his unhappy destinie, causing threescore shotte to sallie forth, which passing through the Trenches, aduanced forward to describe the number and valour of the French, whereof twentie vnder the conduct of Cazenoue, getting betweene the fort and them which now were issued forth, cut off their repassage, while Gourgues commanded the rest to charge them in the front, but not to discharge but neere at hand, and so that they might be sure to hitte them, that afterward with more ease they might cut them in pieces with their swords. So that turning their backs as soone as they were charged, and compassed in by his Lieutenant, they remayned all slaine vpon the place. Whereat the rest that were besieged were so astonished, that they knew none other meane to saue their liues, but by fleeing into the Wooddes adioynning, where neuertheless being incountred againe by the arrows of the Sauages which lay in wayte there for them (whereof one ranne through the target and body of a Spaniard, which therewithall fell downe starke dead) some were constrained to turne backe, choosing rather to dye by the hand of the French, which pursued them: assuring themselves, that none of them could finde any fauour neyther with the one nor the other Nation, whom they had alike and so out of measure cruelly intreated, sauing those which were reserved to be an example for the time to come. The fort when it was taken, was found well provided of all necessities: namely of five double Coluerines, and foure Spynions, with diuers other small pieces of all sorts, and eightene grosse cakes of gunnepowder, all sorts of weapons, which Gourgues caused with speede to be imbarked, sauing the powder and other moueables, by reason it was all consumed with fire through the negligence of a Sauage, which in seeking of his fish, set fire on a traine of powder which was made and hidde by the Spaniards, to haue sealed the French at the first assault, thus blowing vp the store house, and the other houses buylt of pine trees. The rest of the Spaniards being led away prisoners with the others, after that the General had shewed them the wrong which they had done without occasion to all the French Nation, were all hanged on the boughs of the same trees, whereon the French hung: of which number five were hanged by one Spaniard, which perceiving himselfe in the like miserable estate, confessed his fault, and the iust iudgement which God had brought vpon him. But in stead of the writing which Pedro Melendes had hanged ouer them, importing these wordes in Spanissh, I doe not this as vnto French men, but as vnto Lutherans, Gourgues caused to be imprinted with a searing iron in a table of firrewood, I doe not this as vnto Spaniards, nor as vnto Mariners, but as vnto Traitors, Robbers, and Murtherers. Afterward considering he had not men inough to keepe his forts which he had wonne, much lesse to store them, fearing also lest the Spaniard which hath Dominions neere adioynning should renew his forces, or the Sauages should preuaile against the French men, vntill his Maiestie would send thither, hee resolved to raze them. And in deede, after he had assembled, and in the ende perswaded all the Sauage kings so to doe, they

The cause why the Floridians bury their goods with them.

Note.

The slaughter of the Spaniards of the third fort.

The taking of the third fort.

The writings hanged ouer the French and Spaniards slaine in Florida.

The three
Ports razed.

Great honour
done by the
Savages to
Gourgues.

Business in
great estima-
tion.

The third of
May.

The arrivall
of Gourgues at
Rochel, the first
of June.

Che-de-Bois.

The birth, life
and death of
captaine Gour-
gues.

caused their subiects to runne thither with such affection, that they ouerthrew all the three Ports flatte euery with the ground in one day. This done by Gourgues, that hee might returne to his Shippes which were left in the Riuer of Seyne called Tacatacourou, fiftene leagues distant from thence, he sent Cazenoue and the artillery by water: afterward with fourescore barquebu- siers, armed with coxlets, and matches light, followed with fortie Hariners bearing pikes, by reason of the small confidence he was to haue in so many Sauages, he marched by land alwayes in battell ray, finding the wayes couered with Sauages, which came to honour him with presents and prayles, as the deliuerer of all the countreys round about adioyning. An old woman among the rest sayd vnto him, that now she cared not any more to dye, since she had seene the Frenchmen once againe in Florida, and the Spaniards chased out. Briefly being arrived, and finding his ships set in order, and euery thing ready to set sayle, hee counselled the kings to continue in the amitie and ancient league which they had made with the king of France, which would defend them against all Nations: which they all promised, shedding teares because of his departure, Olocora especially: for appealing of whom he promised them to returne within twelue Moones, (so they count the peeres) and that his king would send them an army, and store of kniues for presents, and all other things necessary. So that after he had taken his leaue of them, and assembled his men, he thanked God of all his successe since his setting forth, and prayed to him for an happy re- turne. The third of May 1568, all things were made ready, the Rendez-vous appoynted, and the Ankers weighed to set sayle so prosperously, that in seuentene dayes they ranne cleuen hundred leagues: continuing which course they arrived at Rochel the first of June, the foure and thirtieth day after their departure from the Riuer of May, hauing lost but a small Pinnesse and eight men in it, with a few gentlemen and others which were slaine in the assaulting of the Ports. After the cheere and good entertainment which he receiued of those of Rochel, hee sayled to Bordeaux to informe Monsieur Monluc of the things aboue mentioned, albeit hee was aduertised of eigh- teene Pinnesses, and a great Shippe of two hundred Tunnes full of Spaniards, which being assured of the defeat in Florida, and that he was at Rochel, came as farre as Che-de-Bois, the same day that he departed thence, and followed him as farre as Blay (but he was gotten already to Bordeaux) to make him yeeld another account of his voyage, then that, wherewith hee made many Frenchmen right glad. The Catholike king being afterward informed that Gourgues could not easily be taken, offered a great summe of money to him that could bring him his head, praying moreouer king Charles to doe iustice on him as of the authour of so bloody an act con- trary to their alliance and good league of friendship. In so much as coming to Paris to present himselfe vnto the King, to signifie vnto him the successe of his Voyage, and the meanes which hee had to subdue this whole Countrey vnto his obedience, (wherein hee offered to imploy his life, and all his goods) hee found his entertainment and answere so contrary to his expecta- tion, that in fine hee was constrained to hide himselfe a long space in the Court of Roan, about the peere 1570 And without the assistance of President Marigny, in whose house he remayned certaine dayes, and of the Receiuer of Vacqueiulx, which alwayes was his faithfull friend, hee had beene in great danger. Which grieved not a litle Dominique de Gourgues, considering the seruices which hee had done as well vnto him as to his predecessours kings of France. Hee was borne in Mount Marfan in Guyenne, and imployed for the seruice of the most Christi- an Kings in all the Armies made since these twentie five or thirtie peeres: at last he had the charge and honour of a Captaine, which in a place neere vnto Siene, with thirtie Soulopers sustayned the brunt of a part of the Spanish Armie, by which beeing taken in the assault, and hauing all his men cutte in pieces, hee was put into a Galley in token of the good warre and singular fauour which the Spaniard is wont to shewe vs. But as the Galley was going to- ward Sicillie, beeing taken by the Turkes, ledde away to Rhodes, and thence to Constanti- nople, it was shortly afterwarde recovered by Romeguas, commander ouer the Armie of Malta. By this meane returning home, hee made a Voyage on the coast of Africa, whence hee tooke his course to Bresil, and to the South Sea. At length beeing desirous to repayre the ho- nour of France, he set vpon Florida with such successe as you haue heard. So that being become by his continuall warlike actions both by Land and Sea no lesse valiant Captaine then skillfull Hariner, hee hath made himselfe feared of the Spaniard, and acceptable vnto the Queene of England for the desert of his vertues. To conclude, he dyed in the peere 1582, to the great grieve of such as knew him.

The

The relation of *Pedro Morales* a Spaniard, which *sir Francis Drake* brought from *Saint Augustines* in *Florida*, where he had remayned fixe yeeres, touching the state of those partes, taken from his mouth by Master *Richard Hakluyt* 1586.

Three score leagues by to the Northwest from *Saint Helena* are the mountaines of the golde and Chyffall Mines, named *Apalaci*.

The riuer of *Wateri* is thirtie leagues from *S. Helena* Northward, which is able to receiue any flecte of ships of great burden. Wateri a goodly riuer.

Wateri and *Caiowa* are two kings, and two riuers to the North of *Saint Helena*.

Oristou,

Ahoia,

Ahoiauc,

Isamacon,

Icosa or Dicosa

} Kings and Riuers to the South of *Saint Helena*.

The Spaniards haue killed three hundred of the subiects of *Potanou*.

The greatest number of Spaniards that haue bene in *Florida* this fixe yeeres, was three hundred, and now they were but two hundred in both the Forts.

There is a great City sitteene or twentie dayes iourney from *Saint Helena* Northwestward, which the Spaniards call *La grand Copal*, which they thinke to bee very rich and exceeding great, and haue bene within the sight of it, some of them. La grand Copal a rich citie.

They haue offered in generall to the King to take no wages at all of him, if he will giue them leaue to discouer this citie, and the rich mountaines, and the passage to a sea or mighty Lake which they heare to be within foure and twenty dayes trauel from *Saint Helena*, which is in 32. degrees of latitude: and is that riuer which the French called *Port-royal*.

He saith also that he hath seene a rich Diamond which was brought from the mountaines that lye by in the countrey Westward from *S. Helena*. These hills seeme wholly to be the mountaines of *Apalaci*, whereof the Sauages aduertised *Laudonniere*, and it may bee they are the hills of *Chauris Temoatam*, which Master *Lane* had aduertisement of.

The relation of *Nicholas Burgoignon*, aliâs *Holy*, whom *sir Francis Drake* brought from *Saint Augustine* also in *Florida*, where he had remayned fixe yeeres, in mine and Master *Heriois* hearing.

His *Nicholas Burgoignon* sayth, that betweene *S. Augustine* and *S. Helen* there is a Calique whose name is *Casicola*, which is lord of ten thousand Indians, and another calique whose name is *Dicasca*, and another called *Touppেকyn* toward the North, and a fourth named *Potanou* toward the South, and another called *Moscica* toward the South likewise. Besides these he acknowledgeth *Oristou*, *Ahoia*, *Ahoiauc*, *Isamacon*, alledged by the Spaniard.

He further affirmeth, that there is a citie Northwestward from *S. Helenes* in the mountaines, which the Spaniards call *La grand Copal*, and is very great and rich, and that in these mountaines there is great store of Chyffal, golde, and Rubies, and Diamonds: And that a Spaniard brought from thence a Diamond which was worth five thousand crownes, which *Pedro Melendes* the marques nephew to olde *Pedro Melendes* that slew *Ribault*, & is now gouernor of *Florida*, weareth. He saith also, that to make passage vnto these mountaines, it is needefull to haue store of Hatchets to giue vnto the Indians, and store of Pickaxes to breake the mountaines, which shine so bright in the day in some places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they trauell vnto them by night. Also corlets of Cotton, which the Spaniards call *Zecopiez*, are necessary to bee had against the arrowes of the Sauages.

He sayth farther, that a Tunne of the *sassafras* of *Florida* is solde in *Spaine* for fittie ducates: and that they haue there great store of Turkie cocks, of Beanes, of Peason, and that there are great store of pearles.

The things, as he reporteth, that the *Floridians* make most account of, are red Cloth, or redde Cotton to make baudricks or gyddes: copper, and hatchets to cut withall.

The Spaniards haue all demaunded leaue at their owne costs, to discouer these mountaines, which the King denyeth, for feare lest the English or French would enter into the same action, once known.

All the Spaniards woulde passe by by the riuer of Saint Helena vnto the mountaines of golde and Chyffall.

Oren.

The Spaniards entring 50. leagues by Saint Helena, found Indians wearing golde rings at their nostrils and eares. They found also Oren, but lesse then ours.

Six leagues from Saint Helena toward the North, there is a poynt that runneth farre into the sea, which is the marke to the Seamen to finde Saint Helena and Waterin.

Waterin is a riuer fortie leagues distant Northward from Saint Helena, where any flecte of great ships may ride safely. I take this riuer to be that which we call Waren in Virginia, whither at Christmasse last 1585. the Spaniards sent a barke with fortie men to discouer where we were seated: in which barke was Nicholas Burgoignon the reporter of all these things.

The Spaniards of S. Augustine haue slaine three hundred of the subjects of Potanou. One Porassi is neighbour to Potanou. Oratina is he which the French histoyr calleth Olata Outina. Caluui is another calique which they knowe.

SVNDRY VOYAGES MADE FROM

Nueva Galicia, and Nueva Viscaia in new Spaine, to the 15. Pro-

uinces of new Mexico, and to Quivira and Cibola, all situate on the

backside of Guastecan, Florida, and Virginia, as farre as 37. degrees of Nor-

therly latitude: with a description of the riuers, lakes, cities, townes,

nations, fertile soyle, and temperate ayre in those partes; and

most certaine notice of many exceeding rich siluer-
mines, and other principall commodities.

A discourse of the famous Cosmographer *Iohn Baptista Ramusius*, concerning the three voyages of *Frier Marco de Nica*, *Francis Vasquez de Coronado*, and *Ferdinando Alorchon* next following: taken out of his third volume of Navigations and Voyages.



The right honourable Don Antonio de Mendoza being sent by Charles the Emperour to be viceroy of Mexico and Nueva Espanna, and hauing understood that Don Ferdinando Cortez had sent many ships along the coast of Nueva Espanna to discouer countries, and to find out the Isles of the Malucos, began himselfe to desire to do the like, as viceroy of Nueva Espanna; and hereupon they fell out: for Cortez said that he was general and discouerer of the South sea, and that it belonged to him to set forth those voyages. On the other side, the lord Don Antonio alledged that it belonged to him to make that discouery, as being viceroy of Nueva Espanna. So that they fell at great variance, and Cortez returned into Spaine to complaine vnto the Emperour. Don Antonio in the meane season hauing obtained knowledge of the voyage, which Andrew Dorantez (who was one of the company of Pamphilo Naruacz that escaped, as you may reade in the relation of Alvaro Nunnez, called Cabeça de Vaca) made; sent Frier Marco de Nica with a Negro of the said Dorantez to discouer that country. Which Frier Marco de Nica being returned, & hauing informed his lordship of all his discouery, he sent captain Francis Vasquez de Coronado with many Spaniards on horsebacke and Indians on foot: likewise he sent a flecte by sea, whereof Ferdinando Alorchon was captaine, as may be seene in the relations following.

An extract of a letter of captaine *Francis Vasques de Coronado*, written to a Secretary of the right noble *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, viceroy of *Nueva Espanna*. Dated in *Culiacan*, the 8. of March 1539.

He saith that Frier Marcus de Nica arrived in the Province of Topira, where he found all the Indians fled vnto the mountaines for feare of the Christians, and that for his sake they came all downe to see him, with great ioy & boldnesse. They are men of good making, and whiter then others, and their women are more beautifull then others of the neighbour. provinces. There are no great cities there, yet are the houses built of stone, and are very good, and in them they haue great store of gold, which is as it were lost, because they know not what vse to put it to. The people weare Emeralods and other precious iewels vpon their bodies: they are valiant, hauing very strong

Store of golde,
siluer, and pre-
cious stones
in Topira.

strong armour made of silver, fashioned after diuers shapes of beasts. They worship for their gods such things as they haue in their houses, as namely hearbes, and birdes, and sing songs vnto them in their language, which differeth but litle from that of Culiacan. They told the Frier that they were willing to become Christians, and the Emperors subiects, for they were without a gouernour; with condition that no man should hurt them: and that they would change their golde for such things as they wanted. Commandement was giuen, that they should bee receiued without doing them any displeasure. Neere vnto this countrey there is another Prouince heretofore discovered by our men, where the people go naked without any thing before them: they are very hardly reduced to Christianitie, and they are valiant and stout. Their houses are couered with straw. They seeke no other riches but to feede cattel. They goe at certaine seasons to their sacrifices into a valley situate in that Prouince, which is inhabited with people, esteemed by those of the countrey as saints and priests, whom they call Chichimecas, which dwell in the woods without houses: and they eat such things as they of the countrey giue them of almes. They goe naked, and are tanned in the smoke, and tye their priue member with a string vnto their knee, and the women likewise goe stark naked. They haue certain temples couered with strawe, with small round windowes full of the skulls of dead men; before their temple is a great round ditch, the brim whereof is compassed with the figure of a serpent made of gold and silver, and with another mixture of vnknown metals: and this serpent holdeth his tayle in his mouth. They of this valley from time to time cast lots, whose lucke it shal be to be sacrificed, and they make him great cheere, on whom the lotte falleth, and with great toy they crowne him with flowers vpon a bed prepared in the sayd ditch all full of flowers and sweete hearbes, on which they lay him along, and lay great stoe of dry wood on both sides of him, and set it on fire on epyther part, and so he dyeth. Where he continueth so quietly without being bound, as though hee did something, wherein he tooke great pleasure. And they say that hee is a Saint, and doe worshippe him for that peere, and sing psalmes, and hymnes vnto him, and after ward set up his head with the rest in order within those windowes. Also they sacrifice their prisoners, whom they burne in another deeper ditch, and not with the foresayde ceremonies. The Spanyardes which are in Xalisco write, that hauing good assistance, they hope that those people will become Christians. The Countrey is very good and fruitfull, and hath great stoe of good and wholesome waters.

A Letter of Francis Vazquez de Coronado, Gouvernour of Nueva Galicia, to the lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of Nueva Espanna.
Dated in Saint Michael of Culiacan the 8. of March, 1539.

Of the hard passage from Saint Michael of Culiacan to Topira. The description of that Prouince, and of another neere vnto the same, very rich in gold and precious stones. The number of the people which Vazquez carried with him in his journey thither; and how greatly Frier Marcus of Niza is honoured by the Indians of Petatlan.



By the helpe of God I meane to set forward from this City of S. Michael of Culiacan toward Topira the 10. of April: neither can I any sooner set forward, because the powder and match which your Lordship sendeth mee, cannot be brought thither before that time, and I thinke it be now in Compostella. Besides this, I am to passe many leagues ouer mightie high mountaines, which reach vp to the skyes, and ouer a Riuer, which at this present is so bigge and swolne, that it can in no place be waded ouer. And if I depart at the time aforesayde, they say wee may wade ouer it. They tolde mee that from hence to Topira was not aboute 50. leagues; and I haue learned since that it is aboute foure score leagues. I doe not remember that I haue written to your Lordshippe the information which I haue of Topira: and though I had written thereof vnto you, yet because that since that time I haue learned something more, I thinke it meete to signifie the same vnto your Lordship in these my letters. It may please your honour therefore to vnderstand, that they tell mee, that Topira is a very populous Prouince, lying betweene two riuers, and that there are aboute 50. inhabited townes therein. And that beyond the same there is another Countrey greater then it, the name whereof the Indians could not tell mee, wherein there is great stoe of victuals of Maiz, French peason, Art of Pepper, Melons, and Gourbs, and great stoe of Venues of the countrey. The people weare on their bodies golde, Emeralds, and other precious stones, and are serued commonly in golde and silver, wherewith they couer their houses: and the chiefe men weare great chaines of golde

Topira.

Another greater Prouince.

These may
seeme to be the
Pintados menti-
oned by Frier
Marco de Niza
in his 2. Chap.

golde well wrought, about their necks, and are apparelled with paynted garments, and haue store of wilde kine; and they say they enter not into their countrey, because themselves haue no great store of people: these Indians being many in number, and very valiant. That which here I say, I learned by two other relations of Indians dwelling neere vnto them. I meane to set forthward at the time before mentioned, and I carrie with me 150. horsemen, and twelue spare horses, and 200. footmen, crossebow-men, and gunners. I take also with mee line hogs, sheepe, and all such things as I can get for money: assure your Lordship that I meane not to returne to Mexico, vntill I be able to informe your honour more perfectly, what the state of that place is: and if I find ought that we may doe good in, I will stay there, vntill I haue aduertised your Lordship, that you may command what you will haue done: and if it fall out so vnluckily, that there be nothing of importance, I will seeke to discover 100. leagues farther, wherein (I hope in God) there will be some thing found in which your Lordship may employ all these gentlemen, and those which shall come hither hereafter. I thinke I cannot chuse but stay there: and the waters, the seasons, and disposition of the countrey, and other accidents will direct mee what is best to be done. Frier Marco de Niza entered a good way into the country, accompanied with Stephan Dorantez, the 7. of February last past: when I departed from them, I left them with about 100. Indians of Pecos, and from the time of their comming thither they greatly honoured the father, shewing him all the courtesies they could possibly. I cannot send you, nor describe vnto you his entrance among them better then I haue done in all my relations which I wrote in my letters from Compostella, and I signified vnto you all things to the full from the cite of S. Michael: and though there be but the tenth part of those things, it is a great matter. Herewithall I haue sent your Lordship a Letter, which I receiued from the said father: the Indians tell me, that all the people of the countrey doe greatly reuerence him: and I beleue he may trauel many leagues farther in that sort. He saith, that if he finde any good countrey, he will write to me thereof: I will not goe thither without informing your Lordship of my iourney. I hope in God, that by one way or other wee shall discover some good thing.

A Letter written by the most honourable Lord *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, Vice-roy of *Nueva España*, to the Emperors Maiestie.

Of certaine Noblemen which sought to discover the end of the firme land of *Nueva España* toward the North. The arriual of *Vazquez de Coronado* with Frier *Marco de S. Michael* of *Culiacan*, with commission to the Gouvernors of those partes, to pacifie the Indians, and not to make them slaves any more.



Now the ships that went last from hence (whereof Michael de Vsnago was Admiral) I wrote vnto your Maiestie, how I had sent two Franciscan Friers to discover the end of this firme land, which stretcheth to the North. And because their iourney fell out to greater purpose then was looked for, I will declare the whole matter from the beginning. It may please your Maiestie to call to mind how often I wrote vnto your Highnesse, that I desired to know the ende of this Province of *Nueva España*, because it is so great a countrey, and that we haue yet no knowledge thereof. Neither had I onely this desire; for Nunno de Guzman departed out of this city of Mexico with 400. horsemen, and 14000. Indians footmen borne in these Indias, being the best men, & the best furnished, which haue bene seene in these parts: and he did so little with them, that the most part of them were consumed in the enterprize, & could not enter nor discover any more then already was discovered. After this the said Nunno Guzman being Gouvernour of *Nueva Galicia*, sent Captaines and Horsemen forth diuers times, which sped no better then he had done. Like wise the Marques de valle Hernando Cortez sent a captaine with 2. ships to discover the coast: which 2. ships and the captaine perished. After that he sent againe 2. other ships, one of the which was diuided from her consort, and the Master and certaine mariners slue the captaine, & vsurped ouer the ship. After this they came to an Island, where the Master with certaine mariners going on land, the Indians of the country slew them, and tooke their boat: and the ship with those that were in it, returned to the coast of *Nueva Galicia*, where it ran on ground. By the men which came home in this ship, the Marques had knowledge of the countrey which they had discovered: and then, either for the discontentment which hee had with the bishop of Saint Domingo, and with the Judges of this royal audience in Mexico, or rather because of his so prosperous successe in all things here in *Nueva España*, without seeking any farther

This was the
Port of Santa
Cruz. in the
Isle of Cali-
fornia.

ther intelligence of the state of that Island, he set forward on that voyage with 3. Ships, and with certaine footemen and hozenmen, not thoroughly furnished with things necessary; which fell out so contrary to his expectation, that the most part of the people which he carryed with him, dyed of hunger. And although he had ships, and a Countrey very neere him abounding with victuals, yet could hee neuer finde meanes to conquer it, but rather it seemed, that God miraculously did hide it from him: and so he returned home without achieving ought else of moment. After this, hauing heere in my company Andrew Dorantez, which is one of those who were in the voyage of Panphilo Naruacz, I often was in hand with him, supposing that he was able to doe your Maestie great seruice, to imploy him with forty or fiftie hozen, to search out the secret of those parts: and hauing prouided all things necessary for his iourney, and spent much money in that behalfe, the matter was broken off, I wot not how, and that enterpryse was giuen ouer. Yet of the things which were prouided for that purpose, I had left mee a Negro, which returned from the forsayde voyage of Naruacz with Dorantez, and certaine slaues which I had bought, and certaine Indians which I had gathered together, who were borne in those North partes, whome I sent with Frier Marco de Niza, and his companion a Franciscan Frier, because they had bene long travelled, and exercised in those partes, and had great experience in the affaires of the Indies, and were men of good life and conscience, for whom I obtained leaue of their superiours: and so they went with Francis Vazquez de Coronado, gouernour of Nueva Galicia vnto the Citie of Saint Michael of Culiacan, which is the last Province subdued by the Spaniards towarde that quarter, being two hundred leagues distant from this Citie of Mexico. As soon as the gouernour, and the Friers were come vnto that Citie, hee sent certaine of those Indians which I had giuen him, home into their Countrey, to signifie, and declare to the people of the same, That they were to vnderstand, that your Maestie had commaunded they should not hereafter bee made slaues, and that they should not be afraid any more, but might retorne vnto their houses, and liue peaceably in them, (for before that time they had bin greatly troubled by the euil dealings which were vsed toward them) and that your Maestie would cause them to be chastened, which were the causes of their veration. With these Indians about twentie dayes after returned about 400. men; which coming before the gouernour said vnto him, that they came on the behalfe of al their Countrey-men, to tell him, that they desired to see and know those men which did them so great a pleasure as to suffer them to retorne to their houses, and to sow Maiz for their sustenance: for by the space of many yeres they were driuen to flee into the mountaines, hiding themselves like wild beasts, for feare lest they should be made slaues, and that they and all the rest of their people were ready to doe whatsoeuer should bee commaunded them. Whom the gouernour comforted with good wordes, and gaue them victuals, and stayed them with him thre or foure dayes, wherein the Friers taught them to make the signe of the Crosse; and to learne the name of our Lorde Iesus Christ, and they with great diligence sought to learne the same. After these dayes hee sent them home againe, willing them not to be afraid, but to be quiet, giuing them apparel, beades, knives, and other such like things, which I had giuen him for such purposes. The sayde Indians departed very well pleased, and said, that whensoeuer hee would send for them, they and many others would come to doe whatsoeuer he would command them. The entrance being thus prepared, Frier Marco and his companion, with the Negro and other slaues, and Indians which I had giuen him, went forward on their voyage 10. or 12. dayes after. And because I had likewise aduertisement of a certaine Province called Topira situate in the mountaines, and had appoynted the gouernour Vazquez de Coronado, that he should vse meanes to learne the state thereof; he supposing this to be a matter of great moment, determined himselfe to goe and search it, hauing agreed with the sayd Frier, that he should retorne by that part of the mountaine, to meete with him in a certaine valley called Valle de los Coracones, being 120. leagues distant from Culiacan. The gouernour travelling into this Province (as I haue written in my former letters) found great scarcity of victuals there, and the mountaines so craggy, that he could finde no way to passe forward, and was inforced to retorne home to Saint Michael: so that as well in chusing of the entrance, as in not being able to finde the way, it seemeth vnto all men, that God would shut vp the gate to all those, which by strength of humane force haue gone about to attempt this enterpryse, and hath reueiled it to a poore and bare-footed Frier. And so the Frier beganne to enter into the Land, who because he found his entrance so well prepared, was very well receiued; and because he wrote the whole successe of his voyage, according to the instruction which I had giuen him to vnder take the same, I wil not write any more at large, but send your Maestie this copy of all such things as he obserued in the same.

Hh

A relation

Valle de los Coracones mentioned by Vazquez de Coronado cap. 1.

A relation of the reuerend father Frier Marco de Niça, touching his discouery of the kingdome of *Ceuola* or *Cibola*, situate about 30. degrees of latitude, to the North of *Nueva España*.

Chap. I.

Frier Marco de Niça departeth from *Saint Michael* in the Prouince of *Culiacan*, standing in 24. degrees of Northerly latitude: and comming to the Towne of *Petalan*, receiueth many courtesies of the Indians there. Departing from thence, he had information of many Islands, and of a great countrey inhabited with ciuill people; he commeth to *Vacupa*: where during his aboad, he heard newes of *Ceuola*, and of the state of the 7. Cities, and of other prouinces, & of the rich Islands of perles, which extend northward vpon the coast.



Frier Marco de Niça of the order of S. Francis, for the execution of the instruction of the right honourable lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, Vice-roy and capitaine Generall for the Emperors Maiestie in New Spaine, departed from the towne of S. Michael in the prouince of Culiacan on Friday the 7. of March, in the yeere 1539. hauing for my companion Frier Honoratus, and carying with me Stephan a Negro, belonging to Andrew Dorantez, and certaine of those Indians which the sayde lord Vice-roy had made free, and bought for this purpose: whom Francis Vazquez de Coronado gouernour of Nueva Galicia deliuered me, and with many other Indians of Petatlan, and of the towne called Cuchillo, which is some 50. leagues from Petatlan, who came to the valley of Culiacan, shewing themselves to bee exceeding glad, because they were certified by the Indians which had bin set free, whom the said gouernour had sent befoze to aduertise them of their libertie, that none of them from thenceforth should be made slaues, and that no man should inuade them, nor vse them badly; signifying vnto them, that the Emperors Maiestie had willed and commanded that it should be so. With the foresaid company I went on my voyage vntill I came to the towne of Petatlan, finding all the way great intertainment, and prouision of victuals, with roses, flowres, and other such things, and bowlers which they made for me of chalke and boughs platted together in all places where there were no houses. In this towne of Petatlan I rested 3. dayes, because my companion Honoratus fell so sicke, that I was constrained to leaue him there behinde.

Petalan a towne.

The island of Saint Iago.

A great island, and 30. small islands, which seeme to be the new islands of California rich in pearles.

A desert foure dayes iourney.

Then, according to my said instruction, I followed my iourney as the holy Ghost did leade me, without any merit of mine, hauing in my company the said Stephan the Negro of Dorantez, and certaine of the Indians which had bin set at liberty, and many of the people of the countrey, which gaue me great intertainment and welcome in all places where I came, and made mee bowlers of trees, giuing me such victuals as they had, although they were but small: because (as they said) it had not rained there in 3. yerres, and because the Indians of this countrey sought meanes rather to hide themselves, then to sowe corne, for feare of the Chyistians of the towne of S. Michael, which were wont to make in-roads euen to that place, and to warre vpon them, and to cary them away captiues. In all this way, which may be about 25 or 30. leagues from that part of Petatlan, I saw nothing worthy the noting, saue that there came to seeke me certaine Indians from the Island, where Fernando Correz the Marques of the valley had bin, of whom I was informed, that it was an island, & not firme land, as some suppose it to be. They came to y^e firme land vpon certaine raftes of wood: and from the maine to the island is but halfe a league by sea, litle more or lesse. Like wise certaine Indians of another island greater then this came to visit me, which island is farther off, of whom I was informed that there were 30. other smal islands, which were inhabited, but had small store of victuals, sowing 2. which haue Maiz or corne of the country. These Indians had about their necks many great shels which were mother of Pearle. I shewed them pearles which I carryed with me for a shew, and they told me that there were in the Islands great store of them, and those very great: howbeit I saw none of them. I followed my voyage through a desert of 4. dayes iourney, hauing in my company both the Indians of the islands, & those of the mountaines which I had passed, and at the end of this desert I found other Indians which marvelled to see me, because they had no knowledge of any Chyistians, hauing no traffike nor conuersation with those Indians which I had passed, in regard of the great desert which was between them. These Indians intertained me exceeding courteously, & gaue me great store of victuals, & sought to touch my garments, and called me Hayota, which in their language signifieth A man come from heauen. These Indians I aduertised by my interpreter, according to my instructions, in the knowledge of our Lord God in heauen, & of the Emperors. In these countreies & in all places els by all wayes and meanes possible,

possible, I sought information where any Countreys were of more Cities and people of civillitie and understanding, then those which I had found; and I could heare no newes of any such: howbeit they tolde mee, that foure or five dayes journey within the Countrey, at the foote of the mountaines, there is a large and mightie plaine, wherein they tolde mee, that there were many great Townes, and people clad in Cotton: and when I shewed them certaine Metals which I carryed with mee, to learne what riche Metals were in the Lande, they tooke the minerall of Golde and tolde mee, that thereof were vesselles among the people of that plaine, and that they carryed certaine round Greene stones hanging at their nostrilles, and at their eares, and that they haue certaine thinne plates of that Golde, wherewith they scrape off their sweat, and that the walles of their Temples are couered therewith, and that they vse it in all their household vesselles. And because this Valley is distant from the Sea-coast, and my instruction was not to leaue the Coast, I determined to leaue the discouery thereof untill my returne; at which time I might doe it more commodiously.

This was the valley of Cuzco.

Thus I travelled three dayes journey through Townes inhabited by the sayde people, of whome I was receiued as I was of those which I had passed, and came vnto a Towne of reasonable bignesse, called Vacupa, where they shewed mee great courtesies, and gaue mee great store of good victuals, because the soyle is very fruitfull, and may bee watered. This Towne is fortie leagues distant from the Sea. And because I was so farre from the Sea, it being two dayes before Passion Sunday, I determined to stay there vntill Easter, to informe my selfe of the Ilandes, whereof I sayde before that I had information. And so I sent certaine Indians to the Sea by three severall wayes, whom I commaunded to bring mee some Indians of the Sea-coast and of some of those Ilandes, that I might receiue information of them: and I sent Stephan Dorantes the Negro another way, whom I commaunded to goe directly Northward fiftie or threescore leagues, to see if by that way hee might learne any newes of any notable thing which wee sought to discouer, and I agreed with him, that if hee found any knowledge of any peopled and riche Countrey which were of great importance, that hee should goe no further, but should returne in person, or should sende mee certaine Indians with that taken which wee were agreed vpon, to wit, that if it were but a meane thing, hee should sende mee a white Crosse of one handfull long; and if it were any great matter, one of two handfulls long; and if it were a Countrey greater and better then Nueva Espanna, hee should send mee a great crosse. So the sayde Stephan departed from mee on Passion-Sunday after dinner: and within foure dayes after the messengers of Stephan returned vnto me with a great Crosse as high as a man, and they brought me word from Stephan, that I should forthwith come away after him, for hee had found people which gaue him information of a very mightie Province, and that he had certaine Indians in his company, which had bene in the sayd Province, and that he had sent me one of the said Indians. This Indian told me, that it was thirtie dayes journey from the Towne where Stephan was, vnto the first Citie of the sayde Province, which is called Ceuola. Hee affirmed also that there are seven great Cities in this Province, all vnder one Lord, the houses whereof are made of Lime and Stone, and are very great, and the least of them with one losse aboue head, and some of two and of three losses, and the house of the Lord of the Province of foure, and that all of them toyne one vnto the other in good order, and that in the gates of the principall houses there are many Turques-stones cunningly wrought, whereof hee sayth they haue there great plentie: also that the people of this Citie goe very well apparelled: and that beyond this there are other Provinces, all which (hee sayth) are much greater then these seven cities. I gaue credite to his speech, because I found him to bee a man of good vnderstanding: but I deferred my departure to follow Stephan Dorantes, both because I thought hee would stay for mee, and also to attend the returne of my messengers which I had sent vnto the Sea, who returned vnto me vpon Easter day, bringing with them certaine inhabitants of the Sea-coast, and of two of the Ilandes. Of whom I vnderstoode, that the Ilandes aboue mentioned were scarce of victuals, as I had learned before, and that they are inhabited by people, which weare shelles of Pearles vpon their foreheads, and they say that they haue great Pearles, and much Golde. They informed mee of foure and thirtie Ilandes, lying one neere vnto another: they say that the people on the Sea-coast haue small store of victuals; as also those of the Ilandes, and that they traffique one with the other vpon raftes. This coast stretcheth Northward as is to bee seene. These Indians of the Coast brought me certaine Targets made of Cow-hydes very well dressed, which were so large, that they couered them from the head to the very foote, with a hole in the toppe of the same to looke out before: they are so strong, that a Crossebow (as I suppose) will not pierce them.

Vacupa a town 40 leagues from the Sea of California.

From Vacupa to Ceuola are 32 dayes journey.

Great pearls and much gold in the Isles of California, which are 34 in number.

He hath new information of the seuen Cities by certaine Indians called *Pintados*, and of three other kingdomes called *Marata*, *Acus*, and *Totonteac*, being Countreys very rich in Turqueses and Hides of cattel. Following his voyage through those countries, he taketh possession thereof for the Emperors Maiestie, and of the Indians is much honoured and serued with victuals.

The same day came three Indians of those which I called *Pintados*, because I saw their faces, breasts and armes painted. These dwel farther up into the countrey towards the East, and some of them border vpon the seuen cities, which sayd they came to see mee, because they had heard of me: and among other things, they gaue me information of the seuen cities, and of the other Prouinces, which the Indian that Stephan sent me had tolde mee of, almost in the very same manner that Stephan had sent mee worde; and so I sent backe the people of the sea-coast: and two Indians of the *Illandes* sayde they would goe with mee seuen or eight dayes.

So with these and with the three *Pintados* aboue mentioned, I departed from *Vacupa* vpon Easter tuesday, the same way that Stephan went, from whom I receiued new messengers with a Crosse of the bignesse of the first which he sent me: which hastened mee forward, and assured me that the land which I sought for, was the greatest and best countrey in all those partes. The sayd messengers tolde mee particularly without sayling in any one poynt, all that which the first messenger had tolde mee, and much more, and gaue mee more plaine information thereof. So I travelled that day being Easter tuesday, and two dayes more, the very same way that Stephan had gone: at the end of which 3 dayes they tolde mee, that from that place a man might trauell in thirtie dayes to the citie of *Ceuola*, which is the first of the seuen. Neither did one onely tell me thus much, but very many; who tolde me very particularly of the greatnesse of the houses, and of the fashion of them, as the first messengers had informed me. Also they told me, that besides these seuen Cities, there are 3. other kingdomes which are called *Marata*, *Acus*, and *Totonteac*. I enquired of them wherefore they travelled so farre from their houses: They said that they went for Turqueses, and Hides of kine, and other things; and that of all these there was great abundance in this Countrey. Likewise I enquired how, and by what meanes they obtained these things: They tolde me, by their seruice, and by the sweat of their browes, and that they went vnto the first citie of the Prouince which is called *Ceuola*, and that they serued them in tilling their ground, and in other businesses, and that they giue them Hydes of oxen, which they haue in those places, and turqueses for their seruice, and that the people of this city weare very fine and excellent turqueses hanging at their eares and at their nostrils. They say also, that of these turqueses they make fine workes vpon the principall gates of the houses of this citie. They tolde mee, that the apparell which the inhabitants of *Ceuola* weare, is a gowne of cotten downe to the foote, with a button at the necke, and a long string hanging downe at the same, and that the sleeves of these gownes are as broad beneath as aboue. They say, they gyrd themselves with gyrdles of turqueses, and that ouer these coates some weare good apparell, others hides of kine very well dyed, which they take to bee the best apparell of that countrey, whereof they haue there great quantitie. Likewise the women goe apparelled, and covered downe to the foote. These Indians gaue me very good intertainment, and curiously enquired the day of my departure from *Vacupa*, that at my returne they might prouide me of foode and lodging. They brought certaine sicke folkes before mee, that I might heale them, and sought to touch my apparell, and gaue mee certaine Cow-hydes so well trimmed and dyed, that by them a man might coniecture that they were wrought by ciuile people, and all of them affirmed, that they came from *Ceuola*.

Another vil-
lage.

The next day I followed my iourney, and carrying with mee the *Pintados*, I came to another Village where I was well receiued by the people of the same: who like wise sought to touch my garments, and gaue mee as particular knowledge of the Lande aforesayde, as I had receiued of those which mette mee before: and also tolde mee, that from that place certaine people were gone with Stephan Dorantez foure or fife dayes iourney. And here I found a great crosse, which Stephan had left me for a signe, that the newes of the good Countrey increased, and left worde, that with all haste they should sende mee away, and that hee would stay for mee at the ende of the first Desert that he mette with. Here I set by two Cresses, and tooke possession according to mine instruction, because that the Countrey seemed better vnto mee then that which I had passed, and that I thought it meete to make an acte of possession as farre as that place.

In

In this maner I trauailed five dayes, alwayes finding inhabited places with great hospitalitie and intertainments, and many Turqueses, and Dre-hides, and the like report concerning the countrey. Heere I vnderstood, that after two dayes iourney I should finde a desert where there is no foode; but that there were certaine gone before to build mee lodgings, and to carrie foode for mee: whereupon I hastened my way, hoping to finde Stephan at the ende thereof, because in that place hee had left worde that hee would stay for mee. Before I came to the desert, I mette with a very pleasant Towne, by reason of great store of waters conuigthed thither to water the same. Heere I mette with many people both men and women clothed in Cotton, and some couered with Dre-hydes, which generally they take for better apparell then that of cotton. All the people of this Village goe in Caconados, that is to say, with Turqueses hanging at their nostrilles and eares: which Turqueses they call Cacona. Amongst others, the Lord of this Village came vnto me, and two of his brethren very well apparellled in Cotton, who also were in Caconados, each of them hauing his collar of Turqueses about his necke: and they presented vnto mee many wilde beastes, as Conies, Quailles, Hairs, nuttes of Pine trees, and all in great abundance, and offered mee many Turqueses, and dressed Dre-hydes, and very sayze vessels to drinke in, and other things; whereof I would receiue no whit. And hauing my garment of gray cloth, which in Spaine is called garagoça, the Lord of this Village, and the other Indians touched my gowne with their handes, and tolde mee, that of such Cloth there was great store in Totontecac, and that the people of that Countrey wore the same. Whereat I laughed, and sayde that it was nothing else but such apparell of Cotton as they wore. And they replied: We would haue thee thinke that we vnderstand, that that apparell which thou wearest, and that which we weare are of diuers sortes. Vnderstand thou, that in Ceuola all the houses are full of that apparell which we weare, but in Totontecac there are certaine litle beastes, from whom they take that thing where with such apparell as thou wearest, is made. I prayed them to informe mee moze playnely of this matter. And they tolde mee that the sayde beastes were about the hignesse of the two braches of spaniels which Stephan carped with him, and they say that there is great store of that cattell in Totontecac.

A pleasant village.

Store of woollen cloth and sheepe in Totontecac.

Chap. 3.

He entred into a desert, and the Indians suffer him to want nothing necessary. Following this Voyage, he cometh into a fertile valley, and hath certaine knowledge giuen him (as he had before) of the state of Ceuola, and of Totontecac; and that the coast of the sea in 35 degrees trendeth much to the Westward: and also of the kingdomes of Marata and Acum.

The next day I entred into the Desert, and where I was to dine, I found bowers made, and victuals in abundance by a riuers side; and at night I found bowers and victuals in like sort, and after that maner I found for 4. dayes trauell: all which time the wilderness continued.

A desert of foure dayes iourney.

At the ende of these foure dayes, I entred into a valley very well inhabited with people. At the first Village there mette me many men and women with victuals, and all of them had Turqueses hanging at their nostrills and eares, and some had collars of turqueses like those which the Lord of the Village before I came to the Desert, and his two brethren wore; sauing that they ware them but single about their neckes, and these people weare them three or foure times double, and goe in good apparell, and skümes of Oren: and the women weare of the sayd Turqueses at their nostrills and eares, and very good wast-coats and other garments. Heere there was as great knowledge of Ceuola, as in Nueva Espanna of Temistitan, and in Peru of Cuzco: and they tolde vs particularly the maner of their houses, lodgings, streetes and market-places, as men that had bene oftentimes there, and as those which were furnished from thence with things necessary for the seruice of their householdes, as those also had done, which I already had passed. I tolde them it was impossible that the houses should be made in such sort as they informed mee, and they for my better vnderstanding tooke earth or ashes, and powdered water thereupon, and shewed me how they layd stones vpon it, and how the buyling grewe vp, as they continued laying stones thereon, vntill it mounted aloft. I asked them whether the men of that Countrey had wings to mount vpon those losses: whereat they laughed, and shewed mee a Ladder in as good sort as I my selfe was able to describe it. Then they tooke a Staffe and helde it ouer their heads, and said that the losses were so high one above another. Likewise heere I had information

A very populous valley.

Collars of turqueses two or three times double.

formation of the woollen cloth of Totontecac, where they say are houses like those of Ceuola, and better and more in number, and that it is a great Province, and hath no gouernour.

This graduation is mistaken by 6. or 7. degrees at the least.

Here I understood that the coast of the sea trended much toward the West: for vnto the entrance of this first desert which I passed, the coast still stretched Northward: and because the trending of the coast is a thing of great importance, I was desirous to knowe and see it: and I saw plainly, that in 35. degrees the coast stretcheth to the West, whereat I reioyced no lesse, then of the good newes within land, and so I returned backe to proceede on my iourney.

Abacus.

Through the foresayd valley I trauailed five dayes iourney, which is inhabited with goodly people, and so aboundeth with victuals, that it sufficeth to feede aboute thre thousand horsemen: it is all well watered and like a garden: the burroughs and townes are halfe and a quarter of a league long, and in all these villages, I found very ample report of Ceuola, whereof they made such particular relation vnto me, as people which goe yeerely thither to earne their liuing. Here I found a man borne in Ceuola, who told me that he came thither, hauing escaped from the gouernour or Lieutenant of the towne; for the Lord of these seuen Cities liueth and abideth in one of those townes called Ahacus, and in the rest he appoynteth lieutenants vnder him. This townesman of Ceuola is a white man of a good complexion, somewhat well in yeeres, and of farre greater capacite then the inhabitants of this valley, or then those which I had left behind me. Hee sayde that hee would goe with mee, that I might begge his pardon: and of him I learned many particulars: he tolde me that Ceuola was a great Citie, inhabited with great store of people, and hauing many Streetes and Market-places: and that in some partes of this Citie there are certaine very great houses of five stories high, wherein the chiefe of the Citie assemble themselves at certaine dayes of the yeere. He sayeth that the houses are of Lym and Stone, according as others had tolde mee before, and that the gates, and small pillars of the principall houses are of Turqueses, and all the vessels wherein they are serued, and the other ornaments of their houses were of golde: and that the other five Cities are built like vnto this, whereof some are bigger: and that Ahacus is the chiefe of them. Hee sayd that toward the Southeast there is a kingdome called Marata, and that there were woont to be many, and those great Cities, which were all built of houses of Stone, with diuers lofts; and that these haue and doe wage warre with the Lord of the seuen cities, through which warre this kingdome of Marata is for the most part wasted, although it yet continueth and mainteineth warre against the other.

Marata lieth toward the Southeast.

Totontecac lieth West.

Likewise he saith, that the kingdome called Totontecac lieth toward the West, which he saith is a very mightie Province, replenished with infinite store of people and riches: and that in the sayde Kingdome they weare woollen cloth like that which I weare, and other finer sorts of woollen cloth made of the fleeces of those beastes which they described before vnto me; and that they are a very ciuile people. Moreover hee tolde me, that there is another great Province and kingdome called Acus; for there is Acus, and Ahacus with an aspiration, which is the principall of the seuen cities: and Acus without an aspiration is a kingdome and Province of it selfe. He tolde me also, that the apparel which they weare in Ceuola is after the same maner as they before had certified me, and that all the inhabitants of the Citie lie vpon beddes rayled a good height from the ground, with quiltes and canopies ouer them, which couer the sayde Bedes: and hee tolde mee that he would goe with me to Ceuola and farther also, if I would take him with me. The like relation was giuen vnto me in this towne by many others; but not so particularly. I travelled thre dayes iourney through this valley: the inhabitants whereof made mee exceeding great cheere and intertainment. In this valley I saw aboute a thousand Ore-hides most excellently trimmed and dresed. And here also I saw farre greater store of Turqueses and chaines made thereof, then in all places which I had passed; and they say, that all cometh from the city of Ceuola, whereof they haue great knowledge, as also of the kingdome of Marata, and of the kingdomes of Acus and Totontecac.

Chap. 4.

Of a very great beast with one horne vpon his fore-head; and of the courtesies which the Indians shewed Frier *Marcus* of *Niça*, in his Voyage. Also how cruelly *Stephan Dorantes* and his companions were vied vpon their arriuall at *Ceuola*, by the Lorde thereof.

A mightie beast with one horne.

Here they shewed me an hide halfe as bigge againe as the hide of a great ore, and tolde me that it was the skin of a beast which had but one horne vpon his forehead, & that this horne bended toward

toward his breast, and that out of the same goeth a point right forward, wherein he hath so great strength, that it will breake any thing how strong so euer it be, if he runne against it, and that there are great store of these beasts in that Countrey. The colour of the hide is of the colour of a great Goat-skin, and the haire is a finger thicke. Here I had messengers from Seephan which brought me word, that by this time he was come to the farthest part of the desert, and that he was very ioyfull, because the farther he went, the more perfect knowledge he had of the greatnesse of the countrey, and sent me word, that since his departure from me, hee neuer had found the Indians in any place; for euen vnto that very place he had found al in such maner as they had informed him, & hoped that he should find the like at his arriual in the valley which he was going vnto, as he had found in the villages before passed. I set by crosses, and bled those acts and ceremonies, which were to be done according to my instructions. The inhabitants requested me to stay here three or foure daies, because that from this place there were foure dayes iourney vnto the desert, and from the first entrance into the same desert vnto the citie of Ceuola are 15 great dayes iourney more; also that they would prouide victuals for me and other necessaries for that voyage. Likewise they told me, that with Seephan the Negro were gone about 300 men to beare him company, and to carry victuals after him, and that in like sort many of them would go with me to serue me, because they hoped to returne home rich. I thanked them, and willed them to set things in order with speede, and so I rested there three dayes, wherein I alwayes informed my selfe of Ceuola, and of as many other things as I could learne, and called many Indians vnto mee, and examined them severally, and all of them agreed in one tale, and told me of the great multitude of people, and of the order of the streetes, of the greatnesse of the houses, and of the strength of the gates, agreeing altogether with that which the rest before had told me. After three dayes many assembled themselves to go with me, 30 of the principal of whom I tooke, being very well apparelled, and with chaines of turqueses, which some of them were five or six times double, and other people to carry things necessary for them and me, and so set forward on my voyage.

Thus I entered into the second desert on the 9 of May, and travelled the first day by a very broad and beaten way, & we came to dinner vnto a water, where the Indians had made prouision for me; and at night we came to another water, where I found a house which they had fully made by for me, and another house stood made where Stephan lodged when he passed that way, and many old cottages and many signes of fire which the people had made that travelled to Ceuola by this way. In this sort I travelled 12 dayes iourney being alway well prouided of victuals, of wild beasts,

fifteene daies iourney from the end of the desert to Ceuola of Ciuala.

The second desert entered the 9. of May.

Twelve dayes iourney.

Here met vs an Indian the sonne of one of the chiefe men that accompanied mee, which had gone before with Stephan, who came in a great fright, hauing his face and body all couered with sweat, and shewing exceeding sadnesse in his countenance; and he told mee that a dayes iourney before Stephan came to Ceuola he sent his great Pace made of a gourd by his messengers, as he was alwayes wont to send them before him, that hee might knowe in what sort hee came vnto them, which gourd had a string of belles vpon it, and two feathers one white and another red, in token that he demanded safe conduct, and that he came peaceably. And when they came to Ceuola before the Magistrate, which the Lord of the citie had placed there for his Lieutenant, they deliuered him the sayde great gourd, who tooke the same in his hands, and after he had spied the belles, in a great rage and fury hee cast it to the ground, and willed the messengers to get them packing with speed, for he knew well ynough what people they were, and that they should will them in no case to enter into the citie, for if they did hee would put them all to death. The messengers returned and tolde Stephan how things had passed, who answered them, that it made no great matter, and would needes proceed on his voyage till he came to the citie of Ceuola: where he found men that would not let him enter into the towne, but shut him into a great house which stood without the citie, and straightway tooke all things from him which hee caried to truck and barter with them, and certaine turqueses, and other things which he had receiued of the Indians by the way, and they kept him there all that night without giuing him meate or drinke, and the next day in the morning this Indian was a chiefe, and went out of the house to drinke at a riuer that was nere at hand, and within a litle while after he saw Stephan running away, and the people followed him, and slew certaine of the Indians which went in his company. And when this Indian saw these things, he hid himselfe on the banks of the riuer, and after ward crossed the high way of the desert. The Indians that went with me hearing these newes began incontinently to lament, and I thought these heauie and bad newes would cost mee my life, neither did I feare so much the losse of mine owne life, as that I should not be able to returne to giue information of

the

the greatnesse of that Countrey, where our Lord God might be glorified: and streight way I cut the cords of my budgets which I carried with me full of merchandise for traffique, which I would not doe till then, nor giue any thing to any man, and began to diuide all that I carried with mee among the principall men, willing them not to be afraid, but to goe forward with me, and so they did. And going on our way, within a dayes iourney of Ceuola wee met two other Indians of those which went with Stephan, which were bloody and wounded in many places: and alsoone as they came to vs, they which were with mee began to make great lamentation. These wounded Indians I asked for Stephan, and they agreeing in all poynts with the first Indian sayd, that after they had put him into the foresayd great house without giuing him meat or drinke all that day and all that night, they tooke from Stephan all the things which hee carried with him. The next day when the Sunne was a lance high, Stephan went out of the house, and some of the chiefe men with him, and suddenly came store of people from the citie, whom alsoone as hee sawe he began to run away and we likewise, and forthwith they shot at vs and wounded vs, and certaine dead men fell vpon vs, and so we lay till night and durst not stirre, and we heard great rumours in the citie, and saw many men and women keeping watch and ward vpon the walles thereof, and after this we could not see Stephan any moze, and wee thinke they haue shot him to death, as they haue done all the rest which went with him, so that none are escaped but we onely.

Chap. 5.

The situation and greatnesse of the Citie of *Ceuola*, and how frier *Marcus* tooke possession thereof and of other prouinces, calling the same *The new kingdome of S. Francis*, and how after his departure from thence being preserued by God in so dangerous a voyage, he arriued at *Compostella* in *Nuena Galicia*.

HAuing considered the former report of the Indians, and the euill meanes which I had to propose my voyage as I desired, I thought it not good wilfully to looke my life as Stephan did; and so I told them, that God would punish those of Ceuola, and that the Viceroy when he should vnderstand what had happened, would send many Christians to chastise them: but they would not beleue me, for they sayde that no man was able to withstand the power of Ceuola. And herewithall I left them, and went aside two or three stones cast, and when I returned I found an Indian of mine which I had brought from Mexico called *Marcus*, who wept and sayde vnto me: Father, these men haue consulted to kill vs, for they say, that through your and Stephans meanes their fathers are slaine, and that neither man nor woman of them shall remaine vnslain. Then againe I deuised among them certaine other things which I had, to appeale them, whereupon they were somewhat pacified, albeit they still shewed great griefe for the people which were slaine. I requested some of them to goe to Ceuola, to see if any other Indian were escaped, with intent that they might learne some newes of Stephan; which I could not obtaine at their handes. When I saw this, I sayd vnto them, that I purposed to see the citie of Ceuola, whatsoeuer came of it. They sayde that none of them would goe with me. At the last when they sawe mee resolute, two of the chiefe of them sayde they would goe with me; with whome and with mine Indians and interpreters I followed my way, till I came within sight of Ceuola, which is situate on a plaine at the foote of a round hill, and maketh the w to bee a faire citie, and is better seated then any that I haue seene in these partes. The houses are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of stone with diuers stozies, and flatte roofes, as farre as I could discerne from a mountaine, whither I ascended to viewe the citie. The people are somewhat white, they weare apparell, and lie in beds, their weapons are bowes, they haue Emralds and other iewels, although they esteeme none so much as turqueses, wherewith they adorne the walles of the porches of their houses, and their apparell and vessels, and they vse them in stead of money through all the Countrey. Their apparell is of cotton and of ore hives, and this is their most commendable and honourable apparell. They vse vessels of gold and siluer, for they haue no other mettall, whereof there is greater vse and moze abundance then in Peru, and they buy the same for turqueses in the prouince of the Pintados, where there are sayd to be mines of great abundance. Of other kingdomes I could not obtaine so particular instruction. Diuers times I was tempted to goe thither, because I knewe I could but hazard my life, and that I had offered vnto God the first day that I began my iourney: in the ende I began to bee afraid, considering in what danger I should put my selfe, and that if I should dye, the knowledge of this Countrey should be lost, which in my iudgement is the greatest and the best that hitherto hath bene discovered: and when I tolde the chiefe men, what a goodly citie Ceuola seemed vnto mee, they answered

Most rich
mines of gold
and siluer in
the prouince of
the Pintados,

answered me that it was the least of the seven cities, and that Totontecac is the greatest and best of them all, because it hath so many houses and people, that there is no ende of them. Having seene the disposition and situation of the place, I thought good to name that Countrey El Nuevo reyno de san Francisco: in which place I made a great heape of stones by the helpe of the Indians, and on the topp thereof I set up a small slender crosse because I wanted meanes to make a greater, and sayd that I set up that crosse and heape in the name of the most honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoza Viceroy and Captaine generall of Nueva Espanna, for the Emperour our Lord, in token of possession, according to mine instruction. Which possession I sayd that I tooke in that place of all the seven cities, & of the kingdomes of Totontecac, of Acus, and of Maraca. Thus I returned with much more feare then victuals, and went untill I found the people which I had left behind mee, with all the speede that I could make, whome I overtooke in two dayes traueill, and went in their company till I had passed the desert, where I was not made so much of as before: for both men and women made great lamentation for the people which were slaine at Ceuola, and with feare I hastened from the people of this valley, and trauelled tenne leagues the first day, and so I went daily eight or ten leagues, without staying untill I had passed the second desert. And though I were in feare, yet I determined to go to the great plaine, where of I said before, that I had information, being situate at the foote of the mountaines, and in that place I vnderstoode, that this plaine is inhabited for many dayes iourney toward the East, but I durst not enter into it, considering, that if hereafter wee shoulde inhabite this other Countrey of the seven cities, and the kingdomes before mentioned, that then I might better discover the same, without putting my selfe in hazard, and leaue it for this time, that I might giue relation of the things which I had now seene. At the entrance of this plaine I sawe but seven Townes onely of a reasonable bignesse, which were a farre off in a lowe valley being very greene and a most fruitfull soyle, out of which ranne many Riueres. I was informed that there was much golde in this valley, and that the inhabitants worke it into vessels and chinne plates, wherewith they strike and cake off their sweat, and that they are people that will not suffer those of the other side of the plaine to traffique with them, and they could not tell me the cause thereof. Here I set up two crosses, and tooke possession of the plaine and valley in like sort and order, as I did at other places before mentioned. And from thence I returned on my voyage with as much haste as I coulde make, untill I came to the citie of Saint Michael in the prouince of Culiacan, thinking there to haue found Francis Vazquez de Coronado gouernour of Nueva Galicia, and finding him not there, I proceeded on my iourney till I came to the Citie of Compostella, where I found him. I write not here many other particularities, because they are impertinent to this matter: I only report that which I haue seene, and which was told me concerning the Countreys through which I trauelled, and of those which I had information of.

Totontecac the greatest and most populous prouince.

He returned.

A desert.

A valley.

A second desert.

Compostella in 21. degrees of latitude.

The relation of Francis Vazquez de Coronado, Captaine generall of the people which were sent in the name of the Emperours maiestie to the Countrey of Cibola newly discovered, which he sent to Don Antonio de Mendoza Viceroy of Mexico, of such things as happened in his voyage from the 22. of Aprill in the yeere 1540. which departed from Culiacan forward, and of such things as hee found in the Countrey which he passed.

Chap. 1.

Francis Vazquez departeth with his armie from Culiacan, and after diuers troubles in his voyage, arriueeth at the valley of the people called Los Caracones, which he findeth barren of Maiz: for obtaining whereof hee sendeth to the valley called The valley of the Lord: he is informed of the greatnesse of the valley of the people called Caracones, and of the nature of those people, and of certaine Islands lying along that coast.



On the 22. of the moneth of Aprill last past I departed from the prouince of Culiacan with part of the army, and in such order as I mentioned unto your Lordship, and according to the successe I assured my selfe, by all likelihood that I shall not bring all mine armie together in this enterpryse: because the troubles haue bene so great and the want of victuals, that I thinke all this yeere wil not be sufficient to performe this enterpryse, & if it should bee performed in so short a time, it would be to the great losse of our people. For as I wrote unto your Lordship, I was foure score

This was but
200. leagues
from Mexico.

score dayes in traauiling to Culiacan, in all which time I and those Gentlemen my companions which were horsemen, carried on our backs and on our horses, a little victuall, so that from hence- forward wee carried none other needefull apparrell with vs, that was aboue a pound weight: and all this notwithstanding, and though wee put our selues to such a small proportion of victuals which wee carried, for all the order that possibly wee could take, wee were driuen to our shifts. And no maruayle, because the way is rough and long: and with the carriage of our Warque- bules downe the mountaines and hilles, and in the passage of Riuers, the greater part of our tozue was spoyled. And because I send your Lordship our voyage drawn in a Mappe, I will speake no more thereof in this my letter.

Fr. Marcus
of Niza.

Thirtie leagues before wee arrived at the place which the father prouinciall tolde vs so well of in his relation, I sent Melchior Diaz before with fiftene horses, giuing him order to make but one dayes iourney of two, because hee might examine all things, against mine arrival: who traualled foure dayes iourney through exceeding rough Mountaines where hee found neither victuals, nor people, nor information of any things, sauing that hee found two or three poore little villages, containing 20. or 30. cottages a piece, and by the inhabitants thereof hee vnderstood that from thence forward there were nothing but exceeding rough mountaines which ran very farre, betterly disinhabited and voyd of people. And because it was labour lost, I would not write vnto your Lordship thereof.

It grieved the whole company, that a thing so highly commended, and whereof the father had made so great bragges, should be found so contrary, and it made them suspect that all the rest would fall out in like sort. Which when I perceiued I sought to encourage them the best I coulde, telling them that your Lordshippe alwayes was of opinion, that this voyage was a thing cast away, and that wee should fixe our cogitation vpon those seven Cities, and other prouinces, whereof wee had knowledge: that there should bee the ende of our enterprize: and with this resolution and purpose wee all marched cheerefully through a very badde way which was not passable but one by one, or else wee must force out with Pioners the path which wee founde, wherewith the Souldiours were not a little offended, finding all that the frier had sayde to bee quite contrary: for among other things which the father sayde and affirmed, this was one, that the way was plaine and good, and that there was but one small hill of halfe a league in length. And yet in trueth there are mountaines which although the way were well mended could not bee passed without great danger of breaking the horses neckes: and the way was such, that of the cattell which your Lordship sent vs for the prouision of our armie wee lost a great part in the voy- age through the roughnesse of the rockes. The lambes and sheepe lost their hoofes in the way: and of those which I brought from Culiacan, I left the greater part at the Riuer of Lachimi, because they could not keepe company with vs, and because they might come softly after vs, foure men on horsebacke remained with them which are notwe come vnto vs, and haue brought vs not past foure and twentie lambes, and foure sheepe, for all the rest were dead with traauiling through that rough passage, although they traualled but two leagues a day, and rested themselues e- uery day.

The riuer of
Lachimi.

The valley of
the people cal-
led Caracones.

Valle del Sennor.

At length I arrived at the valley of the people called Caracones, the 26. day of the mo- neth of May: and from Culiacan vntill I came thither, I could not helpe my selfe, saue onely with a great quantitie of bread of Maiz: for seeing the Maiz in the fieldes were not yet ripe, I was constrained to leaue them all behind me. In this valley of the Caracones wee found more store of people then in any other part of the Countrey which wee had passed, and great store of til- lage. But I vnderstood that there was store thereof in another valley called The Lords valley, which I woulde not disturbe with force, but sent thither Melchior Diaz with wares of exchange to procure some, and to giue the sayde Maiz to the Indians our friends which wee brought with vs, and to some others that had lost their cattell in the way, and were not able to carry their victuals so farre which they brought from Culiacan. It pleased God that wee gate some small quantitie of Maiz with this traffique, whereby certaine Indians were releiued and some Spanyards.

The halley de
los Caracones
distant five
dayes iourney
from the Wes-
terne sea.

And by that time that wee were come to this valley of the Caracones, some tenne or twelue of our horses were dead through wearinesse: for being overcharged with great burdens, and hauing but little meate, they could not endure the traualle. Likewise some of our Negros and some of our Indians dyed here; which was no small want vnto vs for the performace of our enterprize. They tolde me that this valley of the Coracones is five dayes iourney from the Western Sea. I sent for the Indians of the Sea coast to vnderstand their estate, and while I stayed for them the horses rested: and I stayed there foure dayes, in which space the Indians of the

the Sea coast came vnto mee: which told mee, that two dayes sayling from their coast of the Sea, there were leuen or eight Islands right ouer against them, well inhabited with people, but badly furnished with victuals, and were a rude people: And they told mee, that they had seene a Shippe passe by not farre from the shore; which I wote not what to thinke whether it were one of those that went to discouer the Countrey, or else a Ship of the Portugals.

Seven or eight
Isles, which
are the Isles
of California.
A ship seene on
the sea coast.

Chap. 2.

They come to Chichilticale: after they had rested themselves two dayes there, they enter into a Countrey very barren of victuals, and hard to trauaile for thirtie leagues, beyond which they found a Countrey very pleasant, and a riuer called *Rio del Lino*, they fight with the Indians being assailed by them, and with victorie vanquishing their citie, they relieved themselves of their pinching hunger.

I Departed from the Caracones, and alwayes kept by the Sea coast as neere as I could iudge, and in very deed I still found my selfe the farther off: in such sort that when I arriued at Chichilticale I found my selfe tenne dayes iourney from the Sea: and the father prouinciall sayd that it was onely but five leagues distance, and that hee had seene the same. Wee all conceiued great griefe and were not a little confounded, when we saw that wee found euery thing contrary to the information which he had giuen your Lordship.

Chichilticale ten
dayes iourney
from the sea.

The Indians of Chichilticale say, that if at any time they goe to the Sea for fish, and other things that they carry, they goe trauersing, and are tenne dayes iourney in going thither. And I am of opinion that the information which the Indians giue me should be true. The sea returneth toward the West right ouer against the Coracones the space of tenne or twelue leagues. Where I found that your Lordships ships were seene, which went to discouer the haue of Chichilticale, which father Marcus of Nica sayd to bee in five and thirtie degrees. God knoweth what griefe of mind I haue sustained: because I am in doubt that some mishappe is fallen vnto them: and if they follow the coast, as they sayde they would, as long as their victuals last which they carry with them, whereof I left them store in Culiacan, and if they be not fallen into some misfortune, I hope well in God that by this they haue made some good discouerie, and that in this respect their long staying out may be pardoned.

This Chichilti-
cale is indeed
but in 23. deg.

I rested my selfe two dayes in Chichilticale, and to haue done well I should haue stayed longer, in respect that here wee found our horses so tyred: but because wee wanted victuals, wee had no leasure to rest any longer: I entred the confines of the desert Countrey on Saint Johns eue, and to refresh our former trauailes, the first dayes we founde no grasse, but worse way of mountaines and badde passages, then wee had passed already: and the horses being tired, were greatly molested therewith: so that in this last desert wee lost more horses then wee had lost before: and some of my Indians which were our friends dyed, and one Spanyard whose name was Spinosa; and two Negroes, which dyed with eating certaine herbes for lacke of victuals. From this place I sent before mee one dayes iourney the master of the fildie Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with fiftene horses to discouer the Countrey, and prepare our way: wherein hee did like himselfe, and according to the confidence which your Lordship reposed in him. And well I wote he sayled not to do his part: for as I haue enformed your Lordship, it is most wicked way, at least thirtie leagues and more, because they are inaccessible mountaines.

The 23. of
Iune.

Don Garcia Lo-
pez de Cardenas

But after wee had passed these thirtie leagues, wee found fresh riuers, and grasse like that of Castile, and specially of that sort which we call Scaramoio, many Nutte trees and Mulberie trees, but the Nutte trees differ from those of Spayne in the leafe: and there was flaxe, but chiefly neere the bankes of a certayne riuer which therefore wee called *El Rio del Lino*, that is to say, the riuer of Flaxe: wee found no Indians at all for a dayes trauaile, but afterward foure Indians came out vnto vs in peaceable maner, saying that they were sent euen to that desert place to signifie vnto vs that wee were welcome, and that the next day all the people would come out to meete vs on the way with victuals: and the master of the fildie gaue them a crosse, willing them to signifie to those of their citie that they should not feare, and they should rather let the people stay in their houses, because I came onely in the name of his maiestie to defend and ayd them.

A godly and
fruitfull coun-
treyp found.

Rio del Lino.

And this done, Fernando Aluarado returned to aduertise mee, that certaine Indians were come vnto them in peaceable maner, and that two of them stayed for my coming with the master of the fildie. Whereupon I went vnto them and gaue them beades and certaine short clockes, willing

*As wise fores-
cast.*

*The treason of
the Indians.*

*Great forescast
and diligence
of the Campe-
master.*

*They arrive at
the citie of
Cibola.*

*The arrogan-
cie of the peo-
ple of Cibola.*

*Commande-
ment to be
gentlenesse to
the Sauages.*

*There were
800 men
within the
towne.
Gomara, Hist.
Gen. cap. 213.*

*They defend
the wals with
stones like
those of Hoche-
laga.*

willig them to returne vnto their citie, and bid them to stay quiet in their houses, and feare no-
thing. And this done I sent the master of the field to search whether there were any bad passage
which the Indians might keepe against vs, and that hee should take and defend it vntill the next
day that I should come thither. So hee went, and found in the way a very bad passage, where
wee might haue sustayned very great harme: wherefore there hee seated himselfe with his
company that were with him: and that very night the Indians came to take that passage to
defend it, and finding it taken, they assaulted our men there, and as they tell mee, they assaulted
them like valiant men; although in the ende they retired and fledde away; for the master of the
fielde was watchfull, and was in order with his company: the Indians in token of retreat soun-
ded on a certaine small trumpet, and did no hurt among the Spaniards. The very same night
the master of the fielde certified mee hereof. Whereupon the next day in the best order that I
could I departed in so great want of victuall, that I thought that if wee should stay one day
longer without foode, wee should all perishe for hunger, especially the Indians, for among vs all
we had not two bushels of cozne: wherefore it behoued mee to picke forward without delay.
The Indians here and there made fires, and were answered againe afarre off as orderly as
wee for our liues could haue done, to giue their fellows vnderstanding, how wee marched and
where we arrived.

As soone as I came within sight of this citie of Granada, I sent Don Garcias Lopez Campe-
master, frier Daniel, and frier Luys, and Fernando Vermizzo somewhat before with certaine
horsesmen to seeke the Indians and to aduertise them that our coming was not to hurt them,
but to defend them in the name of the Emperour our Lord, according as his maiestie had giuen
vs in charge: which message was deliuered to the inhabitants of that countrey by an interpreter.
But they like arrogant people made small account thereof; because we seemed very few in their
eyes, and that they might destroy vs without any difficultie: and they strooke frier Luys with an
arrow on the gone, which by the grace of God did him no harme.

In the meane space I arrived with all the rest of the horsesmen, and footemen, and found in the
fieldest a great sort of the Indians which beganne to shoote at vs with their arrowes: and be-
cause I would obey your will and the commaund of the Marques, I would not let my people
charge them, forbidding my company, which intreated mee that they might set vpon them, in any
wise to prouoke them, saying that that which the enemies did was nothing, and that it was not
meete to set vpon so few people. On the other side the Indians perceiuing that wee stirred
not, tooke great stomacke and courage vnto them: insomuch that they came hard to our horses
heelles to shoote at vs with their arrowes. Whereupon seeing that it was now tinte to stay no
longer, and that the friers also were of the same opinion, I set vpon them without any danger:
for suddenly they fled part to the citie which was neere and well fortified, and other into the field,
which way they could shift: and some of the Indians were slaine, and more had bene if I would
haue suffered them to haue bene pursued.

But considering that hereof wee might reape but small profite, because the Indians that
were without, were fewe, and those which were retired into the citie, with them which stayed
within at the first were many, where the victuals were whereof wee had so great neede, I as-
sembled my people, and deuised them as I thought best to assault the citie, and I compassed
it about: and because the famine which wee sustained suffered no delay, my selfe with certaine
of these gentlemen and souldiers put our selues on foote, and commaunded that the crosse-
bowes and harquebushers should giue the assault, and should beate the enemies from the
walles, that they might not hurt vs, and I assaulted the walles on one side, where they tolde me
there was a scaling ladder set vp, and that there was one gate: but the crossebowmen sudden-
ly brake the strings of their bowes, and the harquebushers did nothing at all: for they came thi-
ther so weake and feeble, that scarcely they could stand on their feete: and by this meanes the
people that were aloft on the wals to defend the towne were no way hindered from doing vs all
the mischief they could: so that twice they strooke mee to the ground with infinite number of
great stones, which they cast downe; and if I had not bene defended with an excellent good
headpiece which I wore, I thinke it had gone hardly with mee: neuerthelesse my companie
tooke mee by with two small wounds in the face, and an arrowe sticking in my foote, and many
blowes with stones on my armes and legges, and thus I went out of the battell very weake.
I thinke that if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas the second time that they strooke mee to
the ground had not succoured mee with striding ouer mee like a good knight, I had bene in
farre greater danger then I was. But it pleased God that the Indians yielded themselues
vnto vs, and that this citie was taken: and such store of Maiz was found therein, as our
necessitie

necessitie required. The Master of the felds, and Don Pedro de Touar, and Fernando de Alu-
rado, and Paul de Melgosa Captaines of the footemen escaped with certaine knocks with stones :
though none of them were wounded with arrowes, yet Agoniez Quarez was wounded in one
arme with the shot of an arrowe, and one Torres a townesman of Panuco was shot into the face
with another, and two footemen more had two small woundes with arrowes. And because my
armour was gilded and glittering, they all layd load on mee, and therefore I was more wounded
then the rest, not that I did more then they, or put my selfe forwarder then the rest, for all these
Gentlemen and souldiers carried themselves as manfully as was looked for at their hands. I am
nowe well recouered I thanke God, although somewhat bruised with stones. Likewise in the
skirmish which wee had in the feldes, two or three other souldiers were hurt, and three horses
slaine, one of Don Lopez, the other of Viliega and the third of Don Alonso Manrique, and seuen
or eight other horses were wounded; but both the men and horses are whole and sound.

Chap. 3.

Of the situation and state of the seuen cities called the Kingdome of Cibola, and of the
customes and qualities of those people, and of the beasts which are found there.

I remaineth now to certifie your Honour of the seuen cities, and of the kingdomes and prouin-
ces whereof the Father prouinciall made report vnto your Lordship. And to bee brieue, I can
assure your honour, he sayd the trueness in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, sa-
uing onely the names of the cities, and great houses of stone: for although they bee not wrought
with Turqueses, nor with lyme, nor bricke, yet are they very excellent good houses of three or
four or five loftes high, wherein are good lodgings and faire chambers with ladders in stead of
staires, and certaine cellers vnder the ground very good and paved, which are made for winter,
they are in maner like stooues: and the ladders which they haue for their houses are all in a ma-
ner moouable and portable, which are taken away and set downe when they please, and they
are made of two pieces of wood with their steppes, as ours be. The seuen cities are seuen small
townes, all made with these kinde of houses that I speake of: and they stand all within foure
leagues together, and they are all called the kingdome of Cibola, and euery one of them haue
their particular name: and none of them is called Cibola, but altogether they are called Cibola.
And this towne which I call a citie, I haue named Granada, as well because it is somewhat like
vnto it, as also in remembrance of your lordship. In this towne where I nowe remaine, there
may bee some two hundred houses, all compassed with walles, and I thinke that with the rest of
the houses which are not so walled, they may be together five hundred. There is another towne
neere this, which is one of the seuen, & it is somewhat bigger then this, and another of the same big-
nesse that this is of, and the other foure are somewhat lesse: and I send them all painted vnto your
lordship with the voyage. And the parchment wherem the picture is, was found here with other
parchments. The people of this towne seeme vnto me of a reasonable stature, and wittie, yet
they seeme not to bee such as they should bee, of that iudgement and wit to builde these houses in
such sort as they are. For the most part they goe all naked, except their priue partes which are
couered: and they haue painted mantles like those which I send vnto your lordship. They haue
no cotton wooll growing, because the countrey is colde, yet they weare mantles thereof as
your honour may see by the shewe thereof: and true it is that there was found in their houses
certaine yarne made of cotton wooll. They weare their haire on their heads like those of Mexi-
co, and they are well nurtured and condicioned: And they haue Turqueses I thinke good quan-
tities, which with the rest of the goods which they had, except their corne, they had conueyed away
before I came thither: for I found no women there, nor no youth vnder fifteene yeeres olde, nor
no olde folkes aboue sixtie, sauing two or three olde folkes, who stayed behinde to gouerne all the
rest of the youth and men of warre. There were found in a certaine paper two poynts of Em-
eralds, and certaine small stones broken which are in colour somewhat like Granates very bad,
and other stones of Christall, which I gaue one of my seruants to lay vp to send them to your
lordship, and hee hath lost them as hee telleth me. Wee found heere Guinie cockes, but fewe.
The Indians tell mee in all these seuen cities, that they eate them not, but that they keepe them
onely for their feathers. I beleue them not, for they are excellent good, and greater then those
of Mexico. The season which is in this countrey, and the temperature of the ayre is like that of
Mexico: for sometime it is hotte, and sometime it raineth: but hitherto I neuer sawe it raine,
but once there fell a little showe with winde, as they are wont to fall in Spaine.

I i

The

Excellent houses
four or
five loftes
high.

Cibola is a prouince
containing
seuen
townes.

Five hundred
houses in Gra-
nada.

A painter
necessarie in a
new discovery.

Painted man-
tles.

Store of Tur-
queses.

Emeralds.
Granates.
Christall.

Excellent and
very great Gui-
nie cockes.

Gomara hist.
gen. Cap. 213.
saith that the
colde is by
reason of the
high mount-
taines.

Woods of Ce-
dars.
Excellent
grasse.

Deere, hares,
and conies.

Very good
salte.
The Westerne
sea within
150 leagues
from Cibola.
Beares, Ti-
gers, lions,
Worke spicks,
mighie shep,
wilde goates.
Wilde Bores.
Deere.
Dunces.
Staggess.
They trauele
8 dayes jour-
ney toward
the North sea.
Wee hies dy-
ed and pain-
ted very curi-
ously.

The snow and cold are wont to be great, for so say the inhabitants of the Countrey: and it is very likely so to bee, both in respect of the maner of the Countrey, and by the fashion of their houses, and their furtres and other things which this people haue to defend them from colde. There is no kind of fruit nor trees of fruite. The Countrey is all plaine, and is on no side mountainous: albeit there are some hillie and bad passages. There are small store of fowles: the cause whereof is the colde, and because the mountaines are not neere. Here is no great store of wood, because they haue wood for their fuell sufficient foure leagues off from a wood of small Cedars. There is most excellent grasse within a quarter of a league hence, for our hoxles as well to feede them in pasture, as to mowe and make hay, whereof wee stood in great neede, because our hoxles came hither so weake and feeble. The victuals which the people of this countrey haue, is Maiz, whereof they they haue great store, and also small white Pease: and Aenison, which by all likelyhood they feede vpon, (though they say no) for wee found many skinnies of Deere, of Hares, and Conies. They eate the best cakes that euer I sawe, and every body generally eateth of them. They haue the finest order and way to grinde that wee euer sawe in any place. And one Indian woman of this countrey will grinde as much as foure women of Mexico. They haue most excellent salte in kernell, which they fetch from a certaine lake a dayes iourney from hence. They haue no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor of the Westerne Sea, neither can I tell your lordship to which wee bee neerest: But in reason they should seeme to bee neerest to the Westerne Sea: and at the least I thinke I am an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence: and the Northerne Sea should bee much further off. Your lordship may see howe broad the land is here. Here are many sorts of beastes, as Beares, Tigers, Lions, Worke spicks, and certaine Sheep as bigge as an hoxle, with very great hornes and little taitles, I haue seene their hornes so bigge, that it is a wonder to behold their greatnesse. Here are also wilde goates whose heads likewise I haue seene, and the pawes of Beares, and the skins of wilde Bores. There is game of Deere, Dunces, and very great Staggess: and all men are of opinion that there are some bigger then that beast which your lordship bestowed vpon me, which once belonged to Iohn Melaz. They trauele eight dayes iourney vnto certaine plaines lying toward the North Sea. In this countrey there are certaine skinnies well dresed, and they dresse them and paint them where they kill their Deen, for so they say themselves.

Chap. 4.

Of the state and qualities of the kingdomes of *Totontec*, *Marata*, and *Acus*, quite contrary to the relation of Frier *Marcus*. The conference which they haue with the Indians of the citie of *Granada* which they had taken, which had fiftie yeres past foreseene the comming of the Christians into their countrey. The relation which they haue of other seuen cities, whereof *Tucano* is the principall, and how he sent to discouer them. A present of diuers things had in these countreys sent vnto the Viceroy *Mendoza* by *Vasques de Coronado*.

Totontec
is an hotte
lake.
Tadouac seem-
eth because it
is a lake, and
endeth in ac to
haue some affi-
nitie herewith.
Other townes
neere a riuer.

The kingdome of *Totontec* so much extolled by the Father prouinciall, which sayde that there were such wonderfull things there, and such great matters, and that they made cloth there, the Indians say is an hotte lake, about which are five or sixe houses; and that there were certaine other, but that they are ruinated by warre. The kingdome of *Marata* is not to be found, neither haue the Indians any knowledge thereof. The kingdome of *Acus* is one onely small citie, where they gather cotton which is called *Acucu*. And I say that this is a towne. For *Acus* with an aspiration nor without, is no word of the countrey. And because I gesse that they would deriue *Acucu* of *Acus*, I say that it is this towne whereinto the kingdom of *Acus* is conuerted. Beyond this towne they say there are other small townes which are neere to a riuer which I haue seene and haue had report of by the relation of the Indians. I would to God I had better newes to write vnto your lordship: neuerthelesse I must say the truth: And as I wrote to your lordship from *Culiacan*, I am nowe to aduertise your honour as wel of the good as of the bad. Yet this I would haue you bee assured, that if all the riches and the treasures of the world were here, I could haue done no more in the seruice of his Maiestie and of your lordshippe, then I haue done in comming hither whither you haue sent mee, my selfe and my companions carrying our victuals vpon our shoulders and vpon our hoxles three hundred leagues; and many dayes going on foote traualling ouer hilles and rough mountaines, with other troubles which I cease to mention, neither purpose I to depart vnto the death, if it please his Maiestie and your lordship that it shall be so.

Ther

Three dayes after this citie was taken, certaine Indians of these people came to offer mee peace, and brought mee certaine Turqueses and badde mandes, and I receiued them in his Ma-
iesties name with all the good speaches that I could deuise, certifying them of the purpose of my
comming into this countrey, which is in the name of his Maiestie, and by the commandement of
your Lordship, that they and all the rest of the people of this prouince should become Christians,
and should knowe the true God for their Lord, and receiue his Maiestie for their King, and earth-
ly Soueraigne: And herewithall they returned to their houses, and suddenly the next day they
set in order all their goods and substance, their women and children, and fled to the hills, leauing
their towne as it were abandoned, wherein remained very fewe of them. When I sawe this,
within eight or tenne dayes after being recovered of my woundes, I went to the citie, which I
sayde to bee greater then this where I am, and found there some fewe of them, to whom I sayde
that they should not bee afraid, and that they should call their gouernour vnto mee: howbeit, for-
asmuch as I can learne or gather, none of them hath any gouernour: for I sawe not there any
chiefe house, whereby any preeminence of one ouer another might bee gathered. After this an
olde man came, which sayd that hee was their lord, with a piece of a mantle made of many pieces,
with whom I reasoned that small while that hee stayed with mee, and hee sayd that within three
dayes after, hee and the rest of the chiefe of that towne would come and visite mee, and giue or-
der what course should bee taken with them. Which they did: for they brought mee certaine
mantles and some Turqueses. I aduised them to come downe from their holdes, and to returne
with their wiues and children to their houses, and to become Christians, and that they would ac-
knowledge the Emperours maiestie for their King and lord. And euen to this present they
keepe in those strong holdes their women and children, and all the goods which they haue. I
commanded them that they should paint mee out a cloth of all the beastes which they knowe in
their countrey: And such badde painters as they are, forthwith they painted mee two clothes,
one of their beastes, another of their birdes and fishes. They say that they will bring their chil-
dren, that our religious men may instruct them, and that they desire to knowe our lawe: And
they assure vs, that about fiftie yeeres past it was prophesied among them, that a certaine people
like vs should come, and from that part that wee came from, and that they should subdue all that
countrey.

That which these Indians worship as farre as hitherto wee can learne, is the water: for they
say it causeth their corne to growe, and maintaineth their life; and that they know none other rea-
son, but that their ancessors did so. I haue sought by all meanes possible to learne of the inhabi-
tants of these towne, whether they haue any knowledge of other people, countreys and cities:
And they tell mee of seuen cities which are farre distant from this place, which are like vnto
these, though they haue not houses like vnto these, but they are of earth, and small: and that a-
mong them much cotton is gathered. The chiefe of these towne whereof they haue knowledge,
they say is called Tucano: and they gaue mee no perfect knowledge of the rest. And I thinke
they doe not tell me the truth, imagining that of necessitie I must speedily depart from them, and
returne home. But herein they shall soone finde themselves deceived. I sent Don Pedro de To-
uar with his companie of footemen and with certaine other horsemen to see this towne: And I
would not haue dispatched this packet vnto your lordship, vntill I had knowen what this towne
was, if I had thought that within twelue or fiftene dayes I might haue had newes from him:
for hee will stay in this journey thirtie dayes at least. And hauing examined that the knowledge
hereof is of small importance, and that the colde and the waters approach: I thought it my duety
to doe according as your lordship gaue mee charge in your instructions, which is, that immediat-
ly vpon mine arrivall here, I should signifie so much vnto your lordship, and so I doe, sending
withall the bare relation of that which I haue seene. I haue determined to send round about the
countrey from hence to haue knowledge of all things, and rather to suffer all extremitie, then to
leane this enterpryse to serue his maiestie, if I may find any thing wherein I may performe it, and
not to omit any diligence therein, vntill your lordship send mee order what I shall doe. Wee haue
great want of pasture: and your lordship also shall vnderstand, that among all those which are here,
there is not one pound of raiins, nor suger, nor oyle, nor any wine, saue only one pinte which is sa-
ued to say Masse: for all is spent & spilt by the way. Now your lordship may prouide vs what you
thinke needefull. And if your honour meane to send vs cattell, your lordship must vnderstand that
they will bee a sommer in coming vnto vs: for they will not be able to come vnto vs any sooner.
I would haue sent your lordshippe with this dispatch many mullets of things which are in this
countrey: but the way is so long and rough, that it is hard for me to doe so: neuerthelesse I send
you twelue small mantles, such as the people of the countrey are wont to weare, and a certaine

Turqueses.
Spanles.

The Indians
flee to the hills
with their
wiues, chil-
dren and
goods.
A citie greater
then Granada.

Two tables
painted by the
Indians, one
of beastes and
other of birdes
and fishes.
An old prophesie
that those
parts should
be subdued
by Christians.
They worship
the water.

Seuen cities
farre from
Granada.

Tucano.

The Spaniards
bless
alling in dis-
coneries.

A garment
excellently im-
browed
with needle
worke.

An orehide.
Certaine Tur-
queses.

The death of
Stephan the
Negro.

Acucu.

Gold and sil-
uer found in
Cibola.

Garment also, which seemeth unto me to bee well made: I kept the same, because it seemed to mee to bee excellent well wrought, because I beleue that no man euer sawe any needle worke in these Indies, except it were since the Spaniards inhabited the same. I send your Lordshippe also two clothes painted with the beasts of this countrey, although as I haue sayde, the picture bee very rudely done, because the painter spent but one day in drawing of the same. I haue seene other pictures on the walles of the houses of this citie with faire better proportion, and better made, I send your honour one Ore-hide, certaine Turqueses, and two earrerings of the same, and sifterne combes of the Indians, and certain tablets set with these Turqueses, and two small baskets made of wicker, whereof the Indians haue great store. I send your lordshippe also two rolles which the women in these parts are woont to weare on their heads when they fetch water from their welles, as wee vse to doe in Spaine. And one of these Indian women with one of these rolles on her head, will carie a pitcher of water without touching the same with her hande vpon a lather. I send you also a muster of the weapons wherewith these people are woont to fight, a buckler, a mace, a bowe, and certaine arrowes, among which are two with points of bones, the like whereof, as these conquerours say, haue neuer bene seene. I can say nothing vnto your lordshippe touching the apparell of their women. For the Indians keepe them so carefully from vs, that hitherto I haue not seene any of them, sauing onely two olde women, and these had two long robes doونه to the foote open before, and girded to them, and they are buttoned with certaine cordons of cotton. I requested the Indians to giue me one of these robes, which they ware, to send your honour the same, seeing they would not shewe mee their women. And they brought mee two mantles which are these, which I send you as it were painted: they haue two pendants like the women of Spaine, which hang somewhat ouer their shoulders. The death of the Negro is most certaine: for here are many of the things found which hee carried with him: And the Indians tell me that they killed him here, because the Indians of Chichilcalle tolde them that hee was a wicked vil- laine, and not like vnto the Christians: because the Christians kill no women: and hee killed wo- men; and also he touched their women, which the Indians loue more then themselves; therefore they determined to kill him: But they did it not after such sort as was reported, for they killed none of the rest of those that came with him: neither shewe they the young lad which was with him of the prouince of Petatlan, but they tooke him and kept him in safe custodie vntill now. And when I sought to haue him, they excused themselves two or three dayes to giue him mee, telling mee that hee was dead, and sometimes that the Indians of Acucu had carried him away. But in conclusion, when I tolde them that I should bee very angry if they did not giue him mee, they gaue him vnto me. Hee is an interpreter, for though hee cannot well speake their language, yet hee understandeth the same very well. In this place there is found some quantitie of golde and silver, which those which are skillfull in minerall matters esteeme to be very good. To this houre I could neuer learne of these people from whence they haue it: And I see they refuse to tell mee the truth in all things, imagining, as I haue sayde, that in short time I would depart hence, but I hope in God they shall no longer excuse themselves. I beseech your lordship to certifie his Maiestie of the successe of this voyage. For seeing wee haue no more then that which is afore- sayd, and vntill such time as it please God that wee finde that which wee desire, I meane not to write my selfe. Our Lorde God keepe and preferue your Excellencie.

From the prouince of Cibola, and from this citie of Granada the third of August 1540.
Francis Vasques de Coronado kisseth the hands of your Excellencie.

The rest of this voyage to *Acuco*, *Tiguex*, *Cicnic*, and *Quinira*, and vnto the West-erne Ocean, is thus written in the generall historie of the West Indies by *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, Chap. 214.

Acuco.
The Westerne
sea discovered.
Tiguex.
Axa and Qui-
uira.

Because they would not returne to Mexico without doing something, nor with empty hands, they agreed to passe further into the countrey, which was tolde them to bee better and better. So they came to *Acuco*, a towne vpon an exceeding strong hill. And from thence *Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas* with his companie of horsemen went vnto the Sea: and *Francis Vasques* went to *Tiguex*, which standeth on the banke of a great riuer. There they had newes of *Axa* and *Quinira*. There they sayde was a King whose name was *Tacirax*, with a long beard, hoie headed, and rich, which was girded with a *Bzacamart*, which prayed vpon a payre of beades, which worshipped a Crosse of golde, and the image of a woman, the Queene of heauen. This newes did greatly reioyce and cheere vpon the armie: although some thought it to bee false, and the report of the Friers. They determined to goe thither, with intention to winter in so rich a coun-
tre

they as that was reported to bee. One night the Indians ranne away, and in the morning they found thirtie horses dead, which put the armie in feare. In their iourney they burnt a certaine towne: And in another towne which they assauled, they killed certaine Spaniards, and wounded sicke horses, and the inhabitants dyed into their towne Francis de Quando wounded in dead, to ease and sacrifice him as they thought, or peradventure to see more perfectly, what manner of men the Spaniards were: for there was not found there any signe of sacrificing men. Our people layde siege vnto the towne, but could not take it in more then five and forty dayes space. The townesmen that were besieged, dranke kinde in stead of water: and seeing themselves forlorne they made a fire, wherein they cast their mandes, feathers, Turqueses and precious things, that those strangers might not enioy them. They issued out in a squadron with their women and children in the midst, to make way by force, and to saue themselves, but few escaped the edge of our swordes and the horses, and a certaine river which was neere the towne. Seven Spaniards were slaine in this conflict, and fourescore were wounded, and many horses: whereby a man may see of what force resolution is in necessitie. Many Indians returned to the towne with the women and children, and defended themselves, vntill our men set fire on the towne. In this countrey there are melons, and white and redde cotton, whereof they make faire large mantels, then in other parts of the Indies. From Tiguex they went in foure dayes iourney to Cieuc, which is a small towne, and foure leagues from thence they met with a new kind of ore en wild and fierce, whereof the first day they killed fourescore, which sufficed the armie with flesh. From Cieuc they went to Quiuia, which after their accompt, is almost three hundred leagues distant, through mighty plaines, and sandie heathes so smooth, and wearisome, and bare of wood, that they made heapes of ore-dung for want of stones and trees, that they might not lose themselves at their returne: for thre horses were lost on that plaine, and one Spaniard, which went from his companie on hunting. All that way & plaines are as full of crooked backed open, as the mountaine Serena in Spaine is of sheepe: but there is no people but such as keepe those cattell. They were a great succout for the hunger and want of bread which our people stood in. One day it rayned in that plaine a great shoure of haile, as bigge as Oranges, which caused many feares, weakenesse, and bowes. At length they came to Quiuia and found Taracax, whome they fought, an hoarie headed man, naked, and with a iewell of copper hanging at his necke, which was all his riches. The Spaniards seeing the false report of so famous riches, returned to Tiguex, without seeing either crosse or shewe of Christianitie: and from thence to Mexico. In the ende of March of the yeere 1542. Francis Vasquez fell from his horse in Tiguex, and with the fall fell out of his wits, and became madde. Which some tooke to bee for griefe, and others thought it to be but counterfeited: for they were much offended with him, because hee peopled not the countrey.

to towne burnt.
Another towne assailed.

Spaniards.
Turqueses.
Feathers.
Precious things.

Melons.
Cotton.
Large mantels.
Cieuc foure dayes iourney from Tiguex.
Quiuia.
Heapes of ore dung made for markes to know the way

The Spaniards returned to Tiguex, and so to Mexico 1542.
The Spaniards would haue inhabited the countrey.

Ships scut on the sea coast of Quiuia, which were 30. dayes in sailing thither.

Andrew de Campo translated from Quiuia to Panuco.

The cause why the Spaniards peopled not in Cibola.

Quiuia is in forty degrees: it is a temperate countrey, and hath very good waters, and much grasse, plumes, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes, which ripen very well. There is no cotton: and they apparell themselves with ore-hides and deeres skinnies. They sawe shippes on the sea coast, which bare Alcatrazes or Pellicanes of golde and silver in their prowes, and were laden with marchandises, and they thought them to bee of Cathaya, and China, because they shewed out men by signes that they had sayled thirtie dayes.

Frier Iohn de Padilla stayed behinde in Tiguex, with another of his companions called Frier Francis, and returned to Quiuia, with some dozen Indians of Mechuacan, and with Andrew de Campo a Portugall, the gardiner of Francis de Solis: Hee tooke with him horses and mules with provision. Hee tooke sheepe and hennes of Castile, and ornaments to say Masse withall. The people of Quiuia slew the Friers, and the Portugall escaped with certaine Indians of Mechuacan. Who albeit at that time he escaped death, yet could hee not free himselfe out of captivity: for by and by after they caught him againe. But ten moneths after he was taken captiue, hee fled away with a couple of dogs. As hee traualled, hee blessed the people with a crosse, wherunto they offered much, and wheresoeuer hee came, they gaue him almes, lodging, and foode. He came to the countrey of the Chichimechas, and arriued at Panuco. When he came to Mexico, hee wate his haire very long, and his beard tyed vp in a lace, and reported strange things of the lands, riuers and mountaines that he had passed.

It grieved Don Antonio de Mendoza very much that the army returned home: for hee had spent aboue threescore thousand pesos of golde in the enterprise, and ought a great part thereof still. Many sought to haue dwelt there; but Francis Vasquez de Coronado, which was rich, and lately married to a faire wife, would not consent, saying, that they could not maintaine nor defend themselves

themselves in so poore a countrey, and so farre from succour. They traualled aboue nine hundred leagues in this countrey.

The foresayd Francis Lopez de Gomara in his generall historie of the West Indies, Chap. 215. writeth in maner following of certaine great and strange beasts neuer scene nor heard of in our knowen world of Asia, Europe, and Africa: which somewhat resembling our oxen, hauing high bunches on their backs like those on the backs of Camels, are therefore called by him *Vacas corcobadas*, that is to say, Crooke-backed oxen, being very deformed & terrible in shewe, and fierce by nature: which notwithstanding for soode, apparell, and other necessarie vses, are most seruiceable and beneficiall to the inhabitants of those countreys. He reporteth also in the same chapter of certaine strange sheepe as bigge as horses, and of dogs which vse to carie burchens of 50. pound weight pound weight vpon their backs.

These are
much like the
people that
Captain Fro-
bisher brought
into England
from Meta
incognita.

The descripti-
on of the open
of Quivira.

Sheepe as
big as horses.

spightful dogs
carrying 50.
pound weight.

ALl the way betweene Cicuic and Quivira is a most plaine soyle, without trees and stones, and hath but fewe and small towines. The men clothe and shooe themselves with lether; and the women which are esteemed for their long lockes, couer their heads and secrets with the same. They haue no bread of any kinde of graine, as they say: which I account a very great matter. Their chiefest soode is flesh, and that oftentimes they eate rawe, either of custome or for lacke of wood. They eate the fatte as they take it out of the Dre, and drinke the blood hotte, and die not therewithall, though the ancient writers say that it killeth, as Empedocles and others affirmed, they drinke it also colde dissolved in water. They seech not the flesh for lacke of pots, but roast it, or to say more properly, warme it at a fire of Dre-dung: when they eate, they chaw their meate but little, and rauens much, and holding the flesh with their teeth, they cut it with razors of stone, which seemeth to be great bestialitie: but such is their manner of liuing and fashion. They goe together in companies, and mooue from one place to another, as the wilde Poores of Barbarie called Alarbes doe, following the seasons and the pasture after their Dre.

These Dre are of the bignesse and colour of our Bulles, but their hornes are not so great. They haue a great bunch vpon their fore shoulders, and more haire on their fore part then on their hinder part: and it is like wooll. They haue as it were an horse mane vpon their backe bone, and much haire and very long from the knees downeward. They haue great tufts of haire hanging downe their foreheads, and it seemeth that they haue beards, because of the great store of haire hanging downe at their chins and throates. The males haue very long taites, and a great knobbe or flocke at the end: so that in some respect they resemble the Lion, and in some other the Camell. They push with their hornes, they runne, they ouertake and kill an horse when they are in their rage and anger. Finally, it is a foule and fierce beast of countenance and forme of bodie. The horses flodde from them, either because of their deformed shape, or else because they had neuer scene them. Their masters haue no other riches nor substance: of them they eat, they drinke, they apparel, they shooe themselves: and of their hides they make many things, as houses, shoes, apparell and ropes: of their bones they make bodkins: of their sinewes and haire, theyeed: of their hornes, matwes, and bladders, vessels: of their dung, fire: and of their calues-skimes, budgets, wherein they drawe and keepe water. To bee short, they make so many things of them as they haue neede of, or as many as suffice them in the vse of this life.

There are also in this countrey other beastes as big as horses, which because they haue hornes and fine wool, they cal them sheepe, and they say that every horne of theirs weigheth is fiftie pound weight.

There are also great dogs which will fight with a bull, and will carrie fiftie pound weight in sacks when they goe on hunting, or when they remoue from place to place with their flocks and herds.

EL

EL VIAIE QUE HIZO ANTONIO

de ESPEJO en el anno de ochenta y tres: el qual con

sus companneros descubrieron vna tierra en que hallaron quinze

Prouincias todas llenas de pueblos, y de casas de quatro y cinco al-

tos, a quien pusieron por nombre El nuevo Mexico, por

parecerse en muchas cosas al viejo. Esta à la parte

del Norte, y se cree que por ella, y por po-

blado, se puede venir hasta llegar a

la tierra que llaman del Labrador.

Del Nuevo Mexico, y de su descubrimiento, y lo que del se sabe.



A dixe en el titulo del libro, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres, se auian descubierta quinze Prouincias, a quien los inuentores llamaron El nuevo Mexico en la tierra firme de Nueva Espanna, y prometi de dar noticia del descubrimiento, como lo hare con la mayor breuedad que sea possible, porque si uiera de poner diffusamente todo lo que vieron y supieron, fuera menester hazer dello nueva historia.

Nuevo Mexico.

La substancia dello es, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y vno, teniendo noticia vn Religioso de la Orden de sant Francisco, que se llamaua fray Augustin Ruyz, que moraua en el valle de sant Bartholome, por relation de ciertos Indios Conchos que se comunicauan con otros sus conuezininos llamados Passaguates: que hazia la parte del Norte (caminando siempre por tierra) auia ciertas poblaciones grandes, y nunca sabidas de nuestros Espannoles, ni descubiertas, con zelo de caridad, y de saluacion de las almas, pidio licencia al Conde de Corunna Virey de la dicha Nueva Espanna, y a sus mayores, para yr a ellas, a procurar aprender su lengua, y sabida, bautizarlos, y predicarles el santo Euangelio. Alcançada la licencia de los sobredichos, tomando otros dos companneros de su mesma Orden, se partio con ocho soldados, que de voluntad le quisieron acompañar, a poner en execucion su Christiano y zeloso intento. Los quales a pocos dias de camino toparon con vna Prouincia, que se llamaua de los Tiguas, distante de las minas de sancta Barbola (de donde començaron la jornada) dozientas y cinquenta leguas hazia el Norte, en la qual por cierta ocasion los naturales le mataron al dicho padre vno de sus dos companneros. El qual, los soldados que yuancó el, viendo, y sintiendo el lucesso, y temiendo que del se podria seguir otro mayor danno, acordaron de común consentimiento de boluerse a las minas de donde auian salido, con consideracion de que la gente que yua era muy poca para resistir a los successos que se podian offerer en tanta distancia de la viuienda de los Espannoles, y tan lexos del necessario socorro. Los dos Religiosos que hauian quedado, no solo no vinieron en su parecer, mas antes viendo la ocasion para poner en execucion su buen desseo, y tanta mies madura para la mesa de Dios, viendo que no podian persuadir a los soldados a passar adelante en el descubrimiento, se quedaron ellos en la dicha Prouincia con tres muchachos Indios, y vn mestizo, que auian lleuado consigo, pareciendoles que aunque quedassen solos, estauan alli seguros, por la affabilidad y amor con que los naturales della los tratauan. Llegados los ocho soldados adonde desseaui, embiaron luego la nueva al dicho Virey dello sucedido a la ciudad de Mexico, que dista de las dichas minas de santa Barbora ciento y sesenta leguas. Sintieron mucho los religiosos de sant Francisco la quedada de sus hermanos: y timiendo no los matassen viendo los solos, començaron a mouer los animos de algunos soldados, para que en compannia de otro Religioso de la mesma Orden llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, tornassen a la dicha Prouincia, a sacar de peligro a los dichos dos Religiosos, y proseguir con la empresa començada.

Augustin Ruyz

Tiguas.

Fray Bernardino Beltran.

En esta sazón estaua en las dichas minas por cierta ocasion vn vezino de la ciudad de Mexico, llamado Antonio de Espejo, hombre rico, y de mucho animo y industria, y zeloso del seruicio de la maiestad del Rey Don Philippe nuestro senor, natural de Cordoua. El qual como entendiesse el desseo de los dichos religiosos, y la importancia del negocio, se ofrecio a la jornada, y a gastar en ella parte de su hacienda, y a riesgar su vida, siendo le para ello concedida licencia de alguna persona que representasse a su maiestad, la qual procurandola los dichos religiosos, le fue dada por el Capitan Iuá de Onqueros Alcalde mayor por su magestad en los pueblos que llaman las quatro Cienegas, que son en la gouernacion de la Nueva

Antonio de Espejo morio en la Havana 1589.

Nueva Bizcaya.

Vizcaya,

Vizcaya, setenta leguas de las dichas minas de Santa Barbara, assi para que el pudiesse yr, como para que iuntasse la gente y soldados que pudiesse, para que le acompañassien, y ayudasen a conseguir su Christiano intento.

El dicho Antonio de Espejo tomo el negocio con tantas veras, que en muy pocos dias juntò los soldados y bastimentos necesarios para hazer la jornada, gastando en ello buena parte de su hazienda: y partio con todos ellos del valle de Sant Bartholome a los diez de Noviembre de mil y quinientos y ochenta y dos, lleuando para lo que se ofreciesse ciento y quince cauallos, y mulas, y muchas armas, municiones, y bastimentos, y alguna gente de seruicio.

Endereço su camino hacia el Norte, y a dos jornadas topo mucha cantidad de Indios de los que llaman Conchos en Rancherías o poblaciones de calas pagicas. Los quales como lo supiesse, y tuuiesse dello relacion muy de atras, los salieron a recebir con muestras de alegria. La comida destos, y de los de la Prouincia, que es grande, es de carne de conejos, liebres, y venados que maran, y lo ay todo en grandissima cantidad. Tienen mucho maiz, que es el trigo de las Indias, calabacas, y melones, y en abundancia: y ay muchos rios que crían mucha cantidad de pescado muy bueno, y de diuersas suertes: andan casi todos desnudos, y las armas que vsan son arco y flecha, y viuen debaxo de gouerno, y señorio de Caciques, como los Mexicanos, y no les hallaron Idolos, ni pudieron entender que adorassen a nadie, por lo qual facilmente consintieron en que les pusiesse los Christianos cruces, y quedaron muy contentos con ellas, despues de auer sido informados de los nuestros de la significacion dellas, que se hizo por interpretes que lleuauan, por cuyo medio supieron de otras poblaciones, para adonde los dichos Conchos los guiaron, acompañandolos mas de veinte y quatro leguas, que todas estauan pobladas de gente de su nacion, y los salian a recebir de paz, por auiso que embiauan los Caciques de vnos pueblos a otros.

Passaguates
Indios.

Muchas minas
de plata.
Tobosos Indios.

Andadas las veinte y quatro leguas dichas, toparon otra nacion de Indios, llamados Passaguates, los quales viuia al modo que los ya dichos Conchos sus conuezinis, y hizieron con ellos lo proprio, guiandolos adelante otras quatro jornadas, con los auisos de los Caciques, de la manera ya dicha: hallaron los nuestros en este camino muchas minas de plata, al parecer de los que lo entendian, de mucho, y muy rico metal. Vna jornada destas toparon otra nacion, llamada los Tobosos, los quales en viendo el rastro de los nuestros, se huyeron a las sierras, dexando sus casas y pueblos desiertos. Supose despues que algunos annos antes auian acudido por alli ciertos soldados que yuan en busca de minas, y auian lleuado cautiuos a ciertos naturales, lo qual tenia temerosos y abispados a los demas. El Capitan dio orden como los fuesse a llamar, assegurandolos de que no les seria hecho ningun mal, y dióse tan buena manna que hizo venir a muchos, a quien regalò, y dio dones, acariciandolos, y declarandoles por el interprete, que no yuan a hazer mal a nadie, con lo qual se boluieron todos a fosegar, y consintieron les pusiesse Cruces, y declarassen el mysterio dellas, mostrando recebir dello gran contentamiento, en cuya demostracion los fueron acompañando, como lo auian hecho sus vezinos, hasta que los metieron en tierra poblada de otra nacion diferente, que distauan de la suya cosa de doze leguas: vsan arco, y flecha, y andan desnudos.

Prosiguese del descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico.

Iumanos Indios.

Rio del Norte.

Buena sal.

A nacion hasta donde los dicho Tobosos los guiaron se llamaua Iumanos, a quien por otro nombre llaman los Espannoles Patarabueyes: tienen vna Prouincia grande, y de muchos pueblos con mucha gente, y las casas eran con açoreas, y de calicanto, y los pueblos traçados por buen orden: tienen todos los hombres y mugeres los rostros rayados, y los brazos, y piernas: es gente corpulenta, y de mas policia, que los que hasta alli auian visto, y tenian muchos mantenimientos, y mucha caça de pie y de buelo, y gran cantidad de pescado, a causa de tener grandes rios que vienen de hazia el Norte, y alguno tan grande como Guadalquivir, el qual entra en la propia mar del Norte. Tiene muchas lagunas de agua salada que se quaja cierto tiempo del anno, y se haze muy buena sal. Es gente bellicosa, y mostraronlo luego, porque la primera noche que los nuestros asentaron real, les flecharon, y mataron cinco cauallos, hiriendo muy mal otros tantos, y no dexaran ninguno a vida, sino por las guardas que los defendieron. Hecho este mal recado, despoblaron el lugar, y se subieron a vna sierra que estaua cerca, adonde fue luego por la manana el Capitan con otros cinco soldados bien armados con vn interprete llamado Pedro, Indio de su misma nacion, y con buenas razones los quieto y dexo de paz, haziendolos baxar a su pueblo y casas, y persuadiendolos a que diessen auiso a sus vezinos de

de que no eran hombres: que hazian mal a nadie, ni les yuan a tomar sus haciendas: que lo alcanço facilmente con su prudencia, y con darles a los Caciques algunas sartas de quantas de vidrio que lleuaua para este effeto, y sombreros, y otras ninnerias: con este, y con el buen tratamiento que les hazian, se fueron muchos dellos en compannia de los nuestros algunos dias, caminando siempre por la ribera del rio grande arriba dicho, por toda la qual hauia muchos pueblos de Indios desta nacion, que duraron por espacio de doze jornadas, en todas las quales auisados los vnos Caciques de los otros salian a recebir a los nuestros sin arcs, ni flechas, y les trayan muchos mantenimientos, y otros regalos y dadiuas, en especial cueros y camuças muy bien adereçados, y que no les excedian en esto las de Flandes. Es gente toda vestida, y hallaron que tenian alguna lumbré de nuestra sancta Fee, porque fennalauan a Dios mirando al cielo, y le llaman en su lengua Apalito, y le conocen por fennor, de cuya larga mano, y misericordia confiesan auer recibido la vida, y el ser natural, y los bienes temporales. Venian muchos dellos, y las mugeres y ninños, a que el Religioso, que diximos que yua con el dicho Capitan y soldados, los santiguasse, y echasse la benedicion: el qual como les preguntasse de quien auian entendido aquel conocimiento de Dios que tenian: respondieron, que de tres Christianos, y vn negro, que auian passado por alli, y detenido se algunos dias en su tierra, que segun las fennas que dieron, eran Aluar Nunnes Cabeça de Vaca, y Dorantes, y Castillo Maldonado, y vn negro, que todos ellos auian escapado de la armada con que entro Panfilo de Narbaez en la Florida, y despues de auer sido muchos dias esclauos, vinieron a dar a estos pueblos, haziendo Dios por medio dellos muchos milagros, y sanando con el tocamento solo de sus manos muchos enfermos, por lo qual dexaron gran nombre en toda aquella tierra. Toda esta Prouincia quedo de paz, y muy fofsegada, en cuya demonstracion fueron acompannando y firiendo a los nuestros algunos dias por la orilla del rio que diximos arriba.

Rio grande.

12 jornadas.

Apalito.

Otra Prouincia.

A pocos dias toparon con vna gran poblacion de Indios, adonde los salieron a recebir por nueua que tuuieron de sus vezinos, y les sacaron muchas cosas muy curiosas de pluma de diferentes colores, y muchas mantas de algodón barretadas de azul y blanco, como las que traen de la China, para rescatarlas, y trocarlas por otras cosas. Yuan todos, assi hombres como mugeres, y ninños vestidos de camuças muy buenas y bien adobadas, y nunca pudieron los nuestros entender que nacion era por falta de interprete que entendiesse su lengua, aunque por fennas trataban con ellos, a los quales como les mostrassen algunas piedras de metal rico, y les preguntassen si hauia de aquello en su tierra: Respondierón por las mismas fennas que cinco dias de camino de alli hazia el Poniente, auia de aquello en muy gran cantidad, y que ellos los guiaran para alla, y se lo mostrarian, como lo cumplieron despues, acompannandolos por espacio de veynte y dos leguas, todas pobladas de gente de su mesma nacion: a quien inmediatamente se seguia por el mismo rio arriba otra de mucha mas gente que la de la passada, de quien fueron bien recibidos, y regalados con muchos presentes, especialmente de pescado que hauia infinito, a causa de vnas lagunas grandes que cerca de alli hauia, que lo crian en la abundancia dicha. Estuuieron entre estos tres dias, en los quales de dia, y de noche les hizieron muchos bayles a su modo, con particular signification de alegria: no se supo como se llamaua esta nacion por falta de interprete, aunque entendieron que se extendia mucho, y que era muy grande. Entre estos hallaron vn Indio Concho de nacion, que les dixo, y fennalo, que quinze jornadas de alli hazia el Poniente hauia vna laguna muy ancha, y cerca della muy grandes pueblos, y casas de tres y quatro altos, y la gente bien vestida, y la tierra de muchos bastimentos, el qual se offrecio de llevarlos alla, y holgaran los nuestros dello, y solo lo dexaron de poner en effecto, por profeguir el intento con que auian comenzado la jornada, que era yr al Norte a dar socorro a los Religiosos arriba dichos.

Metal rico.

Otra prouincia.
Lagunas grandes.

Laguna muy ancha.

Muchos Metales ricos.

En esta Prouincia lo que particularmente notaron fue, que hauia muy buen temple, y muy ricas tierras, y mucha caça de pie y buelo, y muchos metales ricos, y otras cosas particulares, y de prouecho.

Desta Prouincia fueron siguiendo su derrota por espacio de quinze dias, sin topar en todos ellos ninguna gente por entre grâdes pinales de pinnas y pinnonnes, como los de Castilla: al cabo de los quales auiedo caminado a su parecer ochenta leguas, toparon vna pequenna Rancheria, o pueblo de poca gente, y en sus casas, que eran pobres, y de paja, gran cantidad de cueros de venados tan bien adereçados como los de Flandes, y mucha sal blanca, y muy buena. Hizieronles muy buen hospedaje dos dias que alli estuuieron, despues de los quales los acompannaron como doze leguas a vnas poblaciones grandes, caminando siempre por el rio del Norte ya dicho, hasta llegar a la tierra que llaman el Nucuo Mexico.

Sal blanca.
Rio Turbiolo del Norte.
Nucuo Mexico.

Estaua

Estaua toda la ribera del dicho rio llena de grandissimas alamedas de alamos blancos, y en partes tomauan quatro leguas de ancho, y ansi mesmo de muchos nogales, y parrales como los de Castilla. Auiendo caminado dos dias por estas alamedas, y noguales, topó diez pueblos que estauā assentados en la ribera del dicho rio por ambas partes, sin otros que se mostrauan mas desuiados, en los quales les parecio auia mucha gente, y la que ellos vieron passauan en numero de diez mil animas. En esta Prouincia los regaló mucho có recibimientos, y con llevarlos a sus pueblos, donde les dauan mucha comida, y gallinas de la tierra, y otras cosas, y todo con gran voluntad. Aquí hallaron casas de quatro altos, y bien edificadas, y con galanos aposentos, y en las mas dellas auia estufas para tiempo de inuierno. Andauan vestidos de algodón, y de cuero de venado, y el traje, assi de los hombres, como de las mugeres, es al modo del de los Indios del reyno de Mexico: y lo que les causó más estraneza, fue ver que todos ellos, y ellas andauan calzados con çapatos y botas de buen cuero con suelas de vaca, cosa que hasta allí nunca la auian visto. Las mugeres trayan el cabello muy peynado, y compuesto, y sin cosa sobre la cabeça. En todos estos pueblos auia Caciques que los gouernauan como entre los Indios Mexicanos, con Alguaziles para executar sus mandamientos, los quales van por el pueblo, diziendo à voces la voluntad de los Caciques, y que la pongan por obra. En esta Prouincia hallaron los nuestros muchos Idolos que adorauan, y en especial que tenian en cada casa vn templo para el Demonio, donde le lleuauan de ordinario de comer, y otra cosa, que de la manera que entre los Christianos tenemos en los caminos cruces; assi tienen ellos vnas como capillas altas, donde dizē, descansan, y se recrea el Demonio, quando va de vn pueblo a otro: las quales estan muy adornadas y pintadas. En todas las sementeras, o labranças, que las tienen muy grandes, tienen a vn lado dellas vn portal con quatro pilares, donde comen los trabajadores, y passan la fiesta, porque es la gente muy dada ala labor, y estan de ordinario en ella: es tierra de muchos montes y pinales. Las armas que vsan son arcos muy fuertes, y flechas con las puntas de pedernal con que passan vna cota, y macanas, que son vnos palos de media vara de largo, y llanos todos de pedernales agudos, que bastan a partir por medio vn hombre, y ansi mesmo vnas como adargas de cuero de vaca crudo.

Prosiguese del Nuevo Mexico, y de las cosas que en el se vieron.

Despues de auer estado en esta Prouincia quatro dias, y a poca distancia toparon con otra, que se llamaua la Prouincia de los Tiguas, en la qual auia diez y seys pueblos: en el vno de los quales, llamado por nombre Poala, hallaron que auian muerto los indios a los dichos dos padres fray Francisco Lopez, y fray Augustin, a quien yuan a buscar, y juntamente a tres muchachos, y vn mestizo. Quando los deste pueblo, y sus conuezinios vieron a los nuestros, remordiendoles la propria consciencia, y temiendose que yuan a castigarlos, y tomar vengança de las muertes de los dichos padres, no los osaron esperar, antes dexando sus casas desiertas se subieron a las sierras mas cercanas, de donde nunca los pudieron hazer baxar, aunque lo procuraron con alagos y mannas. Hallaron en los pueblos y casas muchos mantenimientos, y gran infinidad de gallinas de la tierra, y muchas fuertes de metales, y algunos que parecian muy buenos. No se pudo entender claramente que tanta gente fuesse la desta Prouincia, por causa de auerse (como ya dixē) subido a la sierra.

Auiendo hallado muertos a los que buscauan, entraron en consulta sobre si se boluerian a la Nueva Vizcaya, de donde hauian salido, o passarian adelante: en lo qual vuo diuersos pareceres: pero como allí entendiesse, que a la parte de Oriente de aquella Prouincia, y muy distante de allí hauian grandes pueblos y ricos, hallandose allí tan cerca, acordo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo de consentimiento del Religioso ya dicho, llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, y de la mayor parte de sus soldados, y companneros, de proseguir con el descubrimiento hasta ver en que paraua, para poder dar dello noticia cierta y clara a su Magestad, como testigos de vista: y assi conformes determinaron que quedandose allí el Real, fuesse el Capitan con dos companneros en demanda de su desseo, que lo pusieron por obra. Y a dos dias de camino toparon con vna Prouincia donde vieron onze pueblos, y en ellos mucha gente, que a su parecer passaua en numero de quarenta mil animas: era tierra muy fértil y bastecida, cuyos confines estan inmediatamente juntos con las tierras de Cibola, donde ay muchas vacas, de cuyos cueros se visten, y de algodón: siguiendo en la manera del gouerno el orden que guarden sus conuezinios: ay sennales de muchas minas ricas, y assi hallauan metales dellas en algunas casas de los Indios, los quales tienen, y adoran Idolos: recibieronlos de paz, y dieron les de comer. Visto esto, y la disposición

posicion de la tierra, se boluieron al real de donde auian salido, a dar noticia a sus companneros de todo lo sobredicho.

Llegados al Real (como esta dicho) tuuieron noticia de otra Prouincia, llamada los Quires, Quires. que estaua el rio del Norte arriba seys leguas de distancia, y como se partiessen para alla, y llegassen vna legua della, les salieron a recebir de paz mucha cantidad de Indios, y a rogar que se fuesen con ellos a sus pueblos, que como lo hiziesen, fueron muy bien recebidos y regalados. Vieron solamente cinco pueblos en esta Prouincia, en los quales auia muy gran cantidad de gente, y la que ellos vieron passaua de quinze mil animas, y adoran Idolos como sus vezinos. Hallaron en vno destos pueblos vna Vrraca en vna jaula, como se vfa en Castilla, y tirasoles, como los que se traen de la China, pintados en ellos el sol y la luna, y muchas estrellas. Donde como tomassen la altura, se hallaron en treynta y siete grados y medio debaxo del Norte.

Salieron desta Prouincia, y caminando por el proprio rumbo, y a catorze leguas, hallaron otra Prouincia, llamada los Cunames, donde vieron otros cinco pueblos, y el principal dellos, y mas grande se llamaua Cia, Cunames Indios, Cia. que era tan grande que tenia ocho plaças, cuyas casas eran encaladas, y pintadas de colores, y mejores que las que hauian visto en las Prouincias atras: parecieron que la gente que vieron passauan de veynte mil animas: hizieron presente a los nuestros de muchas mantas curiosas, y de cosas de comer muy bien guisadas, y juzgaron ser la gente mas curiosa, y de mayor policia, de quantas hasta alli hauian visto, y de mejor gouerno: mostraronles ricos metales, Ricos metales. y vnas sierras alli cerca de donde los sacauan. Aqui tuuieron noticia de otra Prouincia, que staua hazia el Nordueste, que se determinaron de yr a ella.

Como viuessen andado como seys leguas, toparon con la dicha Prouincia, que se llamaua de los Amejes, en la qual hauia siete pueblos muy grandes, y en ellos a su entender mas de Amejes. treynta mil animas. Vno destos siete pueblos dixerón era muy grande y hermoso, que le dexaron de yr a ver, assi por estar detras de vna sierra, como por temor de algun ruyn successo, si a caso se diuidian los vnos de los otros. Es gente al modo de la Prouincia su vezina, y tan abastada como ella, y de tan buen gouerno.

A quinze leguas desta Prouincia, caminando siempre hazia el Poniente, hallaron vn pueblo grande llamado Acoma, 15 Leguas, Acoma. era de mas de seys mil animas, y estaua assétado sobre vno penna alta que tenia mas de cinquenta estados en alto, no teniendo otra entrada sino por vna escalera que estaua hecha en la propria penna, cosa que admiro mucho a los nuestros: toda el agua que en el pueblo auia era de cisternas.

Vinieron los principales de paz a ver a los Espannoles, y traxeron les muchas mantas, y camuças muy bien adereçadas, y gran cantidad de bastimentos. Tienen sus sembrados dos leguas de alli, y sacan el agua para regarlos de vn rio pequenno que esta cerca, en cuya ribera Metales vieron muy grandes rosales como los de aca de Castilla. Ay muchas sierras con fennales de metales, aunque no subieron a verlo, por ser los Indios dellas muchos, y muy bellicosos. Estuuiéron los nuestros en este lugar tres dias, en vno de los quales los naturales les hizieron vn bayle muy solenne, saliendo a el con galanos vestidos, y con juegos muy ingeniosos, con que holgaron en se estremo.

Veynte y quatro leguas de aqui, hazia el Poniente, dieron con vna Prouincia, que se nom- 24 leguas. bra en lengua de los naturales Zuny, y la llaman los Espannoles Cibola, Zuny o Cibola, ay en ella grã cantidad de Indios, en la qual estuuó Francisco Vazquez Coronado, y dexo muchas Cruzes puestas, y otras fennales de Christianidad que siempre se estauan en pie. Hallaron assi mesmo tres Indios Christianos que se auian quedado de aquella jornada, cuyos nombres eran Andres de Cuyoacan, Gaspar de Mexico, y Antonio de Guadalajara, los quales tenian casi olvidada su mesma lengua, y sabian muy bien la de los naturales, aunque a pocas bueltas que les hablaron se entendieron facilmente. De quien supieron que sesenta jornadas de alli auia vna laguna, o lago 60 Jornadas, Lago muy grande mucho oro. muy grande, en cuyas riberas estauan muchos pueblos grandes y buenos, y que los naturales tenian mucho oro, de lo qual era indicion el traer todos braceletes y orejeras dello: y que como el sobredicho Francisco Vazquez Coronado tuuiesse noticia muy cierta dello, hauia salido desta Prouincia de Cibola para yr alla, y auiendo andado doze jornadas le salto el agua, y se determino de boluer, como lo hizo, con determinacion de tornar otra vez mas de proposito a ello, que despues no lo puso en execuciõ, porque la muerte le atajo los passos y pensamientos.

Prosigue del Nuevo Mexico.

A La nueua de la riqueza dicha, quiso acudir el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo, y aunque eran de su parecer algunos de sus companneros, la mayor parte, y el Religioso fue de

Nueva Víscaia.

28 Leguas.

Otra Prouincia

Zaguato o Ahu-
ato pueblo.Metales ricos.
La laguna gran-
de arriba dicha.45 Leguas.
Riquísimos
metales.Rio grandísimo.
Mar del Norte.Zuni,
o Cibola.

de contrario : diziendo, era ya tiempo de boluerse à la nueua Víscaia de donde hauian salido, a dar cuenta de lo que auian visto: que lo pusieron por obra dentro de pocos dias la mayor parte, dexando al Capitan con nueue companneros que le quisieron seguir : el qual, despues de hauerse certificado muy por entero de la riqueza arriba dicha, y de mucha abundancia de metales que en ello auia muy buenos, salio con los dichos sus companneros desta prouincia, y caminando hazia el proprio Poniente, despues de hauer andado veinte y ocho leguas, hallaron otra muy grande, en la qual les parecio hauia mas de cinquenta mil animas, cuyos moradores como supiesen su llegada, les embiaron vn recado, diziendo, que si no querian que los matassen, no se acercassen mas a sus pueblos : a lo qual respondió el dicho Capitan, que ellos no les yuan a hazer mal, como lo verian, y que assi les rogauan no se pusiesen en llevar adelante su intento, dando al mensajero algunas cosas de las que lleuaua : el qual supo tan bien abonar a los nuestros, y allanar los pechos alborotados de los Indios, que les dieron lugar de voluntad para que entrassen, que lo hizieron con ciento y cinquenta Indios amigos de la prouincia de *Cibola* ya dicha, y los tres Indios Mexicanos, de quien queda hecha mencion. Vna legua antes que llegassen al primer pueblo, les salieron a recibir mas de dos mil Indios cargados de bastimentos, a quien el dicho Capitan dio algunas cosas de poco precio, que a ellos les parecio ser de mucho, y las estimaron mas que si fueran de oro. Llegando mas cerca del pueblo, que se llamaua Zaguato, salio a recibirlos gran muchedumbre de Indios, y entre ellos los Caciques, haziendo tanta demostracion de plazer y regozijo, que echauan mucha harina de maiz por el suelo, para que la pisassen los cauallos : con esta fiesta entraron en el, y fueron muy bien hospedados, y regalados, que se lo pago en parte el Capitan, con dar a todos los mas principales sombreros, y quantas de vidrio, y otras muchas cosas que lleuaua para semejantes ofrecimientos.

Despacharon luego los dichos Caciques recados a todos los de aquella Prouincia, dandoles noticia de la venida de los huéspedes, y de como eran hombres muy corteses, y no les hazian mal : lo qual fue bastante para hazer los venir a todos cargados de presentes para los nuestros, y de que los importunassen, fuesen con ellos a holgar a sus pueblos, que lo hizieron, aunque siempre con recado de lo que podia succeder. Por lo qual el dicho Capitan vso de vna cautela, y fue dezir a los Caciques, que por quanto los cauallos eran muy brauos, y les auian dicho que los querian matar, seria necessario hazer vn fuerte de calicanto donde meter los para euitar el danno que querian hazer en los Indios. Creyeronlo los Caciques tan de veras que dentro de pocas horas juntaron tanta gente que hizieron el dicho fuerte que los nuestros querian con vna presteza increyble. Demas desto, diziendo el Capitan que se queria yr, le traxeron vn presente de 40. mil mantas de algodón pintadas y blancas, y mucha cantidad de pannos de manos con borlas en las puntas, y otras muchas cosas, y entre ellas metales ricos, y que mostrauan tener mucha plata. Hallaron entre estos Indios muy gran noticia de la laguna grande arriba dicha, y conformaron con los otros en lo tocante a las riquezas, y mucha abundancia de oro.

Fiado el Capitan desta gente, y de sus buenos animos, acordo a cabo de algunos dias de dexar alli cinco de sus companneros con los demas Indios amigos, para que se boluiesen a la prouincia de *Zuni* con el bagaje, y de yrse el con los quatro que quedauan a la ligera en descubrimiento de cierta noticia que tenia de vnas minas muy ricas. Lo qual puesto por obra se partio con las guias que lleuaua, y como vuisse caminado hazia el proprio Poniente quarenta y cinco leguas, topo con las dichas minas, y sacó con sus proprias manos riquísimos metales, y de mucha plata: y las minas, que eran de vna veta muy ancha, estauan en vna sierra adonde se podia subir con facilidad, a causa de hauer para ello camino abierto. Cerca delas auia algunos pueblos de Indios serranos que les hizieron amistad, y los salieron a recibir con Cruces en las cabeças, y otras fennales de paz. Aqui cerca toparon dos rios razonables, a cuyas orillas hauia muchas parras de vuas muy buenas, y grandes noguerales, y mucho lino como lo de Castilla, y dixeron por fennas que detras de aquellas sierras estaua vno que tenia mas de ocho leguas de ancho, pero no se pudo entender que tan cerca, aunque hizieron demonstracion que corria hazia la mar del Norte, y que en las riberas del de vna y otra banda ay muchos pueblos tan grandes, que en su comparacion aquellos en que estaua eran barrios.

Despues de hauer tomado toda esta relación, se partio el dicho Capitan para la Prouincia de *Zuni*, adonde hauia mandado yr a los dichos companneros : y como llegasse a ella con salud, haviendo ydo por muy buen camino, halló con ella a sus cinco companneros, y al dicho padre Fray Bernardino con los soldados que se auian determinado de boluer, como ya diximos, que aun no se auian partido, por ciertas ocasiones : a los quales los naturales hauian hecho muy

muy buen tratamiento, y dádoles todo lo necesario muy complidamente, haziendo despues lo mesmo con el capitan, y los que con el venian, a quien salieron a recebir con demonstracion de alegria, y dieron muchos bastimentos para la jornada que hauian de hazer, rogandoles que boluissen con breuedad, y traxessen muchos Castillas (que assi llaman a los Espannolles) y que a todos les darian de comer. Por lo qual para poderlo hazer con comodidad auian sembrado aquel anno mas trigo y semillas, que en todos los passados.

En este tiempo se retificaron en su primera determinacion el dicho religioso, y los soldados arriba dichos, y acordaron de boluerse a la prouincia de donde auian salido con el designio que queda dicho, a quien se junto Gregorio Hernandez que auia sido Alferes en la jornada: los quales partidos, quedando el Capitan con solos ocho soldados, se resoluo de seguir lo comenzado y correr por el Rio del Norte arriba, que lo puso por obra. Y hauiendo caminado como sesenta leguas hazia la prouincia de los Quires ya dicha, doze leguas de alli hazia la parte del Oriente, hallaron vna prouincia que se llamaua los Hubates, donde los Indios los recibieron de paz, y les dieron muchos mantenimientos, y noticia de que cerca de alli hauia vnas minas muy ricas, que las hallaron, y sacaron dellas metales reluzientes y buenos, con los quales se boluieron al pueblo de donde auian salido. Luzgaron esta prouincia por de hasta veynte y cinco mil animas, todos muy bien vestidos de mantas de algodón pintadas, y camuças muy bien adereçadas. Tienen muchos montes de pinales y cedros, y las casas de los pueblos son de quatro y cinco altos. Aqui tuuieron noticia de otra prouincia que estaua vna jornada de alli, que se llamaua de los Tamos, en que hauia mas de quarenta mil animas, donde como llegassen no les quisieron dar de comer los moradores della, ni admitirlos en sus pueblos: por lo qual, y por el peligro en que estauan, y estar algunos soldados enfermos, y ser tan pocos (como hauemos dicho) se determinaron de yrse saliendo para tierra de Christianos, y lo pusieron en execucion a principio de Julio del anno de ochenta y tres, siendo guiados por vn Indio que se fue con ellos, y los lleuo por camino diferente del que a la venida hauian traydo, por vn rio abaxo, a quien llamaron de las vacas, por auer gran muchedumbre dellas en toda su ribera, por donde caminaron ciento y veynte leguas, topando las ordinariamente: de aqui salieron al rio de los Conchos por donde auian entrado, y del al Valle de Sant Bertholome de donde auian salido para dar principio al descubrimiento: y ya quando llegaron, hallaron que el dicho fray Bernardino Beltran, y sus companneros auian llegado a saluamento al dicho pueblo muchos dias hauiá, y que de alli se auian ydo a la villa de Guadiana. Hizo en este pueblo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo informacion muy cierta de todo lo arriba dicho, la qual embio luego al Conde de Corunna Virey de aquel Reyno, y el a su Magestad, y a los señores, de su Real Consejo de las Indias, para que ordenassen lo que fuesen seruidos, que lo han ya hecho con mucho cuydado. Nuestro Sennor se sirua de ayudar este negocio, de modo que tantas

sefenta leguas.
Hubates Indios.
Minas muy ricas.
Tamos. 40000.

They returne.
Julio. 1583.

Rio de las vacas.
Ciento y veynte leguas.
Rio de los Conchos.

Guadiana.

Nota:

Contenidos en el libro de la historia de la Nueva España.

El libro de la historia de la Nueva España.

The first voyage made by Frier Augustin Ruiz to the prouince de los Tiguan.

A briefe relation of two notable voyages, the first made by frier

Augustin Ruiz a Franciscan, in the yeere 1581: the second by *Antonio de Espejo* in the yere 1583: who together with his company discouered a land wherein they found fiftene prouinces all full of townes, conteining houses of foure and fve stories high, which they named *New Mexico*; for that in many respects it resembleth the prouince of *Olde Mexico*. This land is situate to the North of *Nueva España*, and stretcheth from 24 to 34 degrees and better: by the which & by other inhabited lands it is thought that men may trauell euen to *Terra de Labrador*. Taken out of the history of *China* written by Frier *Iuan Gonzalez de Mendoza*, and printed in *Madrid* 1586.

Have now declared in the title of this present discourse, that in the yeere 1583 there were discouered fiftene prouinces, which the discouerers called *New Mexico*, situate on the firme land of *Nueva España*, and I promised to giue notice of the sayd discouery, which I will do with as much breuity as is possible: for if I should record at large all particulars which they saw and came to the knowledge of, it would require a full history. The substance thereof is as followeth.

In the yere of our Lord 1581 a certaine Franciscan frier called *Augustin Ruiz* which dwelt in the valley of *S. Bartholomew*, being informed by the report of certaine Indians called *Conchos*,

Kk

which

The chiefe of these 8 souldiers was Francisco Sanchez Xamuzcado which made a map of these prouinces, which being intercepted is come to our hands.

The prouince de los Tiguar distant 250 leagues southward from the mines of Santa Barbara.

The mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues distant from Mexico.

The second voyage.

Las quatro Cieneegas in the prouince of Nueva Biscaya 70 leagues fro the mines of Santa Barbara.

Antonio de Espejo his first going forth fro the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of Nouember 1582.

Indians called Conchos.

Many rivers.

which had dealings and conuersation with other of their neighbours called Passaguates; that toward the North, travelling alwayes by land, there were certaine great townes not hitherto known nor discovered by our Spaniards: moued with a zeale of charity, and a desire to saue soules, craued licence of the Conde of Coruina as the Viceroy of Nueva Espanna, and of his superiours, to go to the sayd townes, and to endeavour to learne their language, and hauing learned the same, to baptize them, and to preach the holy Gospel vnto them. After he had obtained licence of the parties aforesayd, taking with him other two companions of his owne order, and eight souldiers, who of their owne good will offered to beare him company, he departed to put in execution his Christian and zealous intent. Who after certaine dayes trauell came vnto a countrey called The prouince de los Tiguar distant from the mines of Santa Barbara, from whence they began their iourney, 250 leagues towards the North: in which prouince the inhabitants, vpon a certaine occasion, slew one of the sayd friers two companions. The souldiers that went with him seeing this mishap, and perceiuing the successe, and likewise fearing, that thereof might happen some greater danger, determined with a common consent to return vnto the mines from whence they departed: considering that their company was too small to resist the dangers that might happen, being so farre distant from the dwellings of the Spaniards, and from all necessary succour. But the two friers which remained aliuie did not onely refuse their determination, but rather seeing fit occasion to put their good desire in execution, and so great a harvest ripe for the Lords table, because they could not persuaade the souldiers to proceed any further in that discovery, remained behinde in the sayd prouince with thre Indian boyes, and one Mexico whom they had carried with them; thinking that although they remained alone, yet should they be there in securitie, by reason of the great affability and loue which the people of that place shewed vnto them.

The eight souldiers being returned to their wished home, immediately sent newes of all that had passed to the Viceroy vnto the city of Mexico, which is distant from the sayd mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues.

The friers of Saint Francis were very much agrieved at the staying of their brethren behinde in the countrey, and fearing least the Sauages would kill them seeing them left alone, they began to moue the minds of certaine souldiers to make another voyage to the sayd prouince in the company of another frier of the foresayd Order called Frier Bernardin Beltran, to deliuer the aforesayd two religious men out of danger, and to prosecute their former enterprize.

At the same time there was at the foresayd mines vpon some occasion a citizen of Mexico called Antonio de Espejo, a rich man, and of great courage and industry, and very zealous in the seruice of king Philip his souereine, and was bozne in Cordoua. Who vnderstanding the desire of the foresayd friers, and the importance of the action, offered himselfe to go on that voyage, and also to spend part of his substance, and to aduenture his life therein; conditionally that licence might be granted him to the same purpose from some person sufficiently authorized by his Maiestie. Which licence at the sayd friers procurement was granted vnto him by the gouernour Juan de Ontiueros the kings Alcalde mayor or chiefe Justice in the towne called Las quatro Cieneegas situate within the iurisdiction of Nueva Biscaya seuentie leagues from the sayd mines of Santa Barbara; authorizing him both to take in hand the sayd voyage, and also to assemble such people and souldiers as he could, which might accompany and ayde him in the performance of this his Christian intent.

The sayd Antonio de Espejo was so earnest in this matter, that in very few dayes he had gathered a company of souldiers, and made prouision of things necessary for his voyage, spending therein a good part of his substance. And he departed with his whole company from the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of Nouember 1582; taking with him (for whatsoeuer should happen) 115 horses and mules, with great store of weapons, munition, and victuals, and some Indians to serue him in his iourney.

Directing his course toward the North, after two dayes iourney he met with great store of the foresayd Indians called Conchos, which dwell in villages or hamlets of cottages couered with straw. Who, so soone as they vnderstood of his approach, hauing newes thereof long before, came forth to receiue him with shewes of great ioy. The food of this people and of all the rest of that prouince, which is great, are conies, hares, and deere which they kill, of all which they haue great abundance. Also they haue great store of Maiz or Indian wheat, gourds, and melons very good and plentiful: and there are many riuers full of excellent fish of diuers sorts. They goe almost naked, and the weapons that they vse are bowes & arrowes, and liue vnder the gouernment and lordship of Caciques like those of Mexico: they found no idols among them, neither could they vnderstand that they worshipped any thing; whereupon they easily consented that the Spaniards

nyards should set by crosses, and were very well content therewith, after they were informed by our friers of the signification thereof, which was done by the interpreters that they caried with them; by whose meanes they vnderstood of other towne, whither the sayd Conchos did conduct them, and bare them company aboue foure & twenty leagues, all which way was inhabited with people of their owne nation: and at all places where they came they were peaceably receiued by aduice that was sent by the Caciques from one towne to another.

Having passed the foure and twenty leagues aforesayd, they came vnto another nation of Indians called Passaguates, who liue after the maner of the fozesayd Conchos their borderers, and did vnto them as the others had done, conducting them fozward other foure dayes iourney, with aduice of the Caciques, as before. The Spanyards found in this iourney many mines of siluer, which according to the iudgement of skilfull men, were very plentifull and rich in metall.

A dayes iourney from thence they met with another nation called Tobosos, who so soone as they beheld the countenance of our people fledde vnto the mountaines, leauing their towne and houses desolate. Afterward wee vnderstood that certaine peeres past there came vnto that place certaine souldiers to seeke mines, who caried away captiue certaine of the people of the countrey, which caused the rest of them to be so they and fearefull. The captaine sent messengers to call them backe againe, assuring them that they should not sustaine any harme, and handled the matter so discreetly, that many of them returned, whom he made much of, and gaue them gifts, vsing them kindly, and declaring vnto them by the interpreter, that their comming was not to hurt any man: whereupon they were all quieted, and were content they should set by crosses, and declare the mystery of the same, making shew that they were highly pleased therewith. For prooofe whereof they accompanied them on their voyage, as their neighbours had done, vntill they had brought them to a countrey inhabited by another nation, which was distant from theirs some 12 leagues. They vse bowes and arrowes and go naked.

The nation vnto which the sayd Tobosos conducted them, is called Iumanos, whom the Spanyards by another name call Patrabueyes: their prouince is very great, containing many towne and great store of people: their houses are flat-roofed, and built of lime and stone, and the streets of their towne are placed in good order. All the men and women haue their faces, armes and legges taced and pounced: they are a people of great stature, and of better gouernment, then the rest which they had seene in their former iournes; and are well prouided of victuals, and furnished with plenty of wilde beasts, fowles and fishes, by reason of mighty riuers which come from the North, whereof one is as great as Guadalquivir, which falleth into the North sea or bay of Mexico. Here are also many lakes of salt water, which at a certaine time of the yere waxeth hard, and becommeth very good salt. They are a warlike people, and soone made shew thereof: for the first night that our people incamped there, with their arrowes they slew five horses, and wounded five other very sore, nor would not haue left one of them aliue, if they had not bene defended by our guard. Having done this mischief, they abandoned the towne, and withdrew themselves to a mountaine which was hard by, whither our captaine went betimes in the morning, taking with him five souldiers well armed, and an interpreter called Peter an Indian of their owne nation, and with good persuations appeased them, causing them to descend to their towne and houses, and persuading them to giue aduice vnto their neighbours, that they were men that would hurt no body, neither came they thither to take away their goods: which he obtained easily by his wisdom, and by giuing vnto the Caciques certaine bracelets of glasse beads, with hats and other trifles, which he caried with him for the same purpose: so by this meanes, and by the good intertainment which they gaue them, many of them accompanied our Spanyards for certaine dayes, alwayes traouelling along the banke of the great riuer abouesayd; along the which there were many towne of the Indians of this nation, which continued for the space of twelue dayes trauel, all which time the Caciques hauing receiued aduice from one to another, came forth to intertaine our people without their bowes and arrowes, and brought them plenty of victuals, with other presents and gifts, especially hides and chamoil-skins very well dyessed, so that those of Flanders do nothing exceed them. These people are all clothed, and seemed to haue some light of our holy faith; for they made signes of God, looking vp towards heauen, and call him in their language Apalito, and acknowledge him for their Lord, from whose bountifull hand and mercy they confesse that they haue receiued their life and being, and these worldly goods. Many of them with their wiues and children came vnto the frier (which the captaine and souldiers brought with them) that hee might crosse and blisse them. Who demanding of them, from whom they had receiued that knowledge of God, they answered, from three Christians, & one Negro which passed that way, and remained certaine dayes among them, who by the signes which they made, were

Passaguates.

Very great
and rich in
uer mines.

Tobosos.

Iumanos or Pa-
trabueyes.Rio turbioso
del Norte.

Rio del Norte.

Apalito.

Pamphilo de
Narvaez entred
into Florida
1527.

Rio del Norte.
Another pro-
vince.

Very great
quantity of
silver.

Another pro-
vince.

Great lakes.

A mighty
lake.

Rich metals.

Woods of
pine trees.

New Mexico.
Woods of po-
plar and wal-
nut trees.
Vines.

Houses of 4
stories high.

Aluaro Nunnez, Cabeça de Vaca, and Dorantes, and Castillo Maldonado, and a Negro; all which escaped of the company which Pamphilo de Narvaez landed in Florida; who after they had bene many dayes captiues and slaues, escaped and came to these towne, by whom God shewed many miracles, and healed onely by the touching of their hands many sicke persons, by reason wherof they became very famous in all that countrey. All this prouince remained in great peace and security; in token wherof, they accompanied and serued our men certaine dayes, trauelling along by the great riuer aforesayd.

Within few dayes after they came vnto another great prouince of Indians, from whence they came forth to receiue them, vpon the newes which they had heard of their neighbors, and brought them many very curious things made of feathers of diuers colours, and many mantles of cotton straked with blew and white, like those that are brought from China, to barter & trucke them for other things. All of them both men, women and childzen were clad in chamois skinnies very good and wel dressed. Our people could neuer vnderstand what nation they were for lacke of an interpreter: howbeit they dealt with them by signes; and hauing shewed vnto them certaine stones of rich metall, and inquired whether there were any such in their countrey: they answered by the same signes, that fise dayes iourney Westward from thence there was great quantity therof, and that they would conduct them thither, and shew it vnto them; as afterward they performed their promise, & bare them company 22 leagues, which was all inhabited by people of the same nation.

Next vnto the fozesayd prouince they came vnto another further by the great riuer aforesayd, being much more populous then the former, of whom they were well receiued, and welcomed with many presents, especially of fish, whereof they haue exceeding great store, by reason of certaine great lakes not far from thence, wherein they are bred in the fozesayd plenty. They stayed among these people three dayes; all which time both day and night they made before them many dances, according to their fashion, with signification of speciall ioy. They could not learne the name of this nation for want of an interpreter, yet they vnderstood that it extended very farre, and was very great. Among these people they found an Indian of the fozesayd nation of the Conchos, who told them, and shewed them by signes, that fiftene dayes iourney from thence toward the West there was a very broad lake, and nere vnto it very great towne, and in them houses of three or foure stories high, and that the people were well apparellled, and the countrey full of victuals and prouision. This Concho offered himselfe to conduct our men thither, whereat our company reioyced, but left off the enterpryse, onely to accomplish their intent for which they undertooke the voyage, which was to go Northward to giue ayd vnto the two friers aforesayd. The chiefe and principall thing that they noted in this prouince was, that it was of very good temperature, and a very rich soile, and had great store of wilde beasts, and wilde-fowle, and abundance of rich metals, and other excellent things, and very profitable.

From this prouince they folowed their iourney for the space of fiftene dayes without meeting any people all that while, passing thorow great woods and groues of pine trees bearing such fruit as those of Castile: at the end whereof, hauing trauelled, to their iudgement, foure score leagues, they came vnto a small hamlet or village of fewe people, in whose pooze cottages couered with straw they found many deeres-skinnes as well dressed as those of Flanders, with great store of excellent white salt. They gaue our men good entertainment for the space of two dayes while they remained there, after which they bare them company about twelue leagues, vnto certaine great towne, alwayes trauelling by the riuer called Rio del Norte abouesayd, till such time as they came vnto the countrey called by them New Mexico. Here all along the shore of the sayd riuer grew mighty woods of poplar being in some places foure leagues broad, and great store of walnut trees, and vines like those of Castilia.

Hauing trauelled two dayes thorow the said woods of Poplar and Walnut trees, they came to ten towne situate on both sides of the sayd riuer, besides others which they might see further out of the way, wherein there seemed to be great store of people, and those which they saw were aboue ten thousand persons. In this prouince they receiued them very courteously, and brought them to their towne, whereas they gaue them great plenty of victuals and hennes of the countrey, with many other things, and that with great good will. Here they found houses of foure stories high, very well built, with gallant lodgings, and in most of them were Stoores for the Winter season. Their garments were of Cotton and of deere-skinnes, and the attire both of the men and women is after the maner of the Indians of the kingdome of Mexico. But the strangest thing of all was to see both men and women weare shooes and boots with good soles of neats leather, a thing which they neuer sawe in any other part of the Indies. The women keepe their haire well combed and dressed, wearing nothing els vpon their heads. In all these towne they had

had Caciques which gouerned their people like the Caciques of Mexico, with Sergeants to execute their commandements, who goe thorow the towne proclaiming with a loud voice the pleasure of the Caciques, commanding the same to be put in execution. In this prouince our men found many idols which they worshipped, and particularly they had in euery house an Azatoz for the diuell, whereinto they ordinarily carry him meat: and another thing they found, that as it is an vse among the Christians to erect crosses vpon the high wayes, so haue this people certaine high chapels, in which they lay the diuell vnto take his ease, and to recreate himselfe as he trauellet from one towne to another; which chapels are maruellously well trimmed and painted. In all their arable grounds, whereof they haue great plenty, they erect on the one side a little cottage or shed standing vpon foure studdes, vnder which the labourers doe eat, and passe away the heat of the day, for they are a people much giuen to labour, and doe continually occupy themselves therein. This countrey is full of mountaines and Forrests of Pine trees. The weapons that they vse are strong bowes and arrowes headed with flints, which will pierce thorow a coat of mail, and macanas which are clubs of halfe a yarde long, so beset with sharpe flints, that they are sufficient to cleaue a man asunder in the midst: they vse also a kinde of targets made of raw hides.

These high mountaines are a cause of the coldnes of the countrey.

Hauiing remained foure dayes in this prouince, not farre off they came to another called The prouince of Tiguas containing Arteene towne, in one whereof, called Poala, they understood that the inhabitants had slaine the two fathers aforesayd, to wit, frier Francis Lopez, and frier Augustus Ruyz, whom they went to seeke, together with the three Indian boyes, and the mestico. So soone as the people of this towne and their neighbours saw our men there, their owne consciences accusing them, and fearing that our men came to punish them, and to be auenged of the death of the fozesaid fathers, they durst not abide their coming, but leauing their houses desolate they fled to the mountaines next adioyning, from whence they could neuer cause them to descend, although our men attempted the same by diuers deuises and entisements. They found in the towne and houses good store of victuals, with infinite number of hennes in the countrey, and many sorts of metals, whereof some seemed to be very good. They could not perfectly understand what numbers of people this prouince might containe, by reason they were fled into the mountaines, as I haue sayd before.

The prouince of Tiguas. Poala.

Very rich and good metall.

Hauiing found those to be slaine which they went to seeke, they entred into consultation, whether they should returne to Nueva Biscaya, from whence they came, or should proceed further in their iourney; whereabout there were diuers opinions: howbeit, vnderstanding there, that toward the West or East parts of that prouince, and very far distant from thence, there were great and rich towne: and finding themselves so far on the way, the sayd captaine Antonio de Espejo with the consent of the fozesaid frier called frier Bernardine Beltran, and the greater part of his souldiers and companions determined to proceed on the discouery, till such time as they did see to what end it would come; to the end they might giue certaine and perfect knowledge thereof to his Maiesty, as eye-witnesses of the same. And so with one accord they determined, that while the army lay still there, the captaine and two more of his company should prosecute their desire, which they did accordingly. And within two dayes iourney they came vnto another prouince, where they found eleuen towne, and much people in them, which in their iudgement were about fozty thousand persons. The countrey was very fertile and plentifull, whose confines bordered vpon the territories of Cibola, where there are great store of kine, with whole hides and with cotton they apparell themselves, imitating in the forme of their gouernment their next neighbours. In this place are signes of very rich mines, some quantity of the metals whereof they found in the houses of the Indians; which Indians haue and doe worship idols. They receiued our men peaceably, and gaue them victuals. Hauiing seene thus much, and the disposition of the countrey, they returned to the campe, from whence they departed, to informe their companions of the things aboue mentioned.

This diueth toward Virginia.

Another prouince.

Being returned to the campe they had intelligence of another prouince called Los Quires, which stood six leagues higher vpon the riuer called Rio del Norte. And in their iourney thitherward, being arriued within a league of the place, there came forth very many Indians to receiue them in peace, requesting them to beare them company to their towne: which they did, and were marvellous well intertained and cherished. In this prouince they found five towne only, wherein were great store of people, and those which they saw were about 14000 soules, who worship idols as their neighbours do. In one of these towne they found a pie in a cage after the maner of Castile, and certaine shadowes or canopies like vnto those which are brought from China, wherein were painted the Sunne, the Moone, and many Starres. Where hauing taken the height of the pole-starre, they found themselves to be in 37 degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$ of Northerly latitude.

Quires borders vpon Rio del Norte.

Some say thirty degrees and a halfe.

Cunames, or Puanames.
Cia a great city.

Rich metals.

Ameies, or Ameixi.

Acoma or Aco-
man a towne
containing a
bout 6000
persons.

Signes of
metals.

Zuni or Sunne.
Vasquez de Co-
ronado was
here 1540 &
1541.

A mighty lake
60 daies jour-
ney from Ci-
bola.
Plenty of
golde.

Another mighty
prouince
Westward of
Cibola 28
leagues, called
Mohotze.

They departed out of this prouince, and keeping still the same NORTHERLY course, foure-
teene leagues from thence they found another prouince called The Cunames, where they saw o-
ther five townes, the greatest whereof was called Cia, being so large, that it contained eight mar-
ket-places, the houses whereof being plaistered and painted with diuers colours, were better then
any which they had seene in the prouinces before mentioned: the people which they heere saw,
they esteemed to be aboue twenty thousand persons. They presented to our men many curious
mantles, and victuals excellently well dressed; so that our men deemed this nation to be more cu-
rious, and of greater ciuility, and better gouernment, then any other that hitherto they had
seene. They shewed them rich metals, and the mountaines also not farre off whereout they dig-
ged them. Heere our people heard of another prouince standing toward the North-west, where-
vnto they purposed to goe.

Having trauelled about five leagues, they came to the sayd prouince, the people whereof were
called Ameies, wherein were seven very great townes, containing, to their iudgement, aboue thir-
ty thousand soules. They reported that one of the seven townes was very great and faire, which
our men would not go to see, both because it stood behinde a mountaine, and also for feare of some
misshap, if in case they should be separated one from another. This people are like vnto their
neighbours of the former prouince, being as well prouided of all necessaries as they, and of as
good gouernment.

About fiftene leagues from this prouince, traueilling alwayes toward the West, they found a
great towne called Acoma, containing aboue five thousand persons, and situate vpon an high
rocke which was aboue fifty paces hie, hauing no other entrance but by a ladder or paire of staires
hewen into the same rocke, whereat our people marvelled not a little: all the water of this towne
was kept in cisternes. The chiefe men of this towne came peaceably to visit the Spaniards,
brynging them many mantles, and chamois- skinner excellently dressed, and great plenty of victu-
als. Their towne-fields are two leagues from thence, and they fetch water out of a small riuer
nere thereunto, to water the same, on the banks whereof they saw many great banks of Roses
like those of Castile. Here are many mountaines that beare shewes of mettals, but they went not
to see them, because the Indians dwelling vpon them are many in number, and very warlike.
Our men remained in this place three dayes, vpon one of the which the inhabitants made before
them a very solemne dance, comming forth in the same with gallant apparell, vsing very witty
sports, wherewith our men were exceedingly delighted.

Twenty foure leagues from hence toward the West, they came to a certaine prouince called
by the inhabitants themselves Zuni, & by the Spaniards Cibola, containing great numbers of
Indians; in which prouince Francisco Vazquez de Coronado had bene, and had erected many
crosses and other tokens of Christianity, which remained as yet standing. Heere also they found
three Indian Christians which had remained there euer since the said iourney, whose names were
Andrew de Culiacan, Gaspar de Mexico, and Antonio de Guadajajara, who had almost forgot-
ten their owne language, but could speake that countrey speech very well; howbeit after some
small conference with our men, they easily vnderstood one another. By these three Indians they
were informed, that threescore dayes iourney from this place there was a very mighty lake, vpon
the bankes whereof stood many great and good townes, and that the inhabitants of the same had
plenty of golde, an euident argument wherof was their wearing of golden bracelets & earrings:
and also that after the sayd Francis Vasquez de Coronado had perfect intelligence thereof, hee
departed out of this prouince of Cibola to goe thither, and that hauing proceeded twelue dayes
iourney, he began to want water; and thereupon determined to returne, as he did indeed, with in-
tention to make a second voyage thither at his better opportunity; which after ward he perfozm-
ed not, being preuented of his determined iourney by death.

Upon the newes of these riches the sayd Captaine Antony de Espeio was desirous to go thi-
ther; and though some of his companions were of his opinion, yet the greater part and the frier
were of the contrary, saying that it was now high time to returne home vnto New Biscay from
whence they came, to giue account of that which they had seene: which the sayd greater part
within few dayes put in execution, leauing the captaine with nine companions onely that willing-
ly followed him: who after hee had fully certified himselfe of the riches abovesayd, and of the
great quantity of excellent mettals that were about that lake, departed out of this prouince of Ci-
bola with his companions; and traueilling directly toward the West, after hee had passed 28
leagues, he found another very great prouince, which by estimation contained aboue 50000 soules:
the inhabitants whereof allone as they vnderstood of their approach, sent them word, vpon paine
of death to come no neerer to their townes: whereto the captaine answered, that their coming
was

was in no wise to hurt them, as they should well perceiue, and therefore requested them not to molest him in his intended voyage, and withall gaue to the messenger a reward of such things as they brought with them: who thereupon made so good report of our people, and so appeased the troubled minds of the Indians, that they granted them free accesse vnto their towne, and so they went thither with 15. Indians their friends of the prouince of Cibola aforesaid, and the three Mexican Indians before mentioned. When they were come within a league of the first towne, there came forth to meete them about 2000. Indians laden with victuals, whom the Captaine rewarded with some things of small value, which they made great account of, and esteemed more precious then gold. As they approached neere vnto the towne which was named Zaguato, a great multitude of Indians came forth to meete them, and among the rest their Caciques, with so great demonstration of ioy and gladnes, that they cast much meale of Maiz vpon the ground for the horses to tread vpon: with this triumph they entered the towne, where they were very well lodged and much made of, which the Captaine did in part requite, giuing to the chiefeest among them hats, and beads of glasse, with many such trifles, which he caried with him for the like purpose. The said Caciques presently gaue notice to the whole prouince of the arriual of these new guests, whom they reported to bee a courteous people, and such as offered them no harme: which was occasion sufficient to make them all come laden with presents vnto our people, and to intreat them to goe and make merry with them in their townes; which they peelded vnto, though alwayes with great foresight what might follow. Whereupon the Captaine vsed a certaine policie, making the Caciques beleue, that forasmuch as his horses were very fierce (for they had told the Indians that they would kill them) therefore it was necessary to make a Fort of lime and stone to inclose them, for the auoyding of such inconueniences as otherwise might happen vnto the Indians by them. This tale was so stedfastly beleued by the Caciques, that in five houres they assembled such store of people together, that with incredible celeritie they built the said Fort which our men required.

Moreouer, when the Captaine saide that he would depart, they brought vnto him a present of 40000. maniles of cotton, both white and of other colours, and great store of hand-towels, with tassels at the corners, with diuers other things, and among the rest rich metals, which seemed to holde much siluer. Among these Indians they learned very much concerning The great Lake aforesaid, whose report agreed wholly with the relation of the former, as touching the riches and great abundance of gold about that lake.

The Captaine reposing great confidence in this people & in their good disposition toward him determined after certaine dayes, to leaue there five of his companions with the rest of his Indian friends, that they might returne with his cariages to the prouince of Zuni, while himselfe with the foure other which remained should ride in post to discouer certaine very rich Mines, whereof he had perfect information. And putting this his purpose in execution he departed with his guides, and hauing traueiled due-west 45. leagues he came vnto the said Mines, and tooke out of the same with his owne hands exceeding rich metals holding great quantitie of siluer: and the mines which were of a very broad vein were in a mountaine whereon they might easily ascend, by reason of an open way that led vp to the same. Neere vnto these mines were certaine townes of Indians dwelling vpon the mountaines, who shewed them friendship, & came forth to receiue them with crosses on their heads, and other tokens of peace. Hereabout they found two riuers of a reasonable bignesse, vpon the banks whereof grew many vines bearing excellent grapes, and great groues of walnut-trees, and much flaxe like that of Castile: and they shewed our men by signes, that behinde those mountaines there was a riuer about 8. leagues broad, but they could not learne how neere it was; howbeit the Indians made demonstration that it ran towards the North Sea, and that vpon both sides thereof stood many townes of so great bignesse, that in comparison thereof those where in they dwelt were but small hamlets.

After he had receiued all this information, the said Captaine returned toward the prouince of Zuni, whither he had sent his said companions: and being arriued there in safety, hauing traueiled vpon a very good way, he found in the same place his 5. companions, & the said father Frier Bernardin Beltran, with the souldiers which were determined to returne, as is aforesaid, but vpon certaine occasions were not as yet departed: whom the inhabitants had most friendly intreated, & furnished with all things necessary in abundance, as afterward like wise they vsed the Captaine, and those that came with him, comming forth to meete them with shew of great ioy, and giuing them great store of victuals to serue them in their iourney homewards, and requesting them to returne againe with speed, and to bring many Castilians with them (for so they call the Spaniards) to whom they promised food sufficient. For the better performance whereof they sowed that yere more graine and other fruits, then they had done at any time before.

Zaguato, by A-
huato a towne.

It withp-
ple to be bled
by the English
in like sales.

Rich metals.

Great abun-
dant of gold.

Exceeding
rich Mines
of siluer.

A mighty Ri-
uer of eight
leagues broad
running to-
ward the
North sea.
Perhaps this
Riuer may
fall into the
Chelapouk bay,
or into the
great lake of
Tadoac.
Zuni.

60. leagues.

Hubates.

Very rich
spices.Houses of 4.
and five stories
high.

Tamos.

Their returne.

Rio de las vacas.

120. leagues.

Guadiana.

At this present the Frier and souldiers aforesaid resolved themselves in their former determination, & agreed to returne unto the prouince from whence they came with intention before mentioned, to seek the two Friers that were slaine, to whom also Gregorio Hernandez who had bene Standard-bearer in the iourney, ioynded himselfe. Who being departed, the Captaine accompanied onely with 8. souldiers, determined to prosecute his former attempt, & to passe by higher the saide riuer called Rio del Norte, which he did accordingly. And hauing traueiled about 60. leagues toward the prouince of the Quires aforesaid, 12 leagues fro thence toward the Orient or East they found a prouince of Indians called Hubates, who receiued them peaceably, and gaue them great store of victuals, informing them also of very rich Mines which they found, whereout they got glittering & good metal, and therewith returned to the towne from whence they came. This prouince contained by their estimation 25000. persons all very well appareled in coloured mantles of cotton, and Chamois-skins very well dressed. They haue many mountaines full of Pines and Cedars, and the houses of their townes are of 4. and 5. stories high. Here they had notice of another prouince distant about one dayes iourney fro thence inhabited by certaine Indians called Tamos, and containing about 40000. soules: whither being come the inhabitants would neither giue them any victuals, nor admit them into their townes: for which cause, and in regard of the danger wherein they were, and because some of the souldiers were not well at ease, and for that they were so fewe (as we haue said) they determined to depart thence, and to returne toward the land of the Christians, which they put in execution in the beginning of July 1583, being guided by an Indian that went with them, who led them another way then they went forth by, downe a riuer, which they called Rio de las vacas; that is to say, The riuer of open, in respect of the great multitudes of open or kine that fed upon the bankes thereof, by the which they traueiled for the space of 120. leagues, still meeting with store of the said cattell. From hence they went forward to the riuer of Conchos by which they entered, and thence to the valley of S. Bartholomew, from whence they first entered into their discouerie. Upon their coming thither they found that the said Frier Bernardin Beltran and his company were safely arrived at the said towne many dayes before, & were gone from thence to the towne of Guadiana. In this towne the aforesaid captaine Antony de Espeio made most certaine relation of all that is aforesaid, which relation presently hee sent unto the Conde of Corunna Vizroy of Nueva Espanna, who sent the same to his Maiestie, & to the Lords of his royal counsel of the Indies, to the end they might take such order as they thought best, which they haue already performed with great care and circumspection.

Almighty God vouchsafe his assistance in this busines, that such numbers of soules redeemed by his blood may not vterly perish, of whose good capacitie, wherein they exceed those of Mexico and Peru (as we be giuen to vnderstand by those that haue delt with them) we may boldly presume that they will easily embrace the Gospel, and abandon such idolatrie as now the most of them doe liue in: which Almighty God graunt for his honour and glory, and for the increas of the holy Catholique faith.

A letter of Bartholomew Cano from Mexico the 30. of May 1590. to Francis Hernandes of Simil, concerning the speedy building of two strong Forts in S. Iohn de Villua, and in Vera Cruz, as also touching a notable new and rich discouery of Cibola or New Mexico 400. leagues Northwest of Mexico.

IT may please you Sir, to be aduertised that I haue receiued your letters, whereby I vnderstand that our ship with the treasure is safely arrived, God be praised thereto. The frigate arrived here in safetie which brought the letters of Advice from the King to the Viceroy. She arrived in S. Iohn de Villua the 29. of May, & departed from S. Lucar in Spaine the 6. of April. By which his Maiestie writeth unto the Viceroy, what time the Fleete shall depart from hence, and what course they shall take, not as they had wont for to do; by reason that there are great store of men of war abroad at the sea, which meane to encounter with the Fleete. I pray God sende them well to Spaine: for here wee were troubled very sore with men of warre on this coast. His Maiestie hath sent expresse comendement unto the Marques of Villa Manrique his cosen, Viceroy of Noua Hispania, that immediately upon sight of his letters he shal command to be builded in S. Iohn de Villua, & in Vera Cruz two strong Forts for the defence of these countries, of his Maiesties charges: And that there shalbe garisons in both the Forts for the defence of the ships which ride there, and for the strength of the countrey.

There are departed out of Mexico and other townes hereabout by the commaundement of the Viceroy 500. souldiers Spaniards, vnder the conduct of Rodorigo del Rio the gouernour of Nueva Bis-

The marches
of Villa Man-
rique Viceroy
of Noua His-
pania.

ua Biscaya which are gone to win a great City called Cibola, which is 400. leagues beyond Mexico to the North-west, and standeth vp in the maine land. It is by report a very great citie, as bigge as Mexico, and a very rich countrey both of golde Mines and siluer Mines: and the King of the countrey is a mighty King, and he will not become subiect to his Maestie. There were certaine Spaniards sent to that king from the Viceroy in an ambassage; It is thought that they are slaine, for we can here no newes of them.

The other newes that I can certifie you of at this instant is, that there is a Judge of the city of Guadalajara called don Nunno de villa Inscensia lately married. Also the kings Attourney of Guadalajara married his daughter of 8. yerres old with a boy of 12. yerres old. But the Viceroy saith that he hath a warrant from his Maestie, that if any Judge whatsoeuer dwelling in that kingdome of Guadalajara should marry any sonne in that iurisdiction, that then the said Viceroy is to depriue him of his office. And therfore he went about to depriue the Judge & the kings Attourney of their offices. Whereupon the people of that prouince would not thereunto consent, nor suffer them to be dismissed of their offices, nor to be arrested, nor caried prisoners to Mexico. When the viceroy had intelligence thereof, & that the Countrey did resist his commandement, and would not suffer them to be apprehended, he sent certaine Captaines with souldiers to goe and apprehend the Judge, the kings Attourney, and as many as did take their parts. So the citizens of Guadalajara withstood the viceroyes forces, & put themselves in defence; and are vp in armes against the viceroy: yet they do not rebel against the king, but say: God saue king Philip, and wil submit themselves to his Maestie, but not to the viceroy. So that all the kingdome of Guadalajara is vp in armes, and are all in a mutinie against vs of Mexico. I beseech Almighty God to remedy it, and that it may be qualified in time: or else all Noua Spania wil be utterly spoiled. I write this thing, because it is publicquely known in all places. And thus I rest, from Mexico the 30. of May 1590.

Bartholomew Cano.

THE FIRST AND SECOND DISCOVERY of the gulfes of *California*, and of the Sea-coast on the North-west or back side of *America*, lying to the West of *New Mexico*, *Cibola* and *Quinira*, together with *Sir Francis Drakes* landing and taking possession vpon *Noua Albion* in the behalfe of the Crowne of *England*, and the notable voyage of *Francis Gaule*; Wherein amongst many other memorable matters is set downe the huge bredth of the Ocean sea from *China* and *Iapan* to the North-west parts of *America*, in the 38. and 40. degrees.

A relation of the discouery, which in the Name of God the Fleete of the right noble *Fernando Cortez* Marques of the *Vally*, made with three ships; The one called *Santa Agueda* of 120. tunnes, the other the *Trinitie* of 35. tunnes, and the thirde *S. Thomas* of the burthen of 20. tunnes. Of which Fleete was Capitaine the right worshipfull knight *Francis de Vlloa* borne in the Citie of *Merida*. Taken out of the third volume of the voyages gathered by *M. Iohn Baptista Ramusio*.

Chap. I.

Francis Vlloa a capitaine of *Cortez*, departeth with a Fleet from the port of *Acapulco*, and goeth to discouer ynknewen lands, he passeth by the coast of *Sacatula* and *Motin*, and by tempest runneth to the riuer of *Gujahal*, fro whence he crosseth ouer to the hauen of *Santa Cruz*, along the coast whereof he discouereth 3. smal Ilands, and within two dayes and an halfe returning to the maine land he discouereth the riuer called *Rio de san Pedro y san Pablo*, and not far distant from thence two other riuers as big or greater then that of *Guadalquivir* which runneth by *Seuil*, together with their head-springs.

We embarked our selues in the hauen of *Acapulco* on the 8. of July in the yeere of our Lord 1539, calling vpon almighty God to guide vs with his holy hand vnto such places where he might be serued, and his holy faith aduanced. And we sailed from the said port by the coast of *Sacatula* and *Motin*, which is sweete and pleasant through the abundance of trees that grow thereon, and riuers which passe through those countreys, for the which wee often thanked God the creatour of them. So sailing along we came to the hauen of *S. Iago* in the prouince of *Colima*: but before we arriued there, the maine mast of our ship called *Santa Agueda* was broken by a stoyne of winde

500. Spaniards sent to conquer the great citie of Cibola which is 400. leagues from Mexico North west ward.

A dangerous rebellion in Guadalajara a prouince of Noua Hispania

Acapulco in 174 degrees of latitude.

The coast of Sacatula and Motin.

S. Iago de Colima.

that

The Isles of
Xalisco.

Guajual.

Santa Cruz in
the point of
California.

Three Islands.

Rio de San Pedro
y San Pablo.

Two great
rivers.

Certaine great
lakes.

that tooke vs, so as the ship was forced to saile without her mast until we arrived in the said haven. From the port of Acapulco to this haven of Colima wee were sayling the space of 20. dayes. Here wee stayed to mende our mast and to take in certaine victuals, water, and wood, the space of 27. dayes. And wee departed from the saide haven the 23. of August, and sayling by the Isles of Xalisco the 27. or 28. of the saide moneth wee were taken with an extreame tempest wherein wee thought we should haue perished, and being tossed and weather-beaten, wee ranne as farre as the riuer of Guajual in the Province of Culiacan. In this storme wee lost the pinnelle called Sant Thomas, and because wee had lost her wee crossed ouer to the port of Santa Cruz in California: for while wee were so beaten in the former tempest, the pilot of the Barke signified vnto vs, that he perceiued she beganne to leake, and that already she had receiued in much water, insomuch that she beganne to founder; whereupon, to helpe her neede, and that wee might meete together in a knowne haven, if by chance the tempest should separate vs, as it did indeed, we willed him to repaire to the haven of Santa Cruz, where we meant to repaire his harmes and our owne. Wherefore being all arrived in this place of Santa Cruz, wee stayed there five dayes and tooke in water, wherein we heard no newes of our Barke which we had lost: Whereupon the Captaine resolved to follow on our voyage; wherefore we set saile the 12. of September, and as wee sailed wee saw along the coast of the saide haven 3. Islands, whereof the Captaine made no great accompt, thinking there coulde be no great good found in any of them. These Islands seemed not to be great; wherefore he commanded the Masters and pilotes to proceed on their voyage, and not to leese time without any profit. So sailing ouer the gulf of California, in two dayes and an halfe we came to the riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul, finding before we entred into the same a small Island in the mouth of the Riuer, being 4. or 5. miles distant from the maine. On both sides of this Riuer wee beheld goodly and pleasant great plaines full of many Greene and beautifull trees, and farther within the land we beheld certaine exceeding high mountaines full of woods very pleasant to beholde. From this Riuer wee sailed still along the coast the space of 15. leagues, in which course wee found two other Rivers in our iudgement as great or greater then Guadalquivir the Riuer of Siuilia in Spaine. All the coast by these Rivers is plaine as the other which we had passed, with many woods: likewise within the lande appeared great mountaines covered with woods very beautifull to beholde, and beneath in the plaine appeared certaine lakes of water. From these Rivers we sailed 18. leagues, and found very pleasant plaines, and certaine great lakes whose mouthes opened into the Sea: here our Captaine thought good thoroughly to discouer what those lakes were, and to search whether there were any good haven for his ships to ride in, or to harbour themselves, if any tempest should arise; and so hee commaunded a boat to be hoised out into the Sea, with a Master and five or six men to view them, and to sound the depth, and bottom of them: who went thither, and found the coast very holde, and the mouthes of the lakes; whereupon they made no accompt of them, onely because the shoze was so shallow, for otherwise the land was very pleasant. Here at euening we saw on the shoze 10. or 12. Indians and fires. The aforesaide two Rivers are two leagues distant the one from the other, little more or lesse, and are great, as I haue saide, and being in the last of them we went vp to the ship-top, and saw many lakes, and one among the rest exceeding great, and wee supposed that they had their springs out of this great lake, as other Rivers also haue from other lakes, for wee sawe the course of them severally each by themselves, hauing goodly woods growing all along their bankes. The currents of these Rivers might be discerned three leagues within the Sea: and at the mouthes of them were many small stakes set by for markes: the shoze here is plaine and sandie, and the countrey very pleasant.

Chap. 2.

Sailing along the coast from the two aforesaid great Rivers, they discouer three mouthes of lakes and a goodly Countrey, they come vnto *Cabo Roxo*, and take possession of those countreys for the Emperours Maiesty. A discourse of the faire hauens that are on those coastes, and of very many Islands which they saw, before they came to the Cape called *Capo de las Plaias*.

The coast runneth
North-ward.

This day wee sailed along the coast the space of 16. leagues, and in the midst of this voyage there is a Bay very faire of 4. or 5. leagues, hauing certaine bankes or fences in it, in beholding whereof we tooke great pleasure. The night following we roade in 20. fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage toward the North, and hauing sailed 3. or 4. leagues we saw 3. mouthes of lakes which entered into the land, where they became like standing pooles. Wee roade a league distance from these mouthes in 6. fadome water, to see what they were, and sent our boat with certaine men, to see if there were any entry for our ships: for halfe a league from shoze we had not

not past one or two fadome water. Here our men saw 7. or 8. Indians, and found sundry sorts of greene herbes somewhat differing from those of Nueva Espanna. The Countrey is plaine, but farre within land they saw great and small hils extending themselves a great way, and being very faire and pleasant to behold. The day following we proceeded on our voyage sayling alwayes in sight of the plaine coast toward the North-west, in 10. or 15. fadome water. And having sailed 6. good leagues we found a Bay on the coast within the land of about 5. leagues ouer, from whence the coast trended North-west, and this bay we sailed about 16. leagues. All this coast is plaine, and not so pleasant as that which we had passed: here are certaine small hilles, but not so high as those which we had found before. Thus we sailed all night North-west, and until the next day at noone, at which time we fell with a headland of white sand, where by the height which we tooke that day we found our selues to be in the latitude of 27. degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. This cape we called *Capo Roxo*. All the coast is plaine and faire and cleane sand, and we saw within land some few trees not very great, with certaine mountaines & woods 3. or 4. leagues distant from the said cape: and here likewise appeared a mouth of a riuer, which (as far as we could discerne) made certaine lakes by which in the land: fro the mouth whereof for the space of a league into the sea it seemed to be very sholde, because the sea did breake very much. Here we saw within the land 3. or 4. riuers. In this sort we sailed on our voyage to the Northward, & because we had not good weather we roade that night in a great haven lying in our way, where on the shore wee saw certaine plaines, and by within the land certaine hilles not very high: and continuing our course toward the North about 3. leagues from this haven, we found an Island of about one league in circuite lying before the mouth of the said haven. And sailing forward we found an haven which hath two mouthes into the Sea, into which we entered by the Northmost mouth, which hath 10. or 12. fadome water, & so decreaseeth till it come to 5. fadome, where we anchored in a poole which the Sea maketh, which is a strange thing to behold, for there are so many entrances & mouthes of streames and hauens, that we were all astonied at the sight thereof; and these hauens are so excellently framed by nature, as the like are not to be seene in the world, wherein we found great store of fish. Here wee anchored, and the Captaine went on shore, and tooke possession, using all such ceremonies as therunto belong. Here also wee found certaine weares to catch fish made by the Indians, and certaine small cottages, wherein were diuers pieces of earthen pots as finely made as those in Spaine. Here by commande-ment of the Captaine a Crosse was erected vpon an hill, and it was set up by Francis Preciado. In this place we saw the Countrey full of fresh and greene grasse, howbeit differing from that of New Spaine, and by within the Countrey wee saw many great and very greene mountaines. This Countrey seemed very goodly and delightfome to all of vs, in regard of the greenesse and beautie thereof, and we iudged it to be very populous within the land. From this haven we departed and kept our way toward the North-west with good weather, and began to finde hard by the sea-shore exceeding high mountaines spotted with white, and in them we saw many fowles which had their nestes in certaine holes of those rocks, and sailed 10. leagues until night, all which night we were becalmed. The next day we followed our course North-west with good weather: and from that day forward we began to see on the Westerne shore (whereon the foresaid haven of S. Cruz standeth) certaine Islands or high lands, whereat we reioyced not a little. And so sayling forward we met with an Island about two leagues in bignesse, and on the East shore hauing still the maine land and Islands in sight, we sailed 15. leagues until the euening, alwayes finding hard by the sea-coast exceeding high mountaines bare of trees, the land appearing still more plainly vnto vs on the Westerne shore. Whereupon wee began to be of diuers opinions, some thinking that this coast of Santa Cruz was a firme land, and that it ioyned with the continent of Nueva Espanna, others thought the contrary, and that they were nothing else but Islands, which were to the Westward. And in this sort we proceeded forward, hauing the land on both sides of vs, so farre, that we all began to wonder at it. This day we sailed some 15. leagues, and called this Cape *Capo de las Plaias*.

Chap. 3.

Of the Streight which they discovered on the coast of *Capo de las Plaias*, and of the pleasant Countrey which they found before they came to the rockes called *Los diamantes*. Of the wonderfull whitenesse of that Sea, and of the ebbing and flowing thereof; and of the multitude of Islands and lands, which extend themselves Northward from the haven of *Santa Cruz*.

The day following we sailed until night with so good weather, that we ran about 20. leagues. All this coast along the shore is full of little hilles without grasse or trees: and that night we anchored

to the north of the
headland of white sand
which we called
Capo Roxo.

the coast runneth
Northward.

fishing
weares like
those of Virgi-
nia.

An Island

Some take
the land of Ca-
lifornia to be
nothing but
Islands.

20 Streight of
12 leagues
broad, of ex-
ceeding depth.

The Streight
here runneth
Northward.

Small rocks
called Los Dia-
manes.

Small
islands
and shoals

Small
islands
and shoals

anchored in 20 fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage beginning to saile before breake of day Northward, and we came into the midst of a Streight of mouth which was 12 leagues broad from one land to the other, which Streight had two Islands in the midst thereof being 4 leagues distant the one from the other: and here we discerned the countrey to be plaine, and certaine mountaines, & it seemed that a certaine gut of water like a brooke ran through the plaine. This streight (as far as we could perceiue) was very deep, for we could finde no botome; and here we saw the land stretching afarre off from the one shoze to the other, and on the Westerne shoze of the haven of S. Cruz, the land was moze high with very bare mountaines. The day following we passed on our way toward the North, and sailed some 15 leagues, and in the midst of our way we found a circuit of bay of 6 leagues into the land with many cooues or creeks, and the next day following continuing our course we sailed some 10 leagues, and the coast in this dayes journey was all of high mountaines naked and bare without any tree. It is very deepe hard by the shoze, and that night we were constrained to stay by reason of the contrary winde. The next morning before breake of day we sailed still along the coast to the North west until evening, and ranne about some 15 leagues. All along this shoze wee sawe very goodly mountaines within the land, and many plaines and downes with some few trees, & the sea shoze was all sandy. In the midst of this dayes course we found certaine small rockes in the sea 4 leagues distant from the maine, where the said land maketh a great point into the sea, and here we stayed the rest of the night, where we had a very great shower of raine. The day following we proceeded on our voyage, and sailed untill night by a compasse or turning, some 8 or 9 leagues, and saw within land a few mountaines hauing no trees vpon them, but the Sunne shining alwayes very cleare, as farre as wee could descry they were very great, on the Westerne shoze of the haven of Santa Cruz. Here we stayed all night because we found very shallow water and sawe the sea very white, and in a maner like to chalke, so that we all beganne to marueile thereat. The day following wee went forward againe along the coast North westward, and sailed eight leagues, and saw another land which stretched North west, and was full of high mountaines. And still continuing this course we searched very diligently to see if there were any passage through betweene both the landes, for right forward wee sawe no land. And thus sayling wee alwayes found more shallow water, and the Sea thicke, blacke, and very murdrie, and came at length into five fadome water; and seeing this, wee determined to passe ouer to the land which wee had seene on the other side, and here likewise wee found as little depth and lesse, whereupon we rode all night in five fadome water, and wee perceiued the Sea to runne with so great a rage into the land, that it was a thing much to be maruelled at, and with the like fury it returned backe againe with the ebbe; during which time wee found 11 fadome water, and the flood and ebbe continued from fire to fire houres.

The day following the Captaine and Pilote went vnto the shippes top, and sawe all the lande full of sand in a great round compasse, and ioyning it selfe with the other shoze, and it was so low, that whereas wee were a league from the same wee could not well discern it, and it seemed that there was an inlet of the mouthes of certaine lakes, whereby the Sea went in and out. There were diuers opinions amongst vs, and some thought that that current entered into those lakes, and also that some great River there might be the cause thereof. And when we could perceiue no passage through, nor could discern the countrey to be inhabited the Captaine accompanied with certaine of vs went to take possession thereof. The same day with the ebbe of the Sea wee fell downe from the other coast from the side of Nueva Espanna, though alwayes we had in sight the firme land on the one side of vs, and the other Islands on our left hande, on the side of the port of Santa Cruz situate on the Westerne shoze: for on that side there are so many Islands and landes, so farre as we could descry, that it was greatly to be wondered at: for from the said haven of Santa Cruz, and from the coast of Culiacan we had alwayes in a maner land on both sides of vs, and that so great a countrey, that I suppose if it should so continue further inwarde, there is countrey ynough for many peeres to conquer. This day wee had the winde contrary, and cast anchor vntill the flood increased, which was in the afternoone, and then wee set saile likewise with contrary winde vntill midnight, and then cast anchor.

The next day wee departed, Chap. 10. our course along the coast South west, vntill midnight with little winde, and wee sawe within the land high mountaines with some openings, and wee made way some three leagues, and all the next night wee were becalmed, and the next day we continued our course but a little while, for we sailed not about five leagues, and all the night were becalmed, and sawe the lande full of bare and high mountaines, and on our left hande wee descried a plaine countrey, and saw in the night certaine fires.

Chap. 4.

They land vpon an Island to discover the same, and there they see many fires, which issue out of certaine mountaines, and many Seale-fishes. Here they take an Indian, and can not vnderstand his language. Running along they discover another Island, and take possession therof for the Emperours Maiestie, and a great haven in the firme land, which they call *Ancon de Sant Andres*, or *The haven of S. Andrew*.

The next day following our course we saw a great haven with an Island in the sea, within a crosse-bow shoote of the firme land, and in this Island and on the firme land were seene many smokes by the iudgement of all the company; wherefore the captaine thought good that wee should goe on land to know the certainty of these smokes and fires, himselfe taking ten or twelve of vs with a boate in his company: and going on shore in the Island, we found that the smokes proceeded out of certaine mountaines and breaches of burned earth, whereout ascended into the aire certaine cinders and ashes which mounted vp to the middle region of the aire, in such great quantitie, that we could not esteeme lesse then twenty lodes of wood to bee burned for the causing of euery of those smokes, whereat wee were all not a little amazed.

In this Island were such abundance of Seales, as it was wonderfull. Here we stayed that day, and killed a great number of these Seals, with whom we had some trouble: for they were so many, and ayded one another so well, that it was strange to behold; for it fell out, that while we were occupied in killing some of them with stauces, they assembled twentie or thirty together, and lifting themselves by assailed vs with their feete in a squadron, and ouerthrew two or three of our company on the ground: whereupon letting goe those which they had in their hands, they and the others escaped vs and went into the sea, howbeit wee killed good store of them, which were so fatte as it was wonderfull: and when we opened some of them to haue their liuers, we found certaine small blacke stones in their bodie, whereat wee much marueiled. The next day wee rode at anker here for lacke of good weather to sayle withall: whereupon the Captaine determined to goe on shore with nine or ten in his company, to see whether there were any people there, or any signe of people that had bene there, and they found on the maine land seuen or eight Indians like to Chichimecas, which were gone a fishing, and had a raft of canes; who so soone as they espied vs ranne away and betooke themselves to flight, but being pursued by vs, in the end we tooke one of them, whose language was so strange that wee could by no meanes vnderstand him; his clothing was nothing at all, for he was stark naked. These people caried their water in bottels made of beasts skins, they fished with hookes of bone, and wee found good store of their fishes, whereof we tooke three or foure dozen.

The Indian which we had taken seeing himselfe in our hands did nothing but weepe, but the Captaine called him, and made much of him, giuing him certaine beades, with a hat and certaine hookes of ours, and then let him goe. And it seemed that after hee was returned to his companions, he declared vnto them how we had done him no harme at all, shewing them the things which we had giuen him: whereupon they also determined to come vnto vs to our boate, but because it was now night, and that our shippes were farre from vs, we forced not to stay for them, especially because it was a bad place and a dangerous. This countrey hath on the sea-coast high and bare mountaines with certaine grasse in some places like vnto our broomes, or like vnto woods of rosemary.

The next day wee sayled neere to the coast on the same side, with very scarce winde, and in a manner calme, and ranne not aboue five leagues, and all the night following we lay becalmed, and we saw on the shore five or six fires. The land is high with very high mountaines without grasse, hauing certaine caues in them: the next day also, and part of the night following we were becalmed: and the morow after we followed our course along the sayd coast, and passed betweene a great Island full of exceeding high mountaines, and the maine land; where we saw a very great haven in the firme land in which wee ankered to see what it was, and being come to an anker, the Captaine and some of vs went on land the same day to see if there were any people and fresh water, and wee found certaine small cottages couered with drie grasse, with certaine little stauces layd ouerthwart, and we went a little way into the countrey which was very barren, by certaine small and streight paches, and found a little pond or pit, but drie and without water; and here the Captaine tooke possession for the Marques of the valley in the name of his Maiestie, and after this we returned to our ship, and that night we sawe foure or five fires on the land. The next day the Captaine determined, because hee had seene these fires, to goe on shore, and so with our

Burning
mountaines.Abundance of
Seales.

A raft of canes

Bottles of
beasts skins
and fishhookes
of bone.Ancon de S. An-
dres, or The
haven of S. An-
drew in 32 de-
grees.

Two Indians
of exceeding
huge stature.

two boates we went fifteene or twenty of vs vnto certaine crooked strands two leagues from the place where our ships rode, and where we had seene the fires, and we found two Indians of exceeding huge stature, so that they caused vs greatly to wonder; they caried their bowes and arrowes in their hands, and as soone as they saw vs leap on shore they ran away, and we followed them vnto their dwellings and lodgings, which were certaine cottages and bowers couered with boughs, and there we found great and small steps of many people, but they had no kind of victuals but onely cuttle-fishes which wee found there. The countrey toward the sea side seemed but barren, for we saw neither trees nor greene grasse there, yet were there certaine smal patches not well beaten, and along the sea-coast we saw many tracts of dogges, hares, and conies, and in certaine small Islands neere vnto the maine we saw Seale-fishes. This haue is called Ancon de Sant Andres.

Ancon de Sant
Andres.

Chap. 5.

They discover a mountainous Island very great, and neere vnto it certaine other Islands with a goodly greene and pleasant countrey. They haue sight of certaine Indians in Canoes of canes, whose language sounded like the Flemish tongue, with whome they could not haue any traffique.

A great Island

The next day we proceeded on our voyage, sayling betweene the maine and an Island, which we suppose to be in circuit about a hundred or eighty leagues, sayling sometimes within one, and sometimes within two leagues of the maine. The soile of this Island is of certaine mountaines not very steepe with caues in them, and as farre as wee could descrie by the coast, there appeared no signe of any plaine countrey. Here from this day forward wee began to bee afraid, considering that we were to returne to the port of Santa Cruz; for it was supposed, that all along this mighty gulfe from the entrance in at Culiacan vntil the returning backe vnto the said haue, was all firme land, and also because wee had the firme land alwayes on our right hand and it goeth round circle-wise vnto the sayd haue; but many thought and hoped that we should finde some mouth or out-let, whereby wee might passe through vnto the other coast. What our successe was we will declare in the relation following.

They returne
from the boats
tome of the gulf
of California.

The next day being Thursday wee sayled with scant winde, for it was almost calme, and passed beyond that great Island, hauing firme land alwayes on our right hand, and coasting (as I sayd) very neere vnto it. The next day likewise we sayled with little winde, it being in a manner calme, and passed neere vnto the shore by certaine round baies, and certaine pointes which the land made, which was pleasant to behold being somewhat greene, and there seemed to be some creeke there. This Friday at night wee sayled altogether with a fresh gale, and at breake of day wee were betweene the maine land, and an Island on our left hand, which was somewhat big, as farre as we could discerne. There was a great bay in the firme land, and before it was a point which stretched farre into the sea. The firme land seemed to bee much fresher and pleasanter then those lands which we had passed, hauing many bankes and hills of indifferent height, and beautifull to behold.

Another Island

The countrey (as farre as wee could discerne) was so pleasant and delightfull, that wee all desired to goe on shore, and to search vp into it two or three dayes iourney, to see whether it were inhabited or not. Wee saw within the land of that bay two fires. The night following being Saturday we sailed continually with a prosperous and fresh gale, and the wind was so great that we drew our bonet to our maine sayle, and sayled so till the morning.

A great Island

On Sunday the twelfth of October we found our selues altogether inclosed with land, on the right hand with the maine, which compassed vs before and behind, and on the left hand with an Island of a league and a halfe; and betwene the maine and the Island in the midst of the sea there lay a small Islet, and also betwene the sayd maine and the Island there were two mouthes, through which there appeared a passage whereby afterwar we passed through. This maine was much more fresh and greene then the other which wee had passed, and had certaine plaines and pointes of mountaines of pleasant view, and full of greene grasse. Here all this night we saw two or three villages which were very great, and at breake of day we saw a Canoe or boate made of canes, which came from the land out of a creeke, and wee stood still vntill it came neere vnto vs in the ship, and they began to speake in their language which no man vnderstood, whose pronunciation was like to the Flemings, and being called they returned with great haste vnto the shore, and we were very sorry because our boate had not followed them.

Here happened vnto vs a very strange thing, which was, that as this Indian returned to the shore

thore in certaine of these creekes where a number of his fellow Indians were, as wee viewed that part, we sawe five Canoas issue forth, which came toward vs: whereupon wee stayed to see what they would doe. In the meane while our Admirall came by vnto vs, which was neere the thore, for he also had scene them, and so being come together we cast anchor, expecting what those Canoas would doe. In the meane while our Generall commanded vs to make ready our boate, and to furnish the same with oares and men, to trie if we could by any meanes take some of them, that we might come to some knowledge of them, and that wee might giue them some of our trifles, and specially of our hookes and beads to winne their friendship. The Indians with their five Canoas approched within one or two stones cast of vs, and then began to speake very loude vnto vs in a very strange language, alwayes standing vpon their guard to retire themselves with speede. When our Captaine saw this, and that they would not come neere vs, but rather retired, he commanded sixe mariners to goe into the boate from the sterne of the ship, and himselfe also went with them with all possible haste toward the Indians. The Indians returned to the thore with so great celeritie, that they seemed to stie in those little Canoas of canes. Neuertheless our men vsed such diligence that one of the Canoas was boorded & taken; but the Indian in the Canoa seeing himselfe now taken leapt into the water, and our men followed with their boat to take him, but seeing himselfe within their reach, he ducked with his head vnder their boate, and so deceiued them, and then rose by againe, and with their oares and with stauers they gaue him certaine blowes, to amaze him, but nothing would serue them; for as they were about to lay handes vpon him hee still diued vnder water, and with his hands and feete got neere to the thore: and as he rose by aboue the water, hee called to his felowes which stood on the thore to behold, crying Belen with a loud voyce, and so they pursued him, and strooke him sometimes being very neere the thore, and he alwayes went calling the rest of his fellowes to come and helpe him, whereupon within a thort while after three other Canoas came forth to succour him, being full of Indians with bowes and arrowes in their handes, crying with a loude voyce, that wee should come on thore: these Indians were of great stature and saluage, fat also and well set, and of a browne colour. Our Captaine perceiuing this, least they should wound any of our people with their arrowes, returned backe, and commanded vs immediately to set sayle, and so forthwith wee departed.

This day the wind skanted, and we returned to anchor in the foresayd place, and our Admirall rode from the firme land toward the Island, and wee which were in the ship called *The Trinitie* lay neere vnto the maine, and before break of day wee departed with a fresh gale. And before we disembouqued out of that chanell we saw certaine grasse very high and greene vpon the maine: whereupon a mariner, and the Pilot went by into the top, and saw the mouth of a riuer which ranne throug that greene countrey into the sea. But because our Admirall was vnder all her sayles farre from vs, we could not tell them of this riuer, where wee would haue taken water, whereof we had some neede, and because it was a very good haue to goe on thore to take it, and therefore without watering we followed our course. On munday we departed from this haue which is like vnto a lake, for on all sides we were compassed with land, hauing the continent before, behinde vs, and on our right side, and the Island on our left side, and we passed forth at those mouthes beforementioned, which shewed an out-let into the open sea. Thus wee sayled along still viewing the situation of the countrey, reioycing all of vs at the sight thereof, for it alwayes pleased vs more and more, still appearing more greene and pleasant, and the grasse which wee found neere vnto the thore was fresh and delectable, but not very high, being (to all our iudgements) not past a spanne long. Likewise the hilles which wee saw, which were many, and many downes made a very pleasant prospect, especially because we iudged, that there were many valleys and dales betweene them.

Port Belen a
very good
haue.

Chap. 6.

They discouera a very great bay with foure small Islands in it, whereas they take possession. As they sayle along and discover diuers Islands they come at length to the port of *Santa Cruz*, where not being able to get any knowledge of those Indians, although they lay in waite for them at a place called *The well of Grijalua*, they departed thence. They haue a perillous and long tempest, which ceased, after they had scene a light on their shrowdes.

Our comming out of these openings we began to finde a Bay with a very great haue, a great haue enuironed with diuers small hilles hauing vpon them greene woods and pleasant to behold.

In this bay and strait were two small Islands neere unto the shore, one of the which was like unto a table about halfe a league in bignes, and the other was a round hill almost as big as the former. These Islands serued vs onely to content our sight, for we passed by them without staying, hauing but a slacke wind on Sunday morning: all which day we followed our course with the foresayd slacke winde, and within a while after it became flat contrary, so that we were constrained to anker at the sayd point of the sayd hauen; and on Tuesday at bzeake of day we set sayle, but made but little away all the day, because the winde continued contrary, although but very weake. The night following wee were becalmed a little beyond the point of this hauen; but about midnight wee began to haue a fresh gale, and on Wednesday in the morning wee were seven leagues distant from that point. This countrey shewed (as it was indeede) more plaine then the rest, with certaine small wooby hills, and within the other point which was before described, the situation seemed to be more pleasant and delighsome then the rest which we had passed. And at the vitermost end of the point were two small Islets. The sayd Wednesday about nine of the clocke the winde blew a good gale, and we sayled by euening between seven and eight leagues, and came ouer against a land not very high, where wee saw certaine creekes or bzeaches not very ragged, into cuery of which a riuer seemed to fall, because the soyle was very greene, and had certaine trees growing on it farre bigger then those which we had found before. Here the Captaine with five or six men went on shore, and taking possession passed by one of those riuers, and found the footing of many Indians byon the land. On the bankes of that riuer they saw many fruitful trees, as cherry-trees and little apple-trees, and other white trees: they found also in the wood three or foure beasts called Adibes, which are a kind of dogs. The same night wee set sayle with the winde off the land, which blew so freshly, that it made vs to strike our foresayle; and on the sixteenth of October at nine of the clocke we came neere unto a point of certaine high mountaines, on which day being Thursday we made little way, because the winde ceased, but it rose againe in the night, whereupon by the bzeake of day on Friday wee came before the sayd point being six or seven leagues off. The land seemed to be very mountainous with certaine sharpe points not greatly clad with grasse, but somewhat bare. On our left hand wee saw two Islands, the one of a league and a halfe, the other not so much, and it seemed that we dyem neere to the port of Santa Cruz, whereat we were loy, because we were alwaies in good hope to find some out-let into the maine Ocean in some place of that land, and that the same port was the same out-let, and also that by the sayd coast we might returne to the foresayd hauen of Santa Cruz, and that we had committed a great error, because we had not certainly sought out the secret, whether that were a Streit or a riuer, which wee had left behind vs vnsearched at the bottom of this great sea or gulfe.

20 bay with 4
or 5 Islands.

This current
is in 32 de-
grees, and the
sea is white
and red.

This returne
is mentioned
cap. 5.

They arrive at
the hauen of
Santa Cruz.

All Friday and the night following we sayled with a scant winde, and on Saturday at bzeake of day we were betweene two points of land which make a bay, wherein we saw before and behinde foure or five great and small Islands. The land was very mountainous, part wherof was couered with grasse, and part was voide. Within the land appeared more mountaines and hills, and in this place we were come neere unto the hauen of Santa Cruz, which is all firme land, except it be diuided in the very nooke by some streite or great riuer which parteth it from the maine, which because we had not thoroughly discovered, all of vs that were employed in this voyage were not a little grieved. And this maine land stretcheth so farre in length, that I cannot well expresse it: for from the hauen of Acapulco, which standeth in senenteene degrees and twenty minutes of latitude, wee had alwayes the coast of the firme land on our right hand, untill we came to the great current of the white & red sea; and here (as I haue said) we knew not the secret of this current, whether it were caused by a riuer or by a streit: and so supposing that the coast which wee had on our right hand was closed by without passage, wee returned backe againe, alwayes descending Southward by our degrees, untill wee returned unto the sayd hauen of Santa Cruz, finding still along the coast a goodly and pleasant countrey, and still seeing fires made by the Indians, and Canoas made of Canes. We determined to take in fresh water at the hauen of Santa Cruz, to runne along the outward Westerne coast, and to see what it was, if it pleased God. Here we rested our selues, and eat of the plummes and fruits called Pichaias: and wee entered into the port of Santa Cruz on Sunday the 18 of October and stayed there eight daies to take in wood and water resting our selues all that while, that our men might strengthen and refresh themselves. Our captaine determined to diuide amongst vs certain garments of cassata, with clokes and saies, and a piece of cassata, and likewise ordained, that wee should goe on land to catch a couple of Indians, that they might talke with our interpreter, and that we might come to the knowledge of their language. Whereupon thirteene of vs went out of our ship by night, and lay

lay in ambush in a place which is called The well of Grijalua, where we stayed untill noone betwene certaine secret wapes, and could neuer see or descrie any one Indian: wherefore wee returned to our ships, with two mastine-dogs which we caried with vs to catch the Indians with moze ease: and in our returne we found two Indians hidden in certaine thickets, which were come thither to spie what wee did: but because wee and our dogs were weary, and thought not on them, these Indians issued out of the thickets, and fled away, and wee ranne after them, and our dogges saw them not: wherefore by reason of the thicknes of the wilde thistles, and of the thornes and byars, and because we were weary, we could neuer ouertake them: they left behinde them certaine staues so finely wrought that they were very beautifull to behold, considering how cunningly they were made with a handle and a corde to sling them.

The Spaniards vse manerly to take the Indians.

and in this manner they take the Indians.

Read more of these staues cap. 10.

The nine and twentieth of October being Wednesday, we set sayle out of this haven of Santa Cruz with litle winde, and in sayling downe the chanel our shippe called the Trinitie came on ground vpon certaine sholdes: this was at noone at a low water, and with all the remedy that we could vse wee could not draw her off, whereupon wee were constrained to vnderprop her, and to stay the next tide: and when the tide began to increas we vled all diligence to draw her off, and could not by any meanes, whereat all the company and the Captaine were not a little grieved; for wee thought wee should haue lost her there, although wee ceased not with all our might to labour with both our boates, and with our cable and capstern. In the ende it pleased God about midnight at a full sea with the great force which wee vled to recouer her, that wee drew her off the sand, for which we gaue God most hearty thanks, and rode at anker all the rest of the night, wayting for day-light for feare of falling into any further danger or mishap. When day was come, wee set forward with a fresh gale, and proceeded on our voyage, directing our prowes to the maine sea, to see whether it would please God to let vs discouer the secret of this point. But whether it pleased not his great goodnesse, or whether it were for our sinnes, wee spent eight dayes from this port, before we could double the poynt, by reason of contrary winds, and great raine, and lightning and darkenesse euery night: also the windes grew so raging and tempestuous, that they made vs all to quake, and to pray continually vnto God to ayde vs. And hereupon wee made our cables and ankers ready, and the chiefe Pilot commanded vs with all speede to cast anker, and in this sort we passed our troubles: and whereas wee rode in no securitie, he caused vs forthwith to weigh our ankers, and to goe whither the wind should driue vs. And in this sort wee spent those eight dayes, turning backe by night the same way that wee had gone by day, and sometimes making good in the night that which we had lost in the day, not without great desire of all the company to haue a winde which might set vs forward on our voyage, being afflicted with the miseries which wee indured by reason of the thunders, lightnings, and raine, wherewith we were wet from toppe to toe, by reason of the toyle which we had in weighing and casting of our ankers, as neede required.

And on one of these nights, which was very darke and tempestuous with winde and raine, because we thought we should haue perished, being very neere the shore, we prayed vnto God that he would vouchsafe to ayde and saue vs, without calling our sinnes to remembrance. And straightway wee saw vpon the shrowdes of the Trinitie as it were a candle, which of it selfe shined, and gaue a light, whereat all the company greatly reioyced, in such sort that wee ceased not to giue thanks vnto God. Whereupon we assured our selues, that of his mercie hee would guide and saue vs, and would not suffer vs to perish, as indeede it fell out; for the next day wee had good weather, and all the mariners sayd, that it was the light of Saint Elmo which appeared on the shrowdes, and they saluted it with their songs and prayers. These stormes tooke vs betwene the Isles of Saint Iago and Saint Philip, and the Isle called Isla de perlas lying ouer against the point of California supposed to be firme land.

Chap. 7.

Sayling on their way they discouer a pleasant Countrey, and in their iudgement greatly inhabited, and finde the Sea-coast very deepe. They went to discouer or viewe the Isle offerles. And by a current one of their ships is separated from the other, and with great ioy after three dayes they had sight again of her, and following their voyage they discouer certaine great, greene, and pleasant plaines.

WE began to sayle along the coast the seventh or eight of Nouember, the land all wapes shewing very greene with grasse pleasant to behold, and certaine plaines neere the shore,

Nouember.

From hence
forward they
saile on the we-
sterne or backe
side of California

California,
the south side of
the Gulf of California

Isla de perlas.

A current.

and up within the countrey many pleasant hills replenished with wood, and certaine valleys, so that wee were delighted aboue measure, and wondered at the greatnes and goodly hiew of the countrey: & every night we saw fires, which shewed that the countrey is greatly inhabited. Thus we proceeded on our voyage untill the tenth of the sayd moneth of Nouember, hauing alwayes the coast of the maine Ocean on our right hand, and the farther we sailed, wee alwayes found the countrey more delightfome and pleasant, as well in beholding the greennes therof, as also in that it shewed certaine plaines and deepe valleys, through which riuers did fall downe into the land, within certaine mountaines, and hills full of great woods which were not very high, and appeared within the countrey. Here we were 54 leagues distant from California little more or lesse, alwayes toward the Southwest, seeing in the night three or foure fires, whereby it appeareth that the countrey is inhabited, and full of people, for the greatnes of the countrey argueth no lesse: and we supposed that there must needs bee great townes inhabited within the land, although in this poynt we were of diuers opinions. The sea is so deepe on all this coast that we could scarce find ground in 54 fadomes. On the greatest part of the coast there are hills of very white sand, and it seemeth to be a dangerous coast, because of the great and swift tides which goe there, for the sand sheweth so much for the space of ten or twelue leagues, for so the Pilots affirmed. This day being Saturday the winde increased, and wee had sight of the Isle of pearles, which on this side of the gulfe appeareth with a deepe valley all couered ouer with trees, and sheweth much fairer then on the other side, and wee entred into the Port of Santa Cruz. From the ninth of Nouember to the fifteenth we sayled not aboue tenne leagues, because we had contrary winds, and great showres: and besides this we had another mischance which did not a little grieue vs: for wee lost company of the ship called The Trinitie, and could neuer see her for the space of three dayes, whereupon wee suspected that shee was returned home vnto New Spaine, or that she was seuered from our company; wherefore we were grieved out of measure to see our selues so left alone, and the Captaine of all others was most sad, though he ceased not to encourage vs to proceede on our voyage, saying that notwithstanding all this wee ought not to leaue off this enterpise which we had begunne, and that though we were left alone we should deserue the greater commendation and credite: whereupon wee all answered him, that wee would not haue him thinke that any of vs would euer be discouraged, but that we would follow him vntill hee should thinke it reasonable that we should not proceede any further in the enterpise, and that we were in danger of perishing, and that vntill then wee would bee at his commandement: but withall we perswaded him that after he had scene any great difficulty to proceede any further, he should doe well to returne backe to make relation of our successe to the R. H. lord the Marques de valle. Whereupon he made an Oration vnto vs, wherein he told vs, that he could not beleene, much lesse could imagine, wherefore the shippe called the Trinitie should returne into Newe Spaine, nor why she should willingly depart from vs, and goe vnto any other place, and that he thought by all reason, that some current had caried her out of our sight, and that through contrary weather and tempests she could not fetch vs by, and that notwithstanding all that which we had done in the voyage, he had an instruction, that if by chance we were separated one from the other, wee were to take this course to meete againe together, namely to returne backe eight or tenne leagues to seeke one another, beyond certaine head-lands which lay out into the sea, and that therefore we should doe well to returne to seeke her by. This sentence pleased vs all, and so returning to seeke her, we espied her two leagues distant from vs, comming toward vs with a fresh gale of winde, whereat we greatly reioyced.

Thus being come together we ankered for that day, because the weather seemed very contrary, and the Captaine chid them for their negligence in sayling, because they had in such sort lost our company; and they excused themselves, that they could doe no lesse, because a current had caried them away aboue three leagues, whereby they could neuer reach vnto vs. The next day being the sixteenth of Nouember wee set forward, but sayled very little, for the North and North west winds were against vs. Here we discovered certaine plaines, in my iudgement very great and Greene, and right before vs we could not discerne any mountaines or woods, whereat wee marvelled to see so great a countrey. And wee met an Indian in a Canoa on the shore whereon the sea did breake, who stayed to beholde vs a great while, and oftentimes hee lifted vp himselfe to view vs the better, & then returned backe along the coast: we vsed all diligence to see whether he would come out further from the shore, to giue him chace, and to trie whether we could catch him, but he very cunningly viewed vs without comming neere vnto vs, and returned to the shore with his Canoa. Here we saw in the euening but one fire, and wist not whether it were done by the cunning of the Indians, because they would not haue vs know that there were people there,

that it was so indeede. From the said 16 day of Nouember vntill the 24 of the same moneth we could not proceede on our way about 12 or 15 leagues: and looking into our Sea-chart, we found our selues distant from the Kaguges of the port of Santa Cruz about 70 leagues. Now on the 24 day being munday very early in the morning we beganne to take very good view of that Countrey, and all along the coast we saw many faire plaines with certaine furrowes made in the midst like vnto halfe plaines, the said plaine still appearing by into the Countrey, with pleasant champions, because the grasse which grew there was very beautifull, short, and greene, and good pasture for cattell. Howbeit because we rode so farre off, we could not perfectly iudge what kind of grasse it was, but it shewed very short and greene, and without thornes. These plaines on the right hand made a bay into a valley which seemed to be a piece of a mountaine: the rest shewed to be al plaines without any thistles or weedes, but full of grasse good for cattel very greene and faire, as I haue said.

They are 70 leagues from the port of Santa Cruz.

Chap. 8.

One of their ships by tempest was separated from the other, and afterward meeting with her confort she reporteth that the land stretcheth to the West by the mouth of the great lake. The Pilots are of diuers iudgements touching the state of this coast inhabited by *Chichimecas*. They enter into an haueu to take in fresh water, and are suddenly assailed by two squadrons of Indians. They defend themselves valiantly, and the Captaine with some of his souldiers are grievously wounded.

The 26 of this moneth being Wednesday at night the North windooke vs, which still increased more and more so greatly that it put vs to much trouble, for it continued two dayes, in which the Sea was alwayes boisterous; and this night againe we lost the Trinity being beaten with the North winde aforesaid (and we had sight of her on munday the 24) wherewith we were all of vs greatly agrieved, both Captaines, Souldiers and Mariners, because we saw we were left alone, and our ship call Santa Agueda wherein we were, was but badly conditioned, and this grieved vs more then the trouble which we had with the boisterousnesse of the Sea, imagining that if we should leese the Trinity, or if any mishap should fall vnto vs, we should not be able to follow our voyage according to our Captaines and our owne desire. This said 24 day being munday we saw a Countrey with high mountaines toward the North west, and it seemed that the land stretched on still forward, whereat we exceedingly reioyced, because we iudged that the lande grew alwayes broader and broader, and that wee should meete with some speciall good thing. Whereupon we desired that it would please God to send vs good weather for our voyage, which hitherto we found alwayes contrary, so that in 26 dayes we sayled not about 70 leagues, and that with much trouble, sometimes riding at anker and sometimes sayling, and seeking the remedies and benefite of the shore to auoide perils. In this Countrey which we discouered the 26 day we alwayes saw (as I haue said) along the shore, and within the land, goodly plaines without any tree, in the midst wherof was a lake or gathering together of the Sea-water, which (to our iudgement) was about 12 leagues in compasse, and the sea-coast reached to the mountaines before mentioned. And this day we saw our ship called the Trinitie, which rode 2 leagues distant from vs, which so soone as she saw vs, set saile, and we came together and reioyced greatly. They brought vs great quantity of gray fishes, and of another kinde: for at the point of those mountaines they found a fishing which was very wonderfull, for they suffered themselves to be taken by hand: and they were so great that euery one had much adoe to finde roome to lay his fish in. They found also on the said point a fountaine of fresh water which descended from those hilles, and they told vs that at the same place they had found a narrow passage, whereby the Sea entered into the said lake. They comforted vs much with the report of these things, and in telling vs that the lande trended to the West; for the chiefe Pilot thought, and the other Pilot was of the same opinion, that we should finde a good Countrey. This night we set saile to goe to that point to take in fresh water which we wanted, and to see this lake, and to put some men on shore: and after midnight the winde came vpon vs so forcibly at the North that we could not stay there: whereupon wee were constrained to put further into the Sea, and returned the same way backe againe vnto the shore with much adoe, and came to an anker a great way short of the place from whence we were diuen: and there we rode vntill Thursday at noone with this bitter North winde, and on Friday about noone, when we most thought it would haue ceased, it beganne to increase againe, which grieved vs not a little seeing the weather so contrary, hoping alwayes that it would cease, and that some winde would blow from the shore, whereby we might recouer the point of land to take in fresh

Land running towards the North west.

Note.

A wonderfull fishing place like Newfoundland.

fresh water, and to search whether there were any people about that lake. Here we lay from the 26 of the saide moneth till the 29, driving vp and downe the Sea, winding in by little and little untill we had gotten vnder the shelter of those mountaines: which being obtayned wee rode the sayd 29 of the moneth halfe a league from those wooddy mountaines, which we had seene in the Sea. We stayed in this place at our ease all the Sunday, and Iuan Castilio, the chiefe Pilot went that day in the boate on shoze with seuen in his company, and they landed neere the Sea, and on a certaine low ground they found foure or five Indians Chichimecas of great stature, and went toward them, who fled away like Deere that had beene chased. After this the Pilot went a little way along the Sea-shoze, and then returned to his boate, and by that time he was entered thereinto, he saw about fiftene Indians of great stature also, with their bowes and arrowes which called vnto him with a loude and strong voice, making signes with their bowes; but the Pilot made no account of their gesture, but rather returned to the shippes, and declared what had passed betweene him and the Indians. The same day the Captaine commaunded that our calke should be made readie against the next morning to take in water, for in both the shippes there were about five and twentie buttes emptie. The first of December, and the second day in the morning the Captaine went with both the barkes on shoze with some dozen souldiers, and the greatest part of the Mariners which laboured in filling of water, leaving in the shippes as many as were needefull, and as soone as wee were come on shoze at the watering place the Captaine caused the buttes to be taken out, to the ende they might be filled with water, and while they returned to fetch the barrels and hogsheds of the shippe, the Captaine walked a turne or two vpon the shoze for the space of one or two crossebow shoots, and afterwarde we went vp to certaine of those mountaines, to view the disposition of the countrey, and in trueth we found it in that place very bad to our iudgement, for it was very ragged, full of woods and caues, and so stonie, that we had much adoe to goe. Being come vnto the top we found certaine small hilles full of woods, and clifles that were not so craggie, although very troublesome to climbe vp; and while we looked from these little hilles, we could not discern any more mountaines, but rather iudged that from that place forward there were great plaines. The Captaine would not suffer vs to goe any further, because in those places we had seene certaine Indians which seemed to be spies, and warning vs thereof he commaunded vs to retire vnto the shoze, where we were to take in water, and to dispatch our businesse quickly, and appointed vs to make certaine pits, that our butts might more easily be filled with water. And setting our Guardes or Centinels, we beganne to fill water. In the meane while the Captaine tooke certaine souldiers, and went to the top of an high hill, from whence he descried a great part of the Sea, and a lake which is within the land: for the Sea entereth in the space of a league, and there is a good fishing place round about: and the lake was so great, that it seemed vnto vs to be very neere 30 leagues in compasse, for we could not discern the end thereof. Then we came downe with no lesse trouble then wee had mounted vp vnto the hill, by reason of the sterpenesse of the place, and some tumbled downe with no small laughter of the rest. And being come somewhat late to our watering place (for it was then past noone) we set our selues to dinner, alwayes appointing some of our company in Centinell, vntill we were called to dinner, and when some were called two others were appointed in their roomes. And about two of the clocke after dinner, the Captaine and the rest suspecting no danger of assault of Indians, both because the place seemed not to be fit for it, as also for that we had set our Centinels at the passages; two squadrons of Indians came vpon vs very secretly and couertly, for one came by the great balley through which the water ranne which we tooke, and the other came by a part of that great hill which we had ascended to see the lake, and all of them came so couertly, that our Centinels could neither see nor heare them; and wee had not perceiued them, if a souldier by chance lifting vp his eyes had not sayde, Arme, Arme, my maisters, for many Indians come vpon vs. When we heard this the Captaine leapt vp in a great rage, because the guards were changed out of their place: and with his sword and target, being followed by a souldier, whose name was Haro, and afterward by the rest, he and the said souldier went toward a little gate of certaine stones, whither the rest of vs were to follow him: for if the Indians had gotten that place from vs, we should haue incurred great danger, and the greatest part of vs had like to haue beene slaine, and none could haue escaped but such as by chance could haue leapt into the boates, and the tide went so high, that none could be saued but such as were most excellent swimmers. But at length the Captaine bestirred himselfe very nimbly, vsing all celeritie that was possible. Therefore when he and Haro had wonne the gate, the rest of the souldiers gate vp after them, and the Captaine and Haro turned themselves to the Indians and made head against them, and the Indians assailed them with such numbers of stones, arrowes,

of the
month
to the
said

A fishing place
and a lake of
30 leagues
in compasse.

A sudden as-
sault of the In-
dians with
stones, arrowes
and slanes.

arrows, & iauelins (which was a very strange thing) that they brake in pieces the target which the Captaine had on his arme, and besides that wounded him with an arrow in the bending of his knee, and though the wound was not great, yet was it very painefull vnto him. While they thus stood to withstand their assault, they strooke Haro which was on the other side so forcibly with a stone, that they threw him flat vpon the ground: and by and by another stone lighted vpon him which shiuered his Target, and they hit the Captaine with another arrow, and shot him quite through one of his eares. Another arrow came and strooke a souldier called Grauiello Marques in the legge, of which he felt great paine and went halting. In the meane space Francis Preciado, and certaine other souldiers came vp and ioynded himselfe with the rest on the left hand of the Captaine, saying vnto him, Sir, withdrawe your selfe, for you be wounded, but be you not dismayed, for they are but Indians and cannot hurt vs. In this wise we beganne to rush in among them vpon the side of a rocke alwayes gapning ground of them, which greatly incouraged our mindes, and when we beganne to inforce them to retire, we wanne a small wooddy hill, where we sheltered our selues, whereas before they shot vpon vs from aloft, for they were on the higher ground vnder couert in safetie, & then by no meanes we could offend them, but by running forcibly vpon them with our catges on our armes, and our swords in our hands. On the other side, to approach and seeke to ouertake them was a vaine thing, seeing they were as swift as wilde goates. By this time Haro was gotten vp on foot, and hauing clapt a woollen cloth vpon his head, which had bled extremely, he ioynded himselfe vnto vs, of whom we receiued no small aide. In the meane space the Indians fortified themselves on the cragge of a rocke, from whence they did not a little molest vs, & we likewise fortified our selues vpon an hillocke, whereby we descended into their Fort, and there was a small valley betweene them & vs, which was not very deepe from the vpper part. There we were 6 souldiers & two Negroes with the Captaine, & all of vs were of opinion that it was not good to passe that place, least the Indians being many might destroy vs all, for the rest of our souldiers which were beneath at the foote of the hill, making head against the other squadron of the Indians, kept them from hurting those which tooke in water on the strand and from breaking the butts of water, and being but few, we concluded to stay here, and so we stood still fortifying our selues as well as we could, especially considering that we had no succour on any side; for Berecillo our Mastiue-dogge which should haue aided vs was grievously wounded with 3 arrows, so that by no meanes we could get him from vs: this mastiue was wounded in the first assault when the Indians came vpon vs, who behaued himselfe very well, & greatly aided vs; for he set vpon them, and put 8 or 10 of them out of array, & made them run away, leauing many arrows behind them: but at length (as I haue said) he was so wounded, that by no meanes we could get him to goe from vs to set any more vpon the Indians, & the other two mastiues did vs more harme then good: for when they went against them, they shot at them with their bowes, and we receiued hurt and trouble in defending them. The Captaines legge when he waxed cold was so swolne, that we lapped it vp in a woollen cloth, and he halted much of it: and while the Indians thus stood still, one part of them beganne to dance, sing, and shout, and then they began all to lade themselves with stones, and to put their arrows into their bowes, and to come downe toward vs verie resolutely to assault vs, and with great out-cries they beganne to sling stones and to shoot their arrows. Then Francis Preciado turned him to the Captaine and said: Sir, these Indians know or thinke, that we be affeard of them, & in truech it is a great fault to giue them this incouragement, it were better for vs resolutely to set vpon them with these dogs, & to assault them on this hill, that they may know vs to be no dastards, for they be but Indians and dare not stande vs; and if we can get their Fort vpon the hill, God will giue vs victory in all the rest. The Captaine answered, that he liked well of the motion, and that it was best so to doe; although for any further pursuit vpon the hill, he thought we were to take another course. By and by Francis Preciado getting his target on his arme, and his sword in his hand, ranne vnto the other side of the valley, which on that part was not very steepe, crying S. Iago, vpon them my masters, and after him leapt Haro, Tereca, Spinosa, and a Crossebow-man called Montanno, and after them followed the Captaine, though very lame, with a Negro and a souldier which accompanied him, incouraging and comforting them, willing them not to feare. Thus we drave them to the place where they had fortified themselves, and from whence they descended, and we tooke another hill ouer against them within a darts cast of them. And hauing breathed our selues a little, the Captaine came vnto vs, and said, Go too my masters, vpon them before they strengthen themselves on this hill, for now we see plainly that they be affeard of vs, seeing we chase the continually from their Forts: & suddenly 3 or 4 of vs went toward them well couered with targets, vnto the foot of their Fort where they were assembled, and the rest of our company followed vs: the Indians beganne

The Spaniards be mastered in their warres against the Indians. Reade more hereof cap. 12.

beganne to make head against vs, and to sling many stones vpon vs, and shoot many arrowes, and we with our swordes in our hands rushed vpon them in such sort, that they seeing how furiously we set vpon them, abandoned the fort, and ranne downe the hill as swift as Deere, and fled vnto another hill ouer against vs, where the other Squadron of the Indians stood, of whom they were rescued, and they began to talke among themselves, but in a low voyce, and ioyned together 6 and 6 and 8 & 8 in a company, and made a fire and warmed themselves, and we stood quietly beholding what they did.

Chap. 9.

After the skirmish the Captaine being wounded, and the rest of the souldiers seeing the Indians depart, returned vnto their ships. The next day taking in fresh water at the saide place he sent mariners to sound the mouth of the lake. Departing thence they came to the port called *Baya de San Abad*, and indured a dangerous storme at sea. And afterward comming neere the shore to take fresh water in the saide haven, they see certaine peaceable Indians.

By this time it was late and the night appoched, and the Indians seeing this, within a short while after determined to get them packing, and ech of them of the greatest part tooke fire-brandes in their hands, & got them away into craggy places. When the Captaine saw this he commanded vs to returne aboard our boats, it being now darke night, thanking vs all for the good service we had done him. And being not able to stand vpon his legges, he leaned with his arme vpon Francis Preciado; and thus we returned to our boats, where with much adoe we got aboard, by reason of the great tide and roughnesse of the sea, so that our boats were filled with euery waue. Thus very weary, wet, & some wounded (as is aforesaid) each man returned vnto his ship, where our beds which we found, and our refreshing, & the cheere we had at supper did not greatly comfort vs in regard of our former trauels. We passed that night in this sort, and the next day being Tuesday the Captaine found himselfe greatly payned with his wounds, & chiefly with that on his leg, because it was greatly swolne with his going vpon it. We lacked 12 butts to fill with water, and the barreles in both the ships, and the Captaine would haue gone out to cause them to be filled, but we would not suffer him, and therefore we left off the businesse for that day. But he appointed that the crossebowes shoulde be made readie, and two speciall good harquebuzes, & the next day being Wednesday very early, he commanded Iuan Castilio chiefe Pilot to goe out with both the boates and with all the souldiers and mariners that he could make, hauing the day before commanded the Trinitie to go as neere the shore as she might, & to make ready some of her ordinance, that if the Indians shoulde shew themselves, they might affright them, & doe them as much hurt as they could. Wherefore on the Wednesday al we that were souldiers, sauing the wounded persons, went on shore with certaine mariners in the best order that we could, and tooke the first hill, where we had fortified our selues, standing all vpon our guard vntill the water was filled, and vntill we were called, during which time not one Indian shewed himselfe. Thus we went aboard when we thought good our selues, at least without any suspicion of the Indians, although the tide of the Sea went so high y^t it put vs to great trouble, for oftentimes with great waues it beat into our boats. This was on the Wednesday the 3 of December. And to auoide losse of time the Captaine commanded Iuan Castilio the chiefe Pilot to take a boat and certaine mariners as he shoulde thinke good, and to view the mouth of the lake to see whether the entrance were deepe enough for to harbour the ships. He taking the boat of the Admirall with 8 mariners, and ours of the Trinitie, went and sounded the mouth, & on the shallowest place of the barre without they found 3 fadomes depth, and farther in 4, & by higher 5, alwayes increasing vnto 10 or 12 fadomes, when they were come into the two points of the saide lake, which was a league broad from one point to the other, and all their sounding was exceeding good ground. Then they went ouer to the southeast point, & there they saw a great boat or raft which they indentured to take to carrie vnto their ships. In y^e meane while they espied certaine cottages, which the Pilot determined to goe and see, and being come neere they saw 3 other raftes with 3 Indians on them distant from the cottages one or two crossebowes shot, and he leapt on land with 4 or 5 mariners in his companie: and while they behelde those cottages, they saw many Indians descending downe a small hill in warlikemanner with their bowes and arrowes, whereupon they determined to retire to their boats, and to returne to their ships, and they were not gone from the sea-shore scarce a stones cast, but the Indians were come vpon them to shoot at them with their arrowes, and because they were vnarmed, they would not fight with them, hauing gone on shore for no other purpose, but to sound the mouth and entrance of that lake. On Thursday the 4 of December we set saile with a fresh gale of winde, and sayled some 8 or 10 leagues, and came vnto certaine mouthes or inlets which seemed to all of vs

as speciall good
hauen.

as though they had beene Ilands, and we entered into one of them, and came into an haven which we called Baya del Abad all inclosed and compassed with land, being one of the fairest ha- uens that hath beene seene: and about the same, especially on both sides the lande was greene and goodly to behold; we discryed certaine riuers on that part which seemed greene, & therefore we returned backe, going out at that mouth wherby we came in, alwayes hauing contrary wind: yet the Pilots vsed their best indouour to make way: and we saw before vs certaine wooddy hils, and beyond them certaine plaines; this we saw from the Friday the 5 of the said moneth, vntill the Tuesday, which was the ninth. As we drew neere to these woods they seemed very pleasant, and there were goodly and large hilles and beyond them towards the sea were certaine plaines, and through all the countrey we saw these woods. From the day before, which was the Con- ception of our Lady, we saw many great smokes, whereat we much marvelled, being of diuerse opinions among our selues, whether those smokes were made by the inhabitants of the countrey or no. Duer against these woods there fell euery night such a dew, that euery morning when we rose, the decke of the ship was so wet, that vntill the sunne was of a good height, we alwayes made the decke durtie with going vpon it. We rode ouer against these woods from the Tuesday morning when we set saile, vntill Thursday about midnight, when a cruell Northwest winde tooke vs, which, whither we would or no, enforced vs to way our anker; and it was so great, that the ship Santa Agueda began to returne backe, vntill her cable broke, and the ship hulled, and sud- denly with a great gust the trinket and the mizen were rent asunder, the Northwest winde still growing more and more: within a short while after the maine saile was rent with a mighty flau of winde, so that we were enforced, both souldiers, captaine, and all of vs, to doe our best indouor to mend our sailes; and the Trinitie was giuen to do the like, for the going round vpon her anker, when she came a-head of it, her cable broke, so that there we lost two ankers, each ship one. We went backe to seeke Baya del Abad, for we were within 20 leagues of the same, and this day we came within foure leagues of it, and being not able to reach it by reason of contrary windes, we rode vnder the lee of certaine mountaines and hilles which were bare, and almost void of grasse, neere vnto a strand full of sandie hilles. Neere vnto this road wee found a fishing-place vnder a point of land, where hauing let downe our lead to see what ground was there, a fish caught it in his mouth, and began to draw it, and he which held the sounding-lead crying and shewing his fel- lowes that it was caught, that they might helpe him, as soone as he had got it aboue the water, tooke the fish, and loosed the cord of the sounding-lead, and threw it againe into the sea, to see whe- ther there were any good depth, and it was caught againe, whereupon he began to cry for helpe, and all of vs made a shout for ioy; thus drawing the fish the rope of the sounding-lead being very great was crackt, but at length we caught the fish which was very faire. Here we stayed from Friday when we arriued there, vntill the Sunday, when as it seemed good to our Captaine, that we should repaire to the watering place, from whence we were some fixe leagues distant, to take in 12 buttes of water, which wee had drunke and spent, because he knew not whither we should from thenceforth finde any water, or no; and though we should finde water, it was doubt- full whither we should be able to take it by reason of the great tide that goeth vpon that coast. We drew neere to that place on Sunday at night, when as we sawe certaine fires of the In- dians. And on Tuesday morning our Generall commaunded that the Trinitie should come as neere our ship & to the shoze as it could, that if we had neede, they might helpe vs with their great ordinance: and hauing made 3 or 4 houlds to draw neere the shoze, there came 4 or 5 Indians to the sea-side; who stood and beheld while we put out our boat and anker, marking also how our bwoy floated vpon the water; and when our boat returned to the ship, two of them leapt into the sea, and swamme vnto the bwoy, and beheld it a great while; then they tooke a cane of an arrow, and eyed to the sayd bwoy a very faire and shining sea-oyster of pearles, and then returned to the shoze, neere to the watering-place.

Baya del Abad
is 100 leagues
from the point
of California.

Many great
smokes, of
which also
Francis Gualle
maketh men-
tion.

A fishing place

Great tides
vpon this coast.

Chap. 10.

They giue vnto the Indians many trifles which stand vpon the shore to see them, and seeke to parley with them by their interpreter, which was a *Chichimeco*, who could not vnder- stand their language. They go to take fresh water. Francis Preciado spendeth the time with them with many signes, and trucking and being afraid of their great multitude, re- tireth himselfe wisely with his companions, returning with safety to the ships.

When the Captaine and we beheld this, we iudged these Indians to be peaceable people; whereupon the Captaine tooke the boat with 4 or 5 mariners carrying with him certain beades

beades to truck, and went to speake with them. In the meane while he commanded the Indian interpreter our Chichimeco, to be called out of the Admirall that he should parley with them. And the Captaine came vnto the boy, and laid certaine things vpon it for exchange, & made signes vnto the Sauages to come and take them; and an Indian made signes vnto our men with his hands, his armes, and head, that they vnderstood them not, but signified that they should go aside. Whereupon the Captaine departed a smal distance from that place with his boat. And they made signes againe that he should get him further; whereupon we departing a great way off, the saide Indians leapt into the water, came vnto the boy, and tooke those beades, and returned backe againe to land, and then came vnto the other three, and all of them viewing our things, they gaue a bowe and certaine arrowes to an Indian, and sent him away, running with all haste on the shore, and made signes vnto vs that they had sent word vnto their lord what things we had giuen them, and that he would come thither. Within a while after the said Indian returned, running as he did before, and beganne to make signes vnto vs, that his Lord was comming. And while we stayed here, we saw on the shore ten or twelue Indians assemble themselves, which came vnto the other Indians, and by and by we saw another company of 12 or 15 more appeare, who assembled themselves all together. And againe they began to make signes vnto vs, to come forthwith to our boates, and shewed vs many Dyffers of pearles on the top of certaine canes, making signes that they would giue them vs. When we beheld this, the Captaine commanded vs to make ready our boate, and went aboard it with the said mariners, and rowed to a certaine stone in forme of a rocke, which lay in the sea neere vnto the shore. And hither came first 2 or 3 Indians, and layd downe one of those Dyffers, and a garland made of Parats feathers, or Sparrowes feathers painted red; they layd downe also certaine plumes of white feathers, and others of blew colour. In the meane while we sawe continually Indians assemble to the shore by tenne and tenne, and so by little and little they came in Squadrons; and one of them alioone as hee sawe the boat beganne to leape forward and backward with so great nimblenesse, that doubtlesse he seemed to all of vs a man of great agilitie, and we tooke no small pleasure while we beheld him fetching those gambols: but the rest of the Indians which stood at the mouth of the fresh water ranne toward him, and cryed vnto him, forbidding him to vse those gestures, because we were come thither in peaceable sort, and by this meanes he came with the rest to the watering place, where by little and little in this manner there assembled aboue a hundred of them all in order, with certaine stauies with cordes to sling them, and with their bowes and arrowes, and they were all painted. In the meane while our Chichimeco-interpreter bozne in the Ile of California, was come vnto vs, and the Captaine againe commanded a mariner to strippe himselfe, and to swimme and laye vpon the said rocke certaine belles, and more beades, and when he had layd them there, the Indians made signes that he should goe away; and so they came thither and tooke them, and our men drew neere with their boat. The Captaine commanded the Indian our Chichimeco to speake vnto them, but they could not vnderstand him, so that we assuredly beleue, that they vnderstand not the language of the Ile of California. This day being Tuesday untill night the Indians stayed at this watering place, taking some of our beades, and giuing vnto vs their feathers and other things, and when it was very late they departed. The morrow following being Wednesday very early the Captaine commanded that our buttes should be made ready, that before breake of day, and before the Indians should take the hill, which stood ouer the watering place, we might be landed in good order: which was put in execution: for we went on shore with as many as could goe, sauing those that had charge to take in the water, and such as were to stay on ship-board, which in all were about fourteene or fiftene persons, in as good order as we could deuise: for we were foure crossebowes, two harquebuziers, and eight or nine targets, and the most part of vs carryed very good slings, and euery one eigheteene riuer-stones, which weapon the Captaine inuented, because the Indians at the first had handled vs very shrewdly with the multitude of stones which they slung at vs: we had nothing to defende vs sauing our targets, and to seeke to winne the fortres from whence they indamaged vs; he therefore thought with these slings, that we might offend them, and we likewise thought well of his opinion, for making tryall of them, we thre w very well with them, and much farther then we thought we could haue done: for the slings being made of hempe, we slung very farre with them. Nowe being come to the watering place the sayd Wednesday by breake of day we tooke the fort of the fountaine, which were certaine craggies or rockes hanging ouer the same, betweene which there was an opening or deepe valley through which this water runneth, which is no great quantitie, but a little brooke not past a fadome broad. So standing all in order, other foure or fise Indians came thither, who as soone as they sawe vs to be come on shore, and to haue gotten the toppes of the

the watering place, they retired vnto a small hill on the other side, for the valley was betweene them and vs: neither stayed they long before they beganne to assemble themselves as they had done the day before by 10 and 10, and 15 and 15, ranging themselves on this high hill, where they made signes vnto vs. And Francis Preciado craued license of the Generall to parley with these Indians, and to giue them some trifles; wherewith he was contented, charging him not to come too neere them, nor to goe into any place where they might hurt him. Whereupon Francis went vnto a plaine place, vnder the hill where the Indians stood, and to put them out of feare he layd downe his sword and target, hauing onely a dagger hanging downe at his girdle, and in a skarfe which he carried at his necke, certaine beades to exchange with them, combs, fishinghooks and comfits. And he began to goe vpon the hill, and to shew them diuerse of his marchandise. The Indians as soone as he had layd those things on the ground, and gone somewhat aside, came downe from the hill and tooke them, and carried them vp, for it seemed that their Lord was among them, to whom they carried those trifles. Then they came downe againe, and layd to giue vnto him in the said place, an oyster of pearles, and two feathers like haukes feathers, making signes to Preciado that he should come and take them; which he did, and againe layde there a string of belles, and a great fishhook, and certaine beades; and they taking the same, layd there againe another oyster of pearle, and certaine feathers: and he layd downe other beades, two fishhookes, and moze comfits, and the Indians came to take them vp, and approached much neerer vnto him, then at other times, and so neere that a man might haue touched them with a pike, and then they began to talke together: and 7 or 8 moze came downe, vnto whom Francis Preciado made signes, that they should come downe no lower, and they incontinently layd their bowes and arrowes on the ground, and hauing layd them downe came somewhat lower, and there with signes, together with them which came first, they began to parle with him, and required mariners breeches & apparell of him, and about all things a red hat pleased them highly, which the said Francis ware on his head, and they prayed him to reach it vnto them, or to lay it in the place; and after this certaine of them made signes vnto him to knowe whether he would haue a harlot, signifying with their fingers those villanies and dishonest actions, and among the rest they set before him an Indian of great stature dyed wholly with black, with certaine shels of the mother of pearle at his necke, and on his head, and speaking by signes to Francis Preciado touching the foresaid act of fornication, thrusting their finger through a hole, they said vnto him, that if hee would haue a woman, they would bring him one; and he answered, that he liked well of it, and that therfore they should bring him one. In the meane space on the other side where the Generall stood with his company, another squadron of Indians shewed themselves, whereupon the Generall and his company made a stirre, and put themselves in battell array: whereupon Francis Preciado was inforced to come downe from them, to ioyne with the Generall & his company: and here the Indians which came last began to make signes that we should lay downe something to truck, and that they would giue vs some of their shels of mother of pearle, which they brought vpon certaine small sticks, and herewithall they came very neere vnto vs, wherewith we were not well content. And Francis Preciado said vnto the Captaine, that if it pleased him, hee would cause all the Indians to come together and to stay vpon that high hill; and he answered, that it was best to draw them all together, for by this time our men had taken in all their water, and stayed for the boat: whereupon Francis taking a crowne of beades went toward the valley, through which the water ran toward the Indians, and made signes vnto them to call the rest, and to come all together, because hee would goe to the olde place, to lay things on the ground for exchange, as at the first; and they answered that he should doe so, and that they had called the others, and that they would doe, as he would haue them, and so they did, for they caused them to come vnto them, which they did, and Francis likewise went alone towards them, in which meane space the Generall commanded his people to get into the boat. Francis comming vnto the place beganne to lay downe his marchandise of traffique, and afterwards made signes vnto them to stay there, because hee would goe to the ships to bring them other things, and so he returned to the place where the Captaine was, and found them all got into the boates, sauing the Generall and thre or foure others, and the Generall made as though he had giuen other trifles to Preciado to carry vnto the Indians; and when he was gone a little from him, he called him backe againe, and all this while the Indians stood still, and being come vnto him, wee went faire and softly to our boates, and got into them at our ease, without any thronging, and thence we came aboord our ship.

The Indians seeing vs thus gone aboord came downe to the strand where the brooke of water was, and called vnto vs to come footth with our boates, and to come on shore, and to bring our beades, and that they would giue vs of their mother of pearles: but we being now set at dinner

Truck & traffique with the Indians for mother of pearle, and other things.

made

made no account of them: whereupon they beganne to shoot arrowes at the ship, and although they fell neere vs, yet they did not reach vs. In the meane season certaine mariners went out in the boat, to wep the anker, whereupon the Indians seeing them comming towards them, & bringing them nothing, they beganne in scoyne to shew them their buttockes, making signes that they should kisse their bums: and these seemed to be those that came last. The Generall seeing this, commanded a musket to be once or twice shot off, and that they should take their iust ayme. They seeing these shot to be made readie, some of them rose and went to shoot their arrowes at our mariners, which were gone to weigh the ankers, then the Generall commanded the great ordinance speedily to be shot off, whereupon three or foure bullets were discharged, and we perceiued that we had slaine one of them, for we assuredly saw him lye dead vpon the shoze; and I thinke some of the rest were wounded. They hearing this noise, and seeing him dead ranne away as fast as euer they could, some along the shoze, and some through the ballies, dragging the dead Indian with them; after which time none of them appeared, saue ten or twelue, which peeped by with their heads among those rocks; whereupon another piece of ordinance was discharged aloft against the place where they were, after which time we neuer saw any more of them.

Chap. 11.

At the point of the Trinitie they spend three dayes in fishing, and in other pastime: after which setting sayle they discover pleasant countries, and mountaines voide of grasse, and an Iland afterward called *Isla de los Cedros*, or the Ile of Cedars, neere which they suffer sharpe colde and raine, and to saue themselves they returne thither,

Immediatly we set saile to ioyne with the ship *Santa Agueda*, which was about halfe a league in the high sea from vs, and this was on the Wednesday the seuenteenth of December. Being come together because the windes were contrary, we drew neere to a headland, which wee called *Punta de la Trinidad*, and here wee stayed fishing, and solacing our selues two or three dayes, although we had alwayes great store of raine. Afterward we beganne to sayle very slowly, and at night we rode ouer against those mountaines where we had left our ankers, and vpon knowledge of the place we receiued great contentment seeing we had sailed some five and thirtie leagues from the place where we had taken in water: neither was it any maruell that wee so reioyced, because that the feare which we had of contrary windes caused vs to be so well appayd of the way which we had made. The day of the holy Natinitie of our Lord, which was on the Thursday the five and twentieth of the said moneth, God of his mercy beganne to shewe vs fauour in giuing vs a fresh winde almost in the poope, which carried vs beyond those mountaines, for the space of tenne or twelue leagues, finding the coast alwayes plaine: and two leagues within the land, which we coasted along, and betweene these mountaines, there was a great space of plaine ground, which we might easily discern with our eyes, although others were of another opinion. We beganne from Christmas day to saile slowly with certaine small land-windes, and sayled from morning to night about seven or eight leagues, which wee esteemed no small matter, alwayes praying to God to continue this his fauour toward vs, and thanking him for his holy Natinitie, and all the dayes of this feast the Frier sayd masse in the Admirall, and the father Frier Raimund preached vnto vs, which gaue vs no small comfort, by encouraging vs in the seruice of God.

On Saturday at night being the 27 of the said moneth we ankored neere vnto a point which seemed to be plaine land all along the shoze, and within the countrey were high mountaines with certaine woods, which woods and mountaines ranne ouerthwart the countrey, and continued along with certaine small hilles sharpe on the toppe, and certaine little ballies are betweene those mountaines. And in truth to me which with diligent eyes beheld the same both in length and in the breadth thereof, it could not chuse but be a good countrey, and to haue great matters in it, as well touching the inhabiting thereof by the Indians, as in golde and siluer; for there was great likelihood that there is store thereof. This night we saw a fire farre within the land towards those mountaines, which made vs thinke that the countrey was thoroughly inhabited. The next day being Sunday and Innocents day, the 28 of the said moneth, at breake of day we set sayle, and by nine or ten of the clocke had sayled three or foure leagues, where we met with a point which stretched toward the West, the pleasant situation whereof delighted vs much.

From the eight and twentieth of December we ranne our course vntill Thursday being the 31 of January 1540 yeares day of the yeere 1540, and we ran some 40 leagues, passing by certaine inlets and bayes, foure leagues and certaine high mountains couered with grasse in colour like rosemary: but toward the sea-side

Great appearance of gold and silver.

very

very bare and burned, and toward the top were certaine craggies somewhat of a red colour, and beyond these appeared certaine white mountaines, and so all the countrey shewed vnto a point which appeared beyond those burnt white and red mountaines which haue neither any grasse nor tree vpon them, whereat we marvelled not a little. This Newyears day we sawe neere the maine two small Islands, and reioyced greatly to see them; for we stood in great feare, that contrary windes would vniue vs as farre backe in one day, as we had sayled in tenne, which if they had taken vs, we could not haue withstood them. We ranne from the first of January vntill Sunday which were five dayes, and the land alwayes stretched Northwest from the mountaines aforesaid.

Two small
Isles neere
the maine.

And on the Sunday we saw a farre off a-head of vs a high land somewhat seuered from the maine shoze, and all of vs beganne to dispute whether it were the land which trended toward the Northwest, for that way the Pilots hoped to discover a better countrey: and the said Sunday the first of Januarie we came to this high land beforesaid, and it was two Islands the one a small one and the other a great one: we coasted these two Islands some fixe leagues, which were greene, and had on the toppe of them many high slender trees; and the great Island was twentie leagues in compasse. We coasted it 6 leagues in length without seeing or discovering any other things, but we saw befoze vs high land which stretched eight or tenne leagues Northward, where we rode on Sunday at night. From Thursday being Newyears day vntill the next Sunday we sayled about 35 leagues. And in this course we felt great cold, which grieved vs much, especially being assailed by two or three windie showers, which pinched vs much with colde. We rode ouer against this land two or three nights, hauing it neere vnto vs, alwayes keeping watch by equall houres, one while mariners, and another souldiers, all the night long with great vigilancie.

Isla de los Cedros mentioned
in the 13 chap.

The land trendeth here
Northwest
35 leagues.

On Tuesday being Twelue day we came within two or three leagues of this land, which we had descryed the day befoze, seeming to vs very pleasant for it shewed greene with greene trees of an ordinary bignesse, and we saw many ballies, out of which certaine small mists arose, which continued in them for a long time, whereupon we gathered, that they rose out of certaine riuers. The same morning, to our great comfort we saw great smokes, though we were about foure leagues distant from them, and the Captaine made no great reckoning to approach neere vnto them, nor to seeke nor serch what the matter was, and perchance because he was not then in the Santa Agueda, but was aboard the Trinitie, as his maner was to come and stay there two or three dayes, as well to passe the time, as to giue order for things that were needefull. In this countrey the winter and rains seemed to be like that of Castile. We rode at night two or three leagues distance from shoze, and toward euenting we saw five or six fires, whereat we all reioyced, but did not maruell thereat, because the situation of that countrey shewed to be habitable, being faire, pleasant, and all greene, and likewise because the Island which we had left behind vs being (as I haue said) twenty leagues in circuit, made shewe that it was well peopled. On the Wednesday we were 3 or 4 leagues at sea from the land, and began to see two fires moze, & therefore we assured our selues that the countrey was very well inhabited; and the farther we sayled, we alwayes found it moze ciuill. And for the space of fifty leagues befoze we came hither we alwayes found swimming on the sea certaine stores of weedes of a ships length, and of the bredth of two ships, being round and full of gourds, and vnder these weedes were many fishes, and on some of them were store of fowles like vnto white sea-meawes. We supposed that these floating weedes did grow vpon some rocke vnder the water. We were now in 30 degrees of Northerly latitude. We sailed from the 7 of January vntill the 9 still with contrary windes; and on Fryday about noone there rose a North and Northeasterly winde, which forced vs to retorne vnder the shelter of that Island which we left behind vs, from whence we had sayled about twentie leagues. And that Friday at night somewhat late wee had sayled backe about twelue leagues of the same, and because it was night wee stayed in the sea, where we and our shippes were not a little troubled, so that all that night none of vs slept a winke, but watched euery one. The next morning betimes being Saturday we proceeded on our voyage, and gave vnder the shelter of the said Island, riding in thirtie fadome water: and on that side where we ankored, we found high and closed mountaines, with heapes of a certaine earth which was all ashes and burned, and in other places scorched and as blacke as coales, and like the rust of yron, and in other places whitish, and here and there small blacke hills, whereat we marvelled exceedingly, considering that when we passed by, it seemed vnto vs an habitable countrey full of trees, and now we saw not a sticke growing on this side.

floating weedes
100 50 leagues.

Thirtie degrees of Northerly latitude

Twentie leagues beyond the Isle of Cedars.

All of vs supposed that on the other side toward the firme lande the trees grewe which we sawe, although (as I haue sayde) wee sayled foure or five leagues distant from the same.

We stayed here under the shelter of these mountaines Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, alwayes hauing the Northren winde so strong, that we thinke if it had caught vs in the sea, we should haue bene cast away.

Chap. 12.

They enuiron and land vpon the Iland of Cedars, to discouer the same, and to seeke water and wood. They are assailed of the Indians, and many of them wounded with stones: but at length getting the vpper hand, they goe to their cottages, and ranging farther vp into the Iland they find diuerse things which the Indians in their flight had left behind them.

On Friday the 13 of January the Captaine commanded vs to hoise out our boates, and to goe on shore, which was done accordingly, and we did row along the shore for the space of a good halfe league and entered into a valley: for (as I said) all this country was full of high and bare hills, of such qualitie as I mentioned before: and in this and other small valleys we found some water which was blackish, and not farre from thence certaine cottages made of shrubs like unto broume; like wise we found the footings of Indians both small and great, whereat we much marvelled that in so rough and wilde a countrey (as farre as we could discerne) there should be people. Here we stayed all day, making foure or five pits to take in water which we wanted, which though it were bad, and in small quantitie we refused not; and so the euening being come, we returned to our boates, and so came vnto our ships which rode a good league from the shore. The next day being Wednesday the fourteenth of the said moneth our Generall commanded vs to set saile, and we sailed about the said Iland on the same side which we coasted when we came from Nueva Espanna: for when we arriued on the coast we saw five or six fires; wherefore he desired to see and learne whether it were inhabited; and at the farthest ende of this inlet or bay where we rode there came out before vs a Canoa, wherein were foure Indians which came rowing with certaine small oares, and came very neere vs to see what we were: whereupon we tolde our Generall, that it were best to send some of vs out with our boates to take these Indians or some one of them to giue them something that they might thinke vs to be good people: but hee would not consent thereto, because he minded not to stay, hauing then a pretty gale of winde, whereby he might saile about this Iland, hoping that afterward we might finde and take some others to speake with them, and giue them what we would to carry on shore; and as we sailed neere the land, we saw a great hill full of goodly trees of the bignesse of the trees and Cypresses of Castile. We found in this Iland the footing of wilde beasts and conies, and saw a peece of pinetree-wood, whereof we gathered, that there was store of them in that countrey. Thus sayling neere vnto the shore, we sawe another Canoa comming toward vs with other foure Indians, but it came not very neere vs, and as we looked forward, we sawe toward a point which was very neere before vs, three other Canoas, one at the head of the point among certaine flattes, and the other two more into the sea, that they might descry vs without comming ouer neere vs. Likewise betweene certaine hills which were neere the point, there appeared here three and there foure of them, and afterward we saw a small troope of some twentie of them together, so that all of vs reioyced greatly to behold them. On this side the land shewed greene with pieces of plaine ground which was neere the sea, and likewise all those coasts of hills shewed greene, and were couered with many trees, although they grew not very thicke together. Here at euening we rode neere the shore hard vpon the said point, to see if we could speake with those Indians, and likewise to see if we could get fresh water, which now we wanted, and still as soone as we were come to an anker, we saw the Indians shew themselves on land neere vnto their lodgings, comming likewise to descry vs in a Canoa, by sixe and seuen at a time, whereat we marvelled, because we neuer thought that one of those Canoas would hold so many men. In this wise we stayed looking still what would be the successe, and in the place where we rode we were two small leagues distant from the shore, where we found these Indians in their Canoas: whereupon wee marvelled not a little to see so great an alteration in so small a distance of countrey, as well because we still discouered pleasant land with trees (whereas on the other side of the ile there were none) as also because it was so well peopled with Indians, which had so many Canoas made of wood, as we might discerne, and not raftes or Ballas, for so they call those floats which are made all flat with canes.

26 Ballas is a flat
raft made of
canes.

The next day being Thursday the fifteenth of the said moneth about breake of day foure or five Indians shewed themselves at the head of that point, who as soone as they had spied vs retired behind the point, and hid themselves among the bushes vpon certaine small hills that were there,

there, from whence they issued forth, and covered all the greene hills and mountaines, which were along that coast; whertupon we gathered that they had their dwellings there, in regard of the commoditie of the water and the defence against ill weather, and the benefite of fishing. At sun-rising we saw the Indians appeare in greater companies, going up vnto the hills in small troopes, and from thence they stood and beheld vs. Immediately we saw five or six Canoas come out into the sea a good distance from vs, and those which were in them stood often on their tip-toes, to view and descry vs the better. On the other side we stirred not at all for all these their gestures, but stood still riding at anchor; and the Generall seemed not to be very willing to take any of them, but this day in the morning very early commanded the Masters mate to conueigh him to our other shippe called The Trinicie. Things passed in this sort, when about ten of the clocke we saw three Canoas lanch farre into the sea to fish very neere vnto vs, whereat we tooke great pleasure. At 12 of the clocke the Generall returned from the Trinicie and commanded the boat & men to be made readie, as well souldiers as mariners; and that we should goe on shoze to see if we could get any wood and water, and catch one of those Indians to vnderstand their language if it were possible; and so all the men that were readie went into the Admirals boate, and went toward the Trinicie which by this time with the other ship had a small gale of winde, wherewith they entered farther within the point, and we discouered the lodgings and houses of the Indians, & saw neere the waters side those five or six Canoas which at the first came out to view vs, drawn on shoze, and ouer against this place the ships cast anchor in 30 and 35 fadome water, and we were very neere the land; whereat we marvelled much to find so great depth of water so neere the shoze. Being gone aboard our botes, we made toward the shoze ouer against a village of the Indians, who as soone as they saw vs about to come on land, left an hill whereman they stood to behold what we did, & came downe to the shoze, where we were prepared to come on land: but before they came against vs they caused their women and children to fly into the mountaines with their goods, & then came directly towards vs, threatening vs with certaine great stauces which they carried in their handes some 3 yardes long and thicker then a mans wrist: but perceiuing that for all this we ceased not to come neere the sea shoze to come on land, they began to charge vs with stones and to sling cruelly at vs, and they hit 4 or 5 men, among whom they smote the Generall with two stones. In the meane while the other boate landed a little beneath, whereupon when they saw that they were forced to diuide themselves to keepe the rest of our company from comming on land, they began to be discouraged, and did not assaile the Generals boate so fiercely, who began to cause his people to goe on shoze with no small trouble; for albeit he was neere the land, yet as soone as they leapt out of the boate they sunke downe, because they could finde no fast footing; and thus swimming or otherwise as they could, first a souldier called Spinosa got on land, and next to him the General, and then some of the rest, and began to make head against the Indians, and they came hastily with those stauces in their handes, for other kinds of weapons we saw none, sauing bowes and arrowes of pine-tree. After a short combat they brake in pieces the targets of the Generall, and of Spinosa. In the meane while those of the other boate were gotten on land, but not without much difficultie, by reason of the multitude of stones which continually rained downe vpon them, and they strooke Terazzo on the head a very shrowd blow, and had it not bene for our targets, many of vs had bene wounded, and in great distresse; although our enemies were but few in number. In this maner all our company came on shoze with swimming and with great difficultie, and if they had not holpen one another, some of them had bene drowned. Thus we landed, and within a while after those of the other boate were come on land, the Indians betooke themselves to flight, taking their way toward the mountaines, whether they had sent their women, children and goods: on the other side we pursued them, & one of those Indians which came to assaile the Generals boat, was slaine vpon the strand, & two or three others were wounded, and some said more. While we pursued them in this maner our mastiue dogge Berecillo ouertooke one of them not farre from vs (who because we were so wet could not run very fast) and pulled him downe, hauing bitten him cruelly, and doubtlesse he had held him till we had come, vnlesse it had happened that another of his companions had not followed that Indian which the dogge had pulled downe, who with a staffe which he had in his handes gaue the dogge a cruell blow on the backe, and without any staying drew his fellow along like a Deere, and Berecillo was faine to leaue him for paine, neither had he scarce taken the dogge off on him, but the Indian got up, and fled so hastily toward the mountaine, that within a short while hee ouertooke his fellowe which had saued him from the pawes of the dogge, who (as it appeared) betooke him lustily to his heeles, and thus they came vnto their fellowes which descended not downe to the shoze being about some twentie, and they were in all about fiftie or sixtie.

with stone
which they
sling at the
ships

A village of
the Indians.

A skirmish of
the Indians
fighting with
stones.

The great vse
of targets a-
gainst arrowes
and stones.

and so on
the Indians
were

The vse of mas-
sies in the
warre against
Indians.

which was
the reason
why the
Indians
were

After we had breathed our selues a while, we viewed their houses where they stood, which were certaine cottages couered with shrubs like brome and rosemary, with certaine stakes pight in the ground; and the Generall willed vs to march all together without disperling of our selues, a little way by those mountaines, to see if there were any water and wood, because we stood in great neede of them both. And while we marched forward, we saw in certaine little vallies the goods which the women had left there behind them in their flight: for the Indians as soone as they saw vs pursue them ouertooke the women, and for feare charged them to flie away with their children leauing their stuffe in this place. We went vnto this booty, and found good store of fresh-fish, and dried fish, and certaine bags containing about 28 pound weight full of dried fish ground to powder, and many seal-skins, the most part dyed with a faire white graine vpon them, and others very badly dyed. There were also their instruments, to fish withall, as hookes made of the prickles of certaine shrubs and trees. Here we tooke the said skins without leauing any one in the place, and then we returned to the sea, because it was now night, or at least very late, and found our botes waiting for vs.

Seal-skins
well dyed
with a white
graine.

Chap. 13.

A description of the Canoes of the Indians of the Ile of Cedars, and how coasting the same to find fresh water they found some, and desiring to take thereof they went on shore, and were diuersly molested with the weapons of the Indians. They christen an old Indian, and returne vnto their ships.

The Canoes which they had were certaine thicke trunks of Cedars, some of them of the thickeesse of two men, and three sadome long, being not made hollow at all, but being laid a-long, and fastened together, they shoue them into the sea, neither were they plained to any purpose, for we found no kind of edge-toole, sauing that there were certaine sharp stones, which we found vpon certaine rockes that were very keene, wherewith we supposed that they did cut & flea those seales. And neere the shore we found certaine water, wherewith we filled certaine bottles made of the skins of those seales, containing ech of them about a great pail of water. The next day our Generall commanded vs so set sail, whereupon sailing with a fresh gale about 2 leagues from the shore of this Island, trending about the same to see the end thereof, and also to appoche neere the firme land, to informe our selues of the state thereof, because we had seene 5 or 6 fires, we compassed the same about: for by this meanes we performed 2 or 3 good actions, namely, we returned to our right course, and searched whether any riuer fell out of the coast of the firme land, or whether there were any trees there, or whether any shore of Indians did shew themselves or no.

In this maner proceeding on our way all the Friday being the 16 of January at euening, and seeking to double the point of the Island, so fierce and contrary a northerly winde encountered vs, that it draue vs backe that night ouer against the lodgings and habitations of the Indians, and here we stayed all Saturday, what time we lost the Trinitie againe, but on Sunday night being the 18 we saw her againe, and beganne to proceede on our way to compass that Island, if it pleased God to send vs good weather.

Isla de los Ce-
dros, or The
Ile of Cedars
in 28 deg. and
a quarter.

On Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday (which was the twentieth of the said moneth of January) wee sailed with scarse and contrary windes, and at length came to the cape of the point of the Island, which we called Isla de los Cedros or the Ile of Cedars, because that on the tops of the mountaines therein, there growes a wood of these Cedars being very tall, as the nature of them is to be. This day the Trinitie descried a village or towne of the Indians, and found water: for on Sunday night we had newly lost her, and had no sight of her vntill Tuesday, whenas we found her riding neere the shore, not farre from those cottages of the Indians. And as soone as we had descried her, we made toward her, and before we could reach her, we espied three Canoes of Indians which came hard aboord the said ship called The Trinitie, so that they touched almost the side of the ship, and gaue them of their fish, and our people on the other side gaue them certaine trifles in exchange, and after they had spoken with them, the Indians went backe to the shore, and at the same instant we came by vnto the Admirall and rode by them, and they all saluted vs, saying that the Indians were neere them, and telling what had passed betweene them, whereat the Generall and we receiued great contentment. They told vs mozeouer, that they had found fresh water, whereby they increased our great ioy, because we stood in much neede thereof, for at the other place of the Indians we could get but a little.

These mighty
deepe and high
weedes are de-
scribed in the
end of this
treasurie.

While we thus rode at anchor, we saw a Canoa with 3 Indians put out into the sea from their cottages, and they went vnto a fishing place, among certaine great and high weedes, which grow in this sea among certaine rockes, the greatest part of which weedes groweth in 15 or 20 sa-
dome

some depth; and with great celeritie they caught seven or eight fishes, and returned with them unto the Trinity, and gave them unto them, and they in recompense gave the Indians certaine trifles. After this the Indians stayed at the sterne of the ship, viewing the same about three houres space, and taking the oares of our boat they tryed how they could rowe with them, whereat they tooke great pleasure; and we which were in the Admirall stirred not a whit all this while, to give them the more assurance, that they should not flee away, but should see, that we ment to doe them no harme, & that we were good people. As soone as we were come to anker, & beheld all that had passed betweene the Indians and those of the Trinity, after the Indians were gone to the shore in their Canoas made of the bodies of trees, the General commanded the boat which was without to be brought unto him: and when it was come, he, and Francis Preciado, and two others went inco it, and so we went aboard the Trinity. The Indians seeing people comming out of the other ship into the Trinity, sent two Canoas unto the sterne of the ship, and brought vs a bottle of water, and we gave unto them certain beads, and continued talking with them a little while; but evening approaching the aire grew somewhat cold, The Indians returned on shore to their lodgings, and the General and we to our ship. The next day being Wednesday in the morning, the General commanded certaine of vs to take the bote and goe ashore, to see if we could find any brooke or well of fresh water in the houses of the Indians, because he thought it vnpossible for them to dwell there without any water to drinke. The father frier Raimund likewise went out in our company, because the day before seeing the Indians came to the sterne of the shippe and parlying with vs, he thought he might haue spoken a little with them, with the like familiarity. In like sort many mariners and souldiers went out in the boat of the Trinity, and going altogether with their weapons toward the shore, somewhat about the lodgings of the Indians, very early in the morning they watched the boats, and perceiued that wee would come on land, whereupon they sent away their women & children with certaine of them, who caried their goods vp into certaine exceeding steepe mountaines and hilles, and 5 or 6 of them came toward vs, which were excellently well made, and of a good stature. Two of them had bowes and arrowes, and other two 2 bassonadoes much thicker then the wrist of a mans hand, and other two with 2 long stauies like iauelins with very sharpe pointes, and approached very neere vs being now come on shore. And beginning by signes very fiercely to braue vs, they came so neere vs, that almost they strooke with one of those stauies one of our souldiers called Garcia a man of good parentage, but the General commanded him to with-draw himselfe, and not to hurt any of them. In the meane season the General and frier Raimund stept forth, the frier lapping a garment about his arme, because they had taken vp stones in their hands, fearing that they would do them some mischief. Then began both of them to speake vnto them by signes & words, to be quiet, signifying, that they ment them no harme, but only were come to take water; and the frier shewed them a drinking-cup, but nothing would serue to make them leaue that bragging, and flinging of stones: and the General continuing still in a mind not to hurt them, commanded his men gently to come neere vnto them, and that by signes they should all shew them, that they meant in no wise to hurt them, but that we were come on land onely to take water. On the other side refusing utterly to take knowledge of these things they still insulted more and more: whereupon Francis Preciado counsellled the General to giue him leaue to kill one of them, because all the rest would flee away, wherby at our ease we might take water: but he replied that he would not haue it so, but willed them to looze the two massines Bercillo and Achillo: wherefore the dogs were let loose, and as soone as they saw them, they vanished immediately, betaking them to their heeles, and running vp those clifles like goates. Also others which came from the mountaine to succour them, betooke themselves to flight. The dogs ouertooke two of them, and bit them a litle, and we running after, laid hold on them, and they seemed as fierce as wild & untamed beasts, for 3 or 4 of vs held either of them, to cherish & pacifie them, and to seeke to giue them some thing: but we auailed not, for they bit vs by the hands, and stooped downe to take vp stones for to strike vs with them. We led them a while in this maner, & came vnto their lodgings, where the Generall gaue a charge, that no man should touch any thing of theirs, commanding Francis Preciado to see that this order were obserued, in not taking any thing frō them, although in very deed there was little or nothing there, because the women and Indians which were fled had caried al away. Here we found an old man in a caue so extremely aged as it was wonderful, which could neither see nor go, because he was so lame and crooked. The father frier Raimund sayd, it were good (seeing he was so aged) to make him a Christian; whereupon we christened him. The captaine gaue the Indians which we had taken two paire of eare-rings, and certaine counterfeit diamonds, and making much of them, suffered them to depart at their pleasure, and in this sort faire and softly they returned to the rest of their fellows in the mountaine. We tooke the matter of

The great hle
of massines in
pursuit of the
Indians.

that village which was but a small quantity, and then the Generall commanded vs. to returne to our ship, because we had eaten nothing as yet, and after our repast we sayled towards a bay which lay beyond that village, where we saw a very great valley, and those of the Trinitie sayd, that they had seene there good store of water, and sufficient for vs; wherefore wee ankered neere vnto that valley. And the Generall went on shore with both the boates, and the men that went on land in the morning with the two fathers frier Raimund, and frier Antony: and passing by that valley a crosse bow-shot, we found a very small brooke of water, which neuertheles supplied our necessity for we filled two butts thereof that evening, leauing our vessels to take it with on shore vntill the next morning; and we reioyced not a little that we had found this water, for it was fresh, and the water which we had taken by before was somewhat brackish, and did vs great hurt both in our bodies and in our taste.

Chap. 14.

They take possession of the Isle of Cedars for the Emperours Maiestie, and departing from thence they are greatly tossed with a tempest of the sea, and returne to the Island, as to a safe harbour.

The next day being the two and twentieth of January very early the General commanded vs to go on shore, and that we should haue our dinner brought vs, and should take in the rest of our water, which we did, and filled 17 butts without seeing any Indian at all. The next day going out to fill 8 or 9 vessels which were not yet filled, a great winde at North-west tooke vs, whereupon they made signes to vs from the ships, that with all haste wee should come on board againe, for the wind grew still higher, and higher, and the Masters were affraid that our cables would break, thus we were in the open sea. Therefore being come aboard againe not without great trouble, we returned backe ouer against the village of the Indians, * where we had slaine the Indian, and because the wind grew more calme about midnight, the Pilots did not cast anker, but hulled vnder the shelter of this Island, which (as I haue said) is called The Isle of Cedars, and is one of the 3 Isles of S. Stephan, the greatest & chiefest of them, where the General tooke possession. While we hulled here, about midnight, the next Friday being the 23 of the moneth, without our expectation we had a fresh gale of wind from the Southeast, which was very fauourable for our voyage, & the longer it continued, the more it increased: so that betweene that night and the next day being Saturday the 24 of the said moneth we sailed 18 great leagues. While wee were thus on our way, the wind grew so contrary and so tempestuous, that to our great grieve we were constrained to coast about with our ships, and returned twenty leagues backe againe, taking for our succour the second time, the point of the lodgings of the Indians, where the foresayd Indian was slaine, and here we stayed Sunday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, during which time the North-west and the North wind blew continually, whereupon we determined not to stirre from thence vntill we saw good weather, and well settled for our voyage: for in this climate these winds doe raigne so greatly, that we feared they would stay vs longer there then we would; and we were so weary of staying, that euery day seemed a moneth vnto vs. Under this shelter we rode Thursday, Friday, and Saturday vntill noone, which was the last of January in the yeere 1540. About noone the wind began to blow softly at South-west, whereupon the General told the Pilots, that we should doe well to put ouer to the maine land, where with some wind off the shore we might by the grace of God saile somewhat farther. Thus we hoisted our sailes, and sailed vntill euening three or foure leagues, for the wind scanted, and wee remained becalmed. The night being come there arose a contrary winde, and we were inforced of necessity to retire the third time to the same shelter of the Isle of Cedars, where we stayed from the first of February vntill Shrouesunday, in the which meane time we tooke in two butts of water which we had spent. During the space of these eight dayes we sought to make sayle two or three times, but as we went out a little beyond the point of this Isle, we found the wind so boystrous and contrary, and the sea so growen, that of force we were constrained to returne vnder the succour of the Island, and often times wee were in great feare that we should not be able to get in thither againe. During this time that we could not proceed on our iourney, we imployed our selues in catching a few fishes for the Lent. From Shrouesunday being the 8 of February, on which day we set sayle, we sayled with a very scant wind, or rather a calme, vntill Shrouetuesday, on which we came within kenne of the firme land, from whence we were put backe these twenty leagues (for in these two dayes and a halfe wee sayled some 20 small leagues) and we lay in sight of the sayd poynt of the firme land. And on the Tuesday we were becalmed, waiting till God of his mercy would helpe vs with a prosperous wind to proceed on our voyage.

Cap. 13.

Isle de los Cedros
is the greatest
of the 3 Isles
of S. Stephan.

Read cap. 11.
about the end.

February.

Id id id id
id id id id
id id id id

On

On Shrouesunday at night, to make good cheere withall wee had so great winde and raine, that there was nothing in our ships which was not wet, and a very colde ayre. On Alwednesday at sun-rising we strooke saile neere a point which we fel somewhat short withall in a great bay running into this firme land: and this is the place where we sawe five or six fires, and at the rising of the sunne being so neere the shore that we might well descrie and vie we it at our pleasure we sawe it to bee very pleasant, for wee descried as farre as wee could discerne with our eyes, faire valleys, and small hilles, with greene shrubs very pleasant to behold, although there grew no trees there. The situation shewed their length and breadth. This day was little winde, it being in a manner calmes, to our no small grieve: and the father frier Raimund sayd vs a drie masse, and gaue vs ashes, preaching vnto vs according to the time and state wherein we were: with which sermon we were greatly comforted. After noonetide we had contrary wind, which still was our enemy in all our iourney, at the least from the point of the port of Santa Cruz. Here we were constrained to anker in five fadome water, and after wee rode at anker wee began to viewe the countrey, and tooke delight in beholding how goodly and pleasant it was, and neere vnto the sea wee iudged that wee sawe a valley of white ground. At euening so great a tempest came vpon vs of winde and raine, that it was so fearefull and dangerous a thing that a greater cannot bee expressed; for it had like to haue driuen vs vpon the shore, and the chiefe Pilot cast out another great anker into the sea, yet all would not serue, for both these ankers could not stay the ship. Whereupon all of vs cryed to God for mercy, attending to see how he would dispose of vs; who of his great goodnesse, while we were in this danger, vouchsafed a little to steeke the tempest, and with great speede the chiefe Pilot commanded the mariners to turne the capsten, and the Generall commanded and prayed all the souldiers to helpe to turne the capsten, which they were nothing slow to performe: and thus we beganne to weigh our ankers, and in weighing of one which was farre greater then the other, the sea was so boisterous, that it forced the capsten in such sorte, that the men which were at it could not rule the same, and it strooke a Negro of the Generalls such a blowe, that it cast him downe along vpon the decke, and did the like vnto another mariner and one of the barres strooke our fire-furnace so violently, that it cast it ouer-board into the sea. Yet for all these troubles wee weighed our ankers, and set sayle, and albeit we had great tempests at sea, yet made wee no account thereof in respect of the ioy which we conceiued to see our selues freed of the perill of being cast on that shore with our ships, especially seeing it fell out at midnight, at which time no man could haue escaped, but by a meere myracle from God.

The point of
Santa Cruz is
therwise called
Punta de Balenas

Wee sayled by and downe the sea all Thursday, and vntill Friday in the morning being the fourteenthy day of February, and the waues of the sea continually came raking ouer our deckes. At length, on Saturday morning at breake of day we could finde no remedy against the contrary windes, notwithstanding the Generall was very obstinate to haue vs keepe out at sea, although it were very tempestuous, least we should be driuen to put backe againe, but no diligence nor remedie preuailed: for the windes were so boisterous and so contrary, that they could not be wofle, and the sea went still higher, and swelled more and more, and that in such sorte, that we greatly feared wee should all perish. Whereupon the Pilot thought it our best course to returne to the Isle of Cedars, whither wee had repaired three or foure times before by reason of the selfe same contrary windes, for wee tooke this Island for our father and mother, although we receiued no other benefite thereby saue this onely, namely, to repaire thither in these necessities, and to furnish our selues with water, and with some small quantitie of fish.

Being therefore arrived at this Island, and riding vnder the shelter thereof, the contrary windes did alwayes blow very strongly, and here we tooke water which we drunke, and wood for our fuel, and greatly desired, that the windes would bee more fauourable for proceeding on our iourney. And though we rode vnder the shelter of the Isle, yet felt wee the great fury of those windes, and the rage of the sea, and our ships neuer ceased rolling.

At breake of day the twentieth of February wee found the cable of our Admirall cracked, whereupon, to our great grieve, we were constrained to set sayle, to fall downe lower the space of a league, and the Trinicie came and rode in our company.

Chap. 15.

They goe on land in the isle of Cedars, and take diuers wilde beasts, and refresh and solace themselves. They are strangely tossed with the Northwest winde, and seeking often to depart they are forced, for the auoiding of many mischiefes, to repaire thither againe for harbour.

The two and twentieth of February being the second Sunday in Lent, the General went on shore with the greatest part of his people and the friers, neere vnto a valley which they saue before them. And hearing masse on land, certaine souldiers and mariners, with certaine dogges which we had in our company went into the said valley, and we met with certaine deere, whereof we tooke a female, which was little, but fat, whose haire was liker the haire of a wild goat then of a deere, and we found her not to be a perfect deere, for she had foure dugs like vnto a cowe full of milke, which made vs much to marueile. And after we had slayed off her skinne, the flesh seemed moze like the flesh of a goat, then of a deere. We killed likewise a gray conie, in shape like vnto those of Nueva Espanna, and another as blacke as heben-wood. In the cottages at the shelter above, where we brake our cable, we found many pine-nuts opened, which (in mine opinion) the Indians had gathered together to eate the kernels of them. On Sunday the 23 of the said moneth, we rode at anchor, taking our pleasure and pastime with fishing. And the Northwest winde began to blow, which wared so great a litle before midnight, as it was wonderfull: so that although we were vnder the shelter of the Island, and greatly defended from that wind, yet for all that it was so furious, and the sea became so raging and boisterous, that it greatly shook our ships, and we were in great feare of breaking our cables, whereof (to say the trueth) we had very much neede: for hauing spent longer time in this voyage then we looked for, wee had broken two, and lost two of our best anchors. This furious winde continued untill the next day being Tuesday the 24 when as we went on shore with the friers, who sayd vs masse, recommending our selues to God, beseeching him to vouchsafe to succour and help vs with some good weather that we might proceede on our voyage, to the aduancement of his seruice. And still the winds were so high and outrageous, that the deuill seemed to be loosed in the aire. Whereupon the Pilots caused all the masts to be let downe, least they should be shaken with the wind, and tooke off all the shrouds, and likewise caused the cabbens in the sterne to be taken away, that the winds might haue moze free passage, for the safetie of the ships; per for al this they ceased not to be in great trouble. On Tuesday the second of March, about midnight or somewhat after, riding vnder the Island in this distresse, there came a gust of Northwest winde, which made the cable of the Admirall to slip, and the Trinitie brake her cable, and had bene cast away, if God of his mercy had not prouided for vs, together with the diligence which the Pilots vled, in hoisting the sailes of the trinkets and mizzen, wherewith they put to sea, and rode by another anchor vntill day, when the men of both the ships went with their boats to seeke the anchor vntill noone, which at length they found and recovered, not without great paines & diligence which they vled in dragging for it, for they were till noone in seeking the same, and had much adoe to recover it. After this we set vp our shroudes, and all things necessary to saile, for to proceede on our voyage, if it pleased God, and not to stay alwayes in that place, as lost and forlorne. Thus on the Wednesday two or three houres after dinner wee set saile, with a scarce winde at Southeast, which was fauourable for our course and very scant; and our Pilots & all the rest of vs were in no smal feare, that it would not continue long. We began therfore to set forward, although we seemed to see before our eyes, that at the end of the Island we should meete with contrary winde at North and Northwest. This day about euening when our ships had discouered the point of this Isle of Cedars, wee began to perceiue those contrary windes, and the sea to goe so loftily, that it was terrible to behold. And the farther we went, the moze the winds increased, so that they put vs to great distresse, sayling alwayes with the sheates of our mainesails and trinket warily in our hands, and with great diligence we loosed the ties of all the sailes, to saue them the better, that the wind might not charge them too vehemently. For all this the mariners thought it best to returne backe, and that by no means we should runne farre into the sea, because we were in extreame danger. Whereupon wee followed their counsell, turning backe almost to the place from whence we departed, whereat we were al not a litle grieved, because we could not prosecute our voyage, and began to want many things for the furniture of our ships. The 8 of March being Sunday about noone the Generall commanded vs to set saile, for a small gale of winde blew from the West, which was the wind whereof we had most need, to follow our voyage, whereat wee were all glad for the great desire which we had to depart out of that place. Therefore we began to set saile, & to passe toward the point of the Island, and to shape
our

our course toward the coast of the firme land, to view the situation thereof. And as we passed the Island, and were betwixt it and the maine, the North-west being a contrary wind began to blow, which increased so by degrees, that we were constrained to let fall the bonets of our sailes, to save them, striking them very low. And the Trinitie seeing this bad weather returned forthwith unto the place from whence we departed, and the Admiral cast about all night in the sea, untill the morning; and the chiefe Pilot considering that by no means we could proceed farther without danger, if we should continue at sea any longer, resolved that wee should retire our selves againe to that shelter, where we rode at anchor untill Thursday. And on Friday about noone we set saile againe with a scarce wind, & in coming forth unto the point of the Island, we met againe with contrary wind at North-west: whereupon running all night with the firme land, on Saturday in the morning being S. Lazarus day and the 13 of march, we came in sight thereof, in viewing of the which we all rejoyced, and we souldiers would very willingly have gone on shore. This night fel great store of raine like the raine in Castilia, and we were all well wet in the morning, & we tooke great pleasure in beholding the situation of that firme land, because it was greene, and because we had discovered a pleasant valley and plaines of good largenes, which seemed to bee enuironed with a garland of mountains. At length for feare of misfortunes, seeing the sea so high, we durst not stay here or approach neere the land, & because we had great want of cables and ankers, we were againe constrained to put to sea; and being in the same, and finding the said contrary windes, the Pilots iudged that we had none other remedie, but againe to retire our selves to our wonted shelter. And thus we returned, but somewhat about the old place. On Sunday we rode here to the great grief of all the company, considering what troubles we indured, & could not get forward; so that this was such a contrariety, as none could be more intollerable. This day being come to an anchor wee had a mighty gale of wind at North-west, which was our aduersary and capital enemy, and when day was shut in, it still grew greater and greater, so that the ships rouled much. And after midnight, toward break of day, the Trinitie brake her two cables, which held the two ankers which she had, and seeing her selfe thus forlorne, she turned by and downe in the sea untill day, and came & rode neere vs, by one anker which shee had left. This day all of vs went to seeke these lost ankers, and for all the diligence which wee used, wee could find but one of them. We rode at anchor all day untill night, when the Trinitie againe brake a cable, which certaine rocks had cut asunder: whereupon the General commanded that she should ride no longer at anchor, but that shee should turne by and downe, as she had done before in sight of vs, which she did all day long, and at night she came to an anchor ouer against a fresh water somewhat lower, and wee went and rode hard by her. On Palme-sunday we went on shore with the fathers, which read the passion vnto vs and said masse, and we went in procession with branches in our hands. And so being comforted, because we had receiued that holy Sacrament, we returned to our ships.

Chap. 16.

Returning to the Isle of Cedars weather-beaten, and with their ships in euil case, they conclude, that the ship called *Santa Agueda* or *Santa Agatha* should returne vnto *Nueva Espanna*. Of the multitude of whales which they found about the point of *California*: with the description of a weede, which groweth among the Islands of those seas.

HERE we continued untill the Wednesday before Easter being the foure and twentieth of March, on which day wee consulted together, that because the ships were ill conditioned, and wanted necessary furniture to proceede any further, it were best for vs to returne backe to New Spaine, as also because our clothes were consumed: but the Generall seemed not willing to returne, but to proceed on his voyage: and in fine it was resolved, that seeing both the ships could not proceede forward, as well because they had lost their necessary furnitures, as also that the *Santa Agatha* had neede of calking, because she receiued much water, and was the worst furnished of the twaine, that shee should returne backe to aduertize the Marques of our successe in this voyage, and what hindered our proceeding, and in what case wee stood, and howe wee were bereft of our necessary furniture. And because the Trinitie was the swifter ship, and better appointed then the other, it was concluded, that it should be prouided in the best maner that might be, & that the General should proceed on his iourney in her with such company as he should make choise of, and that the rest should returne at their good leisure. Wherefore vpon this determination we went vnder a point of this Island, because it was a fit place to carene the ship: & in recovering the same we spent Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday till noone, and yet for all that wee could not wel double it, untill Easter day about noone. Here we ankered very neere the shore, and in a valley we found very excellent fresh water, wherof we made no smal account, & here stayed all the Easter-holidays, to set our selves about the furnishing by of the Trinitie: and after the worke was

The firme land
very green and
pleasant with
goodly valleys
and plaines.

was taken in hand by the two Masters which were very sufficient talkers (one of which was Iuan Castiliano chiefe Pilot, and the other Peruccio de Bermes) they finished the same so well in five dayes, as it was wonderfull; for no man could perceine how any droppe of water could enter into any of the leames. Afterward they mended the other ship from Saturday till Sunday, during which time all those were thynen that had not confessed, and receiued the communion, and it was resolved by charge of the confessoys, that all those seale-skins which they had taken from the Indians should bee restored againe; and the Generall gaue charge to Francis Preciado to restore them all, charging him on his conscience so to doe. Thus they gathered them together, and delivered them into the hands of the fathers, to bee kept untill they returned to the place, where they were to restore them. After this manner on Sunday before noone we tooke our leaues of the Generall Francis Villosa, and of the people that stayed with him, who at our departure shed no small number of teares, and we chose for our captaine in the Santa Agueda master Iuan Castiliano the chiefe pilot, as well of the ship, as of vs all, and set saile the same day being the fift of April, hauing our boat tied at our sterne, till we came ouer against the cottages, whence wee had taken the seale-skins. From the cuntry of the Christians and the port of Colima we were now distant some three hundred leagues, which is the first port where wee were determined to touch at. And hauing sailed a league from the Trinitie the captaine Iuan Castiliano commanded vs to salute them with three peeces of great Ordnance, and he answered vs with other three, and after ward we answered one another with two shot apiece.

The first of April.

We sailed on Sunday & Tuesday til noon with contrary wind in sight of the Island, and at noone we had a fresh gale in the poupe, which brought vs ouer against the cottages of the Indians where we tooke away those seal-skins; & there certain souldiers & mariners with the father frier Antony de Melo leapt on shore with the boat, carrying the skins with them, & flung them into the sayd cottages out of which they were taken, and so returned to their ship. This day the weather calmed, whereupon we were driuen to cast anchor, fearing that we should shortly be distressed for want of victuals, if we should stay there any long time; but God which is the true helper provided better for vs then we deserued or imagined; for as we rode here, after midnight the wind changed following before ten of the clocke wee had a fauourable gale of winde from the Southeast, which put vs into the sea; whither being driuen, wee had the wind at North west so good and constant, that in five dayes it brought vs to the rape of the point of the port of Santa Cruz: for which so great blessing of God we gaue vnto him infinite thanks. And here we began to allow our selues a greater proportion of victuals then wee had done before, for wee had eaten very sparingly for feare lest our victuals would faile vs. Before we came to this point of the haven of Santa Cruz by five or seuen leagues we saw on shore between certaine valleys diuers great smokes. And hauing passed the point of this port, our captaine thought it good to lanch forth into the maine Ocean: yet although we ran a swift course, about 500 whales came athwart of vs in 2 or 3 skulles within one houres space, which were so huge, as it was wonderfull, and some of them came so neere vnto the ship, that they swam vnder the same from one side to another, whereupon we were in great feare, lest they should doe vs some hurt, but they could not because the ship had a prosperous and good winde, and made much way, whereby it could receiue no harme, although they touched and strooke the same.

Read more of these weeds cap. 13.

Among these Islands are such abundance of those weeds, that if at any time wee were informed to sayle ouer them they hindred the course of our ships. They growe fourteene or fifteene fadome deepe vnder the water, their tops reaching foure or five fadome aboue the water. They are of the colour of yellow ware, & their stalke groweth great proportionably. This weede is much more beautifull then it is set forth, and no maruell, for the naturall painter and creator thereof is most excellent.

Sant Iago de Buena esperanza in 19 degrees.

This relation was taken out of that which Francis Preciado brought with him. After this ship the Santa Agueda departed from the Generall Villosa, and returned backe the 5 of April, she arrived in the port of Sant Iago de Buena esperanza the 18 of the said moneth, and after she had stayed there foure or five dayes, she departed for Acapulco: howbeit until this present seuenteenth of May in the yeere 1540, I haue heard no tidings nor newes of her.

Cabo del Enganno in 30 degrees & a halfe

Moreouer after the departure of the Santa Agueda for Nueva Espanna, the General Francis Villosa in the ship called the Trinitie proceeding on his discovery coasted the land untill he came to a point called Cabo del Enganno standing in thirty degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude, and then returned backe to Newspaine, because he found the winds very contrary, and his victuals failed him.

The

my J.
The relation of the nauigation and discouery which Captaine
Fernando Alarchon made by the order of the right honourable Lord Don
Antonio de Mendoça Vizeroy of New Spaine, dated in Colima, an hauen of New Spaine.

Chap. I.

Fernando Alarchon after he had suffered a storme, arriued with his Fleete at the hauen of
Saint Iago, and from thence at the hauen of Aguaiaual: he was in great perill in seeking
to discouer a Bay, and getting out of the same he discouered a riuer on the coast with a
great current, entring into the same, and coasting along he discried a great many of In-
dians with their weapons: with signes hee hath traffique with them, and fearing some
great danger returneth to his ships,



M Sunday the ninth of May in the yeere 1540. I set saile with two ships, the
one called Saint Peter being Admirall, and the other Saint Catherine, and wee
set forward meaning to goe to the hauen of Saint Iago of good hope: but before
we arriued there wee had a terrible storme, wherewith they which were in the
ship called Saint Catherine, being more afraid then was neede, cast ouer boord
nine pieces of Ordnance, two anchors and one cable, and many other things as
needfull for the enterprise wherein we went, as the shippe it selfe. Assoone as we were arriued at
the hauen of Saint Iago I repaired my losse which I had receiued, prouided my selfe of things
necessary, and tooke aboard my people which looked for my comming, and directed my course to-
ward the hauen of Aguaiaual. And being there arriued I vnderstood that the Generall Francis
Vazquez de Coronado was departed with all his people: wherupon taking the ship called
Saint Gabriel which carried victuals for the armie I led her with mee to put in execution your
Lordships order. Afterward I followed my course along the coast without departing from the
same, to see if I could find any token, or any Indian which could giue me knowledge of him: and
in sailing so neere the shore I discouered other very good hauens, for the ships wherof Captaine
Francis de Vllua was Generall for the Marquesse de Valle neither sawe nor found them. And
when we were come to the flats and shoals from whence the foresaid fleete returned, it seemed
as well to me as to the rest, that we had the firme land before vs, and that those shoals were so pe-
rilous and fearefull, that it was a thing to be considered whether with our skiffes we could enter
in among them: and the Pilotes and the rest of the company would haue had vs done as Cap-
taine Vllua did, and haue returned backe againe. But because your Lordship commanded mee,
that I should bring you the secret of that gulfe, I resolved, that although I had knowen I should
haue lost the shippes, I would not haue ceased for any thing to haue seene the head thereof: and
therefore I commanded Nicolas Zamorano Pilote maior, and Dominico del Castillo that eche
of them should take a boate, and their lead in their hands, and runne in among those shoals, to see
if they could find out the chanell whereby the shippes might enter in: to whom it seemed that the
ships might saile by higher (although with great trauell and danger) and in this sort I and he be-
gan to follow our way which they had taken, and within a short while after wee found our selues
fast on the sands with all our three ships, in such sort that one could not helpe another, neither could
the boates succour vs, because the current was so great that it was impossible for one of vs to
come vnto another: wherupon we were in such great leopordie that the decke of the Admirall
was oftentimes vnder water, and if a great surge of the sea had not come & driuen our ship right
vp, and gaue her leaue as it were to breathe a while, we had there bin drowned: and likewise the o-
ther two shippes found themselves in very great hazard, yet because they were lesser and drew
lesse water, their danger was not so great as ours. Nowe it pleased God vpon the returne of
the flood that the shippes came on shore, and so wee went forward. And although the company
would haue returned backe, yet for all this I determined to goe forward, and to pursue our at-
tempted voyage: and we passed forward with much adoe, turning our stemmes now this way,
now that way, to seeke to find the chanel. And it pleased God that after this sort we came to the
very bottome of the Bay: where wee found a very mightie riuer, which ranne with so great fury
of a streame, that we could hardly saile against it. In this sort I determined as well as I could to
go by this riuer, and with two boates, leaving the third with the ships, and twenty men, my selfe
being in one of them with Roderigo Maldonado treasurer of this fleet, and Gaspar de Castilleia
comptroller, and with certaine small pieces of artillerie, I began to saile by the riuer, and charged

The hauen of
Saint Iago.

The hauen of
Aguaiaual.

These shoals
are the bot-
tome of mar
Bermejo, by the
Bay of Cali-
fornia.

The bottome
of the Bay of
California.

They goe by
the river of
Buena guia the
26. of August.

He carried an
interpreter
with him.

A very good
course taken
to appease by
known signs.

all my company, that none of them should stirre nor vse any signe, but he whom I appoynted, although wee found Indians. The same day, which was Thursday the five and twentieth of August, following our boyage with drawing the boats with hammers we went about some 6 leagues: and the next day which was Friday by the breake of day thus following our way upward, I saw certaine Indians which went toward certaine cottages neere unto the water, who alioone as they saw vs, ten or twelue of them rose vp furiously, and crying with a loud voyce, other of their companions came running together to the number of 50 which with all haste carried out of their cottages such things as they had, and layd them vnder certaine shrubs and many of them came running toward that part whether wee approached, making great signes vnto vs that we should goe backe againe, vnto great threatnings against vs, one while running on this side and an other while on that side. I seeing them in such a rage, caused our boates to lanch from the shoze into the middes of the river, that the Indians might be out of feare, and I rode at anker, and set my people in as good order as I could, charging them that no man should speake, nor make any signe nor motion, nor stirre out of his place, nor should not be offended for any thing that the Indians did, nor should shewe no token of warre: And by this meanes the Indians came euery foote neere the riuers side to see vs: and I gate by little and little toward them where the river seemed to be deepest. In this meane space there were aboute two hundred and fiftie Indians assembled together with bowes and arrowes, and with certaine banners in warrelike sort in such manner as those of New Spayne doe vse: and perceiuing that I drewe toward the shoze, they came with great cries toward vs with bowes and arrowes put into them, and with their banners displayed. And I went vnto the stemme of my boate with the interpreter which I carried with me, whom I commanded to speake vnto them, and when he spake, they neither vnderstood him, nor he them, although because they sawe him to be after their fashion, they stayed themselves: and seeing this I drewe neerer the shoze, and they with great cries came to keepe mee from the shoze of the river, making signes that I should not come any farther, putting stakes in my way betweene the water and the land: and the more I lingered, the more people still flocked together. Which when I had considered I beganne to make them signes of peace, and taking my sword and target, I cast them downe in the boate and set my feete vpon them, giuing them to vnderstand with this and other tokens that I desired not to haue warre with them, and that they should doe the like. Also I tooke a banner and cast it downe, and I caused my company that were with mee to sit downe likewise, and taking the wares of exchange which I carried with mee, I called them to giue them some of them: yet for all this none of them stirred to take any of them, but rather flocked together, and beganne to make a great murmuring among themselves: and suddenly one came out from among them with a staffe wherein certayne shelles were set, and entered into the water to giue them vnto mee, and I tooke them, and made signes vnto him that hee should come neere me, which when he had done, I embraced him, and gaue him in recompence certaine beades and other things, and he returning with them vnto his fellowes, began to looke vpon them, and to parley together, and within a while after many of them came toward me, to whom I made signes to lay downe their banners, and to leaue their weapons: which they did incontinently, then I made signes that they should lay them altogether, and should goe aside from them, which like wise they did: and they caused those Indians which newly came thither to leaue them, and to lay them together with the rest. After this I called them vnto me, and to all them which came I gaue some smal trifle, vnto them gently, and by this time they were so many that came thronging about mee, that I thought I could not stay any longer in safety among them, and I made signes vnto them that they should withdraw themselves, and that they should stand al vpon the side of an hill which was there betweene a plaine & the river, and that they should not presse to me aboue ten at a time. And immediately the most ancient among them called vnto them with a loud voyce, willing them to do so: and some ten or twelue of them came where I was: whereupon seeing my selfe in some securitie, I determined to goe on land the more to put them out of feare: and for my more securitie, I made signes vnto them, to sit downe on the ground which they did: but when they saw that ten or twelue of my companions came a shoze after me, they began to be angry, and I made signes vnto them that we should be friends, and that they should not feare, & here withal they were pacified, and late downe as they did before, and I went vnto them, & embraced them, giuing them certain trifles, commanding mine interpreter to speake vnto them, for I greatly desired to vnderstand their maner of speech, and the cry which they made at mee. And that I might knowe what maner of foode they had, I made a signe vnto them, that wee would gladly eate, and they brought mee certaine cakes of Maiz, and alsoe of Miziqui, and they made signes vnto mee that they desired to see an harguebule shotte off, which I caused

to be discharged, and they were all wonderfully afraid, except two or three olde men among them which were not mooued at all, but rather cried out vpon the rest, because they were astrayd: and through the speech of one of these olde men, they began to rise vp from the ground, and to lay hold on their weapons: whom when I sought to appease, I would haue giuen him a silken girdle of diuers colours, and hee in a great rage bite his necher lippe cruelly, and gaue mee a thumpe with his elbowe on the the brest, and turned in a great furie to speake vnto his company. After that I saw them aduance their banners, I determined to returne my selfe gendy to my boates, and with a small gale of wind I set sayle, whereby wee might breake the current which was very great, although my company were not well pleased to goe any farther. In the meane space the Indians came following vs along the shore of the riuer, making signes that I should come on land, and that they would giue mee food to eate, some of them sucking their fingers, and others entered into the water with certaine cakes of Paiz to giue me them in my boate.

Chap. 2.

Of the habite, armour and stature of the Indians. A relation of many others with whom he had by signes traffique, victuals and many courtesies.

In this sort we went vp two leagues, and I arrived neere a cliffe of an hill, whereupon was an harbour made newly, where they made signes vnto me, crying that I should goe thither, shewing me the same with their handes, and telling mee that there was meate to eate. But I would not goe thither, seeing the place was apt for some ambush; but followed on my voyage, within a while after issued out from thence aboue a thousand armed men with their bowes and arrowes, and after that many women and children shewed themselves, toward whom I would not goe, but because the Sunne was almost set, I rode in the midst of the riuer. These Indians came decked after sundry fashions, some came with a painting that couered their face all ouer, some had their faces halfe couered, but all besmouched with cole, and every one as it liked him best. Others carried visards before them of the same colour which had the shape of faces. They wear on their heads a piece of a Deeres skinn two spannes broad set after the manner of a helmet, and vpon it certaine small sticks with some sortes of feathers. Their weapons were bowes and arrowes of hard wood, and two or three sortes of maces of wood hardened in the fire. This is a mightie people, well featured, and without any grossenesse. They haue holes bored in their nostrils whereat certaine pendants hang: and others weare shelles, and their eares are full of holes, whereon they hang bones and shelles. All of them both great and small weare a girdle about their waste made of diuers colours, and in the middle is fastened a round bunch of feathers, which hangeth downe behind like a tayle. Likewise on the brarme of their armes they weare a streit string, which they wind so often about that it becommeth as broad as ones hand. They weare certaine pieces of Deeres bones fastened to their armes, whereby they strike off the sweate, and at the other certaine small pipes of canes. They carry also certaine little long bagges about an hand broad tyed to their left arme, which serue them also in stead of brasers for their bowes, full of the powder of a certaine herbe, whereof they make a certaine beuerage. They haue their bodies crated with coles, their haire cut before, and behind it hangs downe to their waist. The women goe naked, and weare a great wreath of feathers behind them, and before painted and glued together, and their haire like the men. There were among these Indians three or foure men in womens apparell. Nowe the next day being Saturday very early I went forward on my way by the riuer, setting on shore two men for eache boate to drawe them with the rope, and about breaking forth of the Sunne, wee heard a mightie crie of Indians on both sides of the riuer with their weapons, but without any banner. I thought good to attend their comming, as well to see what they would haue, as also to try whether our interpreter could vnderstand them. When they came ouer against vs they leapt into the riuer on both sides with their bowes and arrowes, and when they spake, our interpreter vnderstoode them not: whereupon I beganne to make a signe vnto them that they should lay away their weapons, as the other had done. Some did as I willed them, and some did not, and those which did, I willed to come neere me and gaue them some things which we had to crucke withall, which when the others perceiued, that they might likewise haue their part, they layd away their weapons likewise. I iudging my selfe to be in securitie leaped on shore with them, and stood in the the midst of them, who vnderstanding that I came not to fight with them, began to giue some of those shels and beades, and some brought me certaine skinnnes well dyed, and others Paiz and a roll of the same naughtily grinded, so that none of them came vnto me that brought mee not something, and before they

Good forcast.

Indians besmouched with cole.

Pipes and bagges of tobacco.

Shells and beades.

so notable po-
licie.

Stuaries of
people.

An exceeding
great current
of the river.

gaue it me going a little way from mee they began to cry out amayne, and made a signe with their bodies and armes, and after ward they approached to giue me that which they brought. And now that the Sunne beganne to set I put off from the shore, and rode in the middlest of the river. The next morning before breake of day on both sides of the river wee heard greater cries and of more Indians, which leaped into the river to swimme, and they came to bring mee certaine gourdes full of Maiz, and of those beethes which I spake of before. I shewed vnto them Wheate and Beanes, and other seedes, to see whether they had any of those kindes: but they shewed mee that they had no knowledge of them, and wondered at all of them, and by signes I came to vnderstand that the thing which they most esteemed and reuerenced was the Sunne: and I signified vnto them that I came from the Sunne. Whereat they marueiled, and then they began to beholde me from the toppe to the toe, and shewed me more fauour then they did before: and when I asked them for food, they brought me such abundance that I was enforced twise to call for the boates to put it into them, and from that time forward of all the things which they brought me they flang by into the ayre one part vnto the Sunne, and after ward turned towards me to giue mee the other part: and so I was alwayes better serued and esteemed of them as well in drawing of the boats by the river, as also in giuing me food to eat: and they shewed me so great loue, that when I stayed they would haue carried vs in their armes vnto their houses: and in no kind of thing they would breake my commandement: and for my suretie, I willed them not to carry any weapons in my sight: and they were so carefull to doe so, that if any man came newly thither with them, suddenly they would goe and meete him to cause him to lay them downe farre from mee: and I shewed them that I tooke great pleasure in their so doing: and to some of the chiefe of them I gaue certaine little napkins and other trifles; for if I should haue giuen somewhat to euery one of them in particular, all the small wares in New Spayne would not haue sufficed. Sometimes it fell out (such was the great loue and good wil which they shewed me) that if any Indians came thither by chance with their weapons, and if any one being warned to leaue them behind him, if by negligence, or because he vnderstood them not at the first warning, he had not layd them away, they would runne vnto him, and take them from him by force, and would breake them in pieces in my presence. Afterward they tooke the rope so louingly, and with striding one with another for it, that we had no need to pray them to doe it. Wherefore if we had not had this helpe, the current of the river being exceeding great, and our men that drew the rope being not well acquainted with that occupation, it would haue bene impossible for vs to haue gotten by the river so against the streame. When I perceived that they vnderstood mee in all things, and that I likewise vnderstood them, I thought good to cry by some way or other to make a good entrance to find some good issue to obtaine my desire: And I caused certaine crosses to be made of certaine small sticks and paper, and among others when I gaue any thing I gaue them these as things of most price and killed them, making signes vnto them that they should honour them and make great account of them, and that they should weare them at their necks: giuing them to vnderstand that this signe was from heauen, and they tooke them and kissed them, and lifted them by aloft, and seemed greatly to reioyce thereat when they did so, and sometime I tooke them into my boate, shewing them great good will, and sometime I gaue them of those trifles which I caried with me. And at length the matter grew to such issue, that I had not paper and stickes ynough to make crosses. In this maner that day I was very well accompanied, vntill that when night approached I sought to lanch out into the river, and went to ride in the middlest of the streame, and they came to aske leaue of me to depart, saying that they would returne the next day with victuals to visite me, and so by little and little they departed, so that there stayed not aboue fiftie which made fires ouer against vs, and stayed there al night calling vs, and before the day was perfectly broken, they leapt into the water and swamme vnto vs asking for the rope, and we gaue it them with a good will, thanking God for the good prouision which hee gaue vs to go by the river: for the Indians were so many, that if they had gone about to let our passage, although we had bene many more then wee were, they might haue done it.

Chap. 3.

One of the Indians vnderstanding the language of the interpreter, asketh many questions of the originall of the Spaniards, he telleth him that their Capraine is the child of the Sunne, and that he was sent of the Sunne vnto them, and they would haue receiued him for their king. They take this Indian into their boat, and of him they haue many informations of that countrey.

In this maner we sailed vntill Tuesday at night, going as we were wont, causing mine interpreter to speak vnto the people to see if peradventure any of them could vnderstand him, I perceived that

that one answered him, whereupon I caused the boates to be stayed, and called him, which hee understood, charging mine interpreter that hee should not speake nor answer him any thing else, but onely that which I said vnto him: and I saw as I stood still that that Indian began to speake to the people with great furie: whereupon all of them beganne to drawe together, and mine interpreter understood, that he which came to the boate sayd vnto them, that he desired to knowe what nation we were, and whence wee came, and whither we came out of the water, or out of the earth, or from heauen: And at this speech an infinite number of people came together, which maruailed to see mee speake: and this Indian turned on this side and on that side to speake vnto them in another language which mine interpreter understood not. Whereas he asked me what we were, I answered that we were Christians, and that we came from farre to see them: and answering to the question, who had sent me, I said, I was sent by the Sunne, pointing vnto him by signes as at the first, because they should not take mee in a lye. He beganne againe to aske mee, how the Sunne had sent me, seeing hee went aloft in the skie and neuer stood still, and seeing these many peeres neither he nor their olde men had euer seene such as we were, of whome they euer had any kind of knowledge, and that the Sunne till that houre had neuer sent any other. I answered him that it was true that the Sunne made his course aloft in the skie, and did neuer stand still, yet neuertheless that they might well perceiue that at his going downe and rising in the morning hee came neere vnto the earth, where his dwelling was, and that they euer sawe him come out of one place, and that hee had made mee in that land and countrey from whence hee came, like as hee had made many others which hee sent into other partes, and that now hee had sent me to visite and view the same riuer, and the people that dwelt neere the same, that I should speake vnto them, and shoulde ioyne with them in friendship, and shoulde giue them things which they had not, and that I should charge them that they should not make warre one against another. Whereunto he answered, that I should tell him the cause why the Sunne had not sent mee no sooner to pacifie the warres which had continued a long time among them, wherein many had bene slaine. I tolde him the cause hereof was, because at that time I was but a child. Then he asked the interpreter whether wee tooke him with vs perforce hauing taken him in the war, or whether he came with vs of his own accord. He answered him that he was with vs of his owne accord, and was very wel appaid of our company. He returned to enquire, why we brought none saue him onely that understood vs, and wherefore wee understood not all other men, seeing we were the children of the Sunne: he answered, that the Sunne also had begotten him, and giuen him a language to understand him, and me, and others: that the Sunne knew well that they dwelt there, but that because he had many other busineses, and because I was but yong hee sent me no sooner. And he turning vnto me sayd suddenly: Comest thou therefore hither to see our Lord, and that wee should serue thee? I supposing that I should not please him if I should haue said yea, answered him, not to be their Lord, but rather to be their brother, and to giue them such things as I had. He asked me, whether the Sunne had begotten me as he had begotten others, and whether I was his kinsman or his sonne: I answered him that I was his sonne. He proceeded to aske me whether the rest that were with me were also the children of the Sunne, I answered him no, but that they were borne all with me in one countrey, where I was brought vp. Then he cryed out with a loud voyce and sayd, seeing thou doest vs so much good, and wilt not haue vs to make warre, and art the child of the Sunne, wee will all receiue thee for our Lord, and alwayes serue thee, therefore wee pray thee that thou wilt not depart hence nor leaue vs: and suddenly hee turned to the people, and beganne to tell them, that I was the child of the Sunne, and that therefore they should all chuse me for their Lord. Those Indians hearing this, were astonished beyond measure, and came neerer still more and more to behold me. That Indian also asked mee other questions, which to auoyd tediousnesse I doe not recite: and in this wise we passed the day, and seeing the night appoach, I began by all meanes I could deuise to get this fellow into our boat with vs: and he refusing to goe with vs, the interpreter told him that wee would put him on the other side of the riuer, and vpon this condition hee entred into our boate, and there I made very much of him, and gaue him the best entertainment I could, putting him alwayes in securitie, and when I iudged him to be out of all suspicion, I thought it good to aske him somewhat of that countrey. And among the first things that I asked him this was one, whether hee had euer seene any men like vs, or had heard any report of them. Hee answered mee no, saying that hee had sometime hearde of olde men, that very farre from that Countrey there were other white men, and with bearded like vs, and that hee knewe nothing else. I asked him also whether hee knewe a place called Ceuola, and a Riuer called Tocon-teac, and hee answered mee no. Whereupon perceiuing that hee coulde not giue mee any

Actes of
bearded and
white men.

The Sunne
worshipped as
God.

knowledge of Francis Vazquez noz of his company, I determined to aske him other things of that countrey, and of their maner of life: and beganne to enquire of him, whether they helpe that there was one God, creator of heauen and earth, or that they worshipped any other Idol. And hee answered mee no: but that they esteemed and reuerenced the Sunne aboue all other things, because it warmed them and made their croppes to growe: and that of all things which they did eate, they cast a litle vp into the ayre vnto him. I asked him next whether they had any Lorde, and hee sayde no: but that they knewe well that there was a great Lorde, but they knewe not well which way hee dwelt. And I tolde him that hee was in heauen, and that hee was called Iesus Christ, and I went no farther in diuinitie with him. I asked him whether they had any warre, and for what occasion. Hee answered that they had warre, and that very great, and vpon exceeding small occasions: for when they had no cause to make warre, they assembled together, and some of them sayd, let vs goe to make warre in such a place, and then all of them set forward with their weapons. I asked them who commanded the armie: he answered the eldest and most valiant, and that when they sayd they should proceede no farther, that suddenly they retired from the warre. I prayed him to tell me what they did with those men which they killed in battell: he answered me that they tooke out the hearts of some of them, and eat them, and others they burned; and he added, that if it had not bene for my comming, they should haue bin now at warre: and because I commanded them that they should not war, and that they should cease from armes, therefore as long as I should not command them to take armes, they would not begin to wage warre against others, & they said among themselves, that seeing I was come vnto them, they had giuen ouer their intention of making warre, & that they had a good mind to liue in peace. We complained of certaine people which dwelt behind in a mountaine which made great war vpon them, and slew many of them: I answered him, that from henceforward they should not need to feare any more, because I had commanded them to be quiet, & if they would not obey my commandement, I would chasten them and kill them. He enquired of me how I could kill them seeing we were so few, and they so many in number. And because it was now late, and that I saw that by this time he was weary to stay any longer with me, I let him goe out of my boat, and therewith I dismissed him very well content.

Certaine war-
like people bes-
hind a moun-
taine.

Chap. 4.

Of *Naguachato* and other chiefe men of those Indians they receiue great store of victuals, they cause them to set vp a crosse in their countreys, and hee teacheth them to worship it. They haue newes of many people, of their diuers languages, and customes in matrimony, how they punish adultery, of their opinions concerning the dead, and of the sicknesses which they are subiect vnto.

The next day betimes in the morning came the chiefe man among them called *Naguachato*, and wished me to come on land because he had great store of victuals to giue me. And because I saw my selfe in securitie I did so without doubting; and incontinently an olde man came with rols of that *Maiz*, and certaine litle gourds, and calling me with a loud voyce and vying many gestures with his body and armes, came neere vnto me, and causing me to turne me vnto that people, and hee himselfe also turning vnto them sayd vnto them, *Sagueyca*, and all the people answered with a great voyce, *Hu*, and hee offred to the Sunne a litle of euery thing that he had there, and like wise a litle more vnto me (although afterward he gaue me all the rest) and did the like to all that were with me: & calling out mine interpreter, by meanes of him I gaue them thanks, telling them that because my boats were litle I had not brought many things to giue them in exchange, but that I would come againe another time and bring them, and that if they would go with me in my boates vnto my ships which I had beneath at the riuers mouth, I would giue them many things. They answered that they would do so, being very glad in countenance. Here by the helpe of mine interpreter I sought to instruct them what the signe of the crosse meant, and willed them to bring me a peice of timber, wherof I caused a great crosse to be made, and commanded al those that were with mee that when it was made they should worship it, and beseech the Lord to grante his grace that that so great a people might come to the knowledge of his holy Catholike faith: and this done I tolde them by mine interpreter that I left them that signe, in token that I tooke them for my brethren, and that they should keepe it for me carefully vntill I returned, and that euery morning at the Sunne rising they should kneele before it. And they tooke it incontinently, & without suffering it to touch the ground they carried it to set it vp in the middle of their houses, where all of them might beholde it; and I willed them alwayes to worshippinge it because it would preserve them from euill. They asked me how deep they should set it in the ground, & I shewed them.

Great

Great store of people followed the same, and they that stayed behinde inquired of mee, how they should ioyne their hands, and how they should kneele to worship the same; and they seemed to haue great desire to learne it. This done, I tooke that chiefe man of the Countrey, and going to our boates with him, I followed my iourney by the Riuer, and all the company on both sides of the shoare accompanied me with great good will, and serued me in drawing of our boates, and in hal-ling vs off the sands, whereupon we often fel: for in many places we found the riuer so shoald, that we had no water for our boates. As wee thus went on our way, some of the Indians which I had left behinde me, came after vs to pray mee that I would thoroughly instruct them, how they should ioyne their hands in the worshipping of the crosse: others shewed me whether they were well set in such & such sort, so that they would not let me be quiet. Neere vnto the other side of the riuer was greater store of people, which called vnto me very often, that I would receiue the victuals which they had brought me. And because I perceiued that one enuied the other, because I would not leaue them discontented, I did so. And here came before me another old man like vnto the former with the like ceremonies & offerings: and I sought to learne something of him as I had done of the other. This man said likewise to the rest of the people, This is our lord. Now you see how long ago our ancestors told vs, that there were bearded & white people in the world, and we laugh- ed them to scorn. I which am old and the rest which are here, haue neuer seene any such people as these. And if you wil not beleue me, behold these people which be in this riuer: let vs giue them therefore meate, seeing they giue vs of their victuals: let vs willingly serue this lord, which with- eth vs so well, and forbiddeth vs to make warre, and imbrace all of vs: and they haue mouth, handes and eyes as we haue, and speake as we doe. I gaue these likewise another crosse as I had done to the others beneath, and said vnto them the selfe same words; which they listened vnto with a better will, & vsed greater diligence to learne that which I said. Afterward as I passed farther by the riuer, I found another people, whom mine interpreter vnderstood not a whit: wherefore I shewed them by signes the selfesame ceremonies of worshipping the crosse, which I had taught the rest. And that principal old man which I tooke with me, told me that farther by the riuer I should find people which would vnderstand mine interpreter: and being now late, some of those men cal- led me to giue me victuals, and did in all poynts as the others had done, dauncing and playing to shew me pleasure. I desired to know what people liued on the banks of this riuer: and I vnder- stood by this man that it was inhabited by 23 languages, and these were bordering vpon the riuer, besides others not farre off, and that there were besides these 23 languages, other people also which hee knewe not, about the riuer. I asked him whether euery people were liuing in one towne together: and he answered me, No: but that they had many houses standing scattered in the fieldes, and that euery people had their Countrey seuerall and distinguished, and that in euery habitation there were great store of people. He shewed me a towne which was in a mountaine, and told me that there was there great store of people of bad conditions, which made continual warre vpon them: which being without a gouernour, and dwelling in that desert place, where small store of Haiz groweth, came downe into the playne to buy it in trucke of Deeres skinnes, wherewith they were appareled with long garments, which they did cutte with razors, and sewed with nee- dles made of Deeres bones: and that they had great houses of stone. I asked them whether there were any there of that Countrey; and I found one woman which wore a garment like a lit- tle Mantle, which clad her from the waste downe to the ground, of a Deeres skin well dyed. Then I asked him whether the people which dwelt on the riuers side, dwelt alwayes there, or els sometime went to dwell in some other place: he answered mee, that in the summer season they a- boade there, and sowed there; and after they had gathered in their croppe they went their way, and dwelt in other houses which they had at the foote of the mountaine farre from the riuer. And hee shewed me by signes that the houses were of wood compassed with earth without, and I vnder- stood that they made a round house, wherein the men and women liued all together. I asked him whether their women were common or no: he tolde me no, and that hee which was married, was to haue but one wife only. I desired to know what order they kept in marrying: and he tolde me, that if any man had a daughter to marry, he went where the people kept, and said, I haue a daughter to marry: is there any man here that wil haue her? And if there were any that would haue her, he an- swered that he would haue her: and so the marriage was made. And that the father of him which would haue her, brought some thing to giue the yong woman; and from that houre forward the marriage was taken to be finished, and that they sang & danced: and that when night came, the pa- rents tooke them, and left them together in a place where no body might see them. And I learned that brethren, and sisters, and kindfolks married not together: and that maybes before they were married conuersed not with men, nor talked not with them, but kept at home at their houses and

These people are greatly inclined to learne the Christian faith.

The riuer in diuers places full of shelles.

Another olde man.

Their ancestors told them that there were bearded and white men in the world.

Another nation.

People of 23 languages dwelling along this riuer.

Acuco as Go- mara writeth is on a strong mountaine.

Great houses of stone.

Round houses

Dancing and singing at marriages of the Sauiages.

They burne
their dead.

Pipes to
drinke Tabacco
with.

Spitz, gourds,
Hill.
Grindestones,
earthen pots,
good filly.

This river o-
uerfloweth his
banks at cer-
taine seasons.

Colde and
raime.

Cenola 40 days
journey from
thence by the
river.

Turqueses in
Cenola.

in their possessions, and wrought: and that if by chance any one had company with men before she were married, her husband forsooke her, and went away into other Countreyes: and that those women which fell into this fault, were accounted naughty packs. And that if after they were married, any man were taken in adultery with another woman, they put him to death: and that no man might have more then one wife, but very secretly. They tolde mee that they burned those which dyed; and such as remayned widowes, stayed halfe a yeere, or a whole yeere before they married. I desired to know what they thought of such as were dead. Wee tolde me that they went to another world, but that they had neither punishment nor glory. The greatest sicknesse that this people dye of, is vomiting of blood by the mouth: and they haue Physicians which cure them with charmes and blowing which they make. The apparell of these people were like the former: they carried their pipes with them to perfume themselves, like as the people of New Spaine vse Tabacco. I inquired whether they had any gouernour, and found that they had none, but that euery family had their seuerall gouernour. These people haue besides their Spitz certaine gourds, and another cozne like unto Hill: they haue grindestones & earthen pots, wherein they boyle those gourds, and fish of the river, which are very good. My interpreter could goe no farther then this place: for he said that those which we should find farther on our way, were their enemies, and therefore I sent him backe very well contented. Not long after I espied many Indians to come crying with a loude voice, and running after me. I stayed to know what they would haue; and they told me that they had set vp the crosse which I had giuen them, in the midst of their dwellings as I had appointed, but that I was to wite, that when the river did ouerflow, it was wont to reach to that place, therefore they prayed mee to giue them leaue to remoue it, and to set it in another place where the river could not come at it, nor carry it away: which I granted them.

Chap. 5.

Of an Indian of that countrey they haue relation of the state of *Cenola*, and of the conditions and customes of these people, and of their gouernour: and likewise of the countreys not farre distant from thence, whereof one was called *Quicoma*, and the other *Coama*: of the people of *Quicoma*, and of the other Indians not farre distant they receiue courtesie.

Thus sayling, I came where were many Indians, and another interpreter, which I caused to come with me in my boat. And because it was cold, & my people were wet, I leapt on shore, and commanded a fire to be made, and as we stood thus warming our selues, an Indian came and brooke me on the arme, pointing with his finger to a wood, out of which I saw two companies of men come wth their weapons, & he told me that they came to set vpon vs: & because I meant not to fall out with any of them, I retired my company into our boats, & the Indians which were with me swam into the water, and saued themselves on the other side of the river. In the meane season I inquired of that Indian which I had with me, what people they were that came out of y^e wood: and he told me that they were their enemies, and therefore these others at their approach without saying any word leapt into the water: and did so, because they meant to turne backe againe, being without weapons, because they brought none with them, because they vnderstood my wil & pleasure, that they should cary none. I inquired the same things of this interpreter which I had done of the other of the things of that countrey, because I vnderstood that among some people one man vsed to haue many wiues, and among others but one. Now I vnderstood by him, that he had bin at *Cenola*, and that it was a moneths journey from his country, and that from that place by a path that went along that river a man might easily trauel thither in xl. daies, and that the occasion that moued him to goe thither, was only to see *Cenola*, because it was a great thing, & had very hie houses of stone of 3. or 4. lofts, and windowes on ech side: that the houses were compassed about with a wall containing the height of a man & an halfe, and that aloft & beneath they were inhabited with people, and that they vsed the same weapons, that others vsed, which we had seene, that is to say, bowes & arrowes, maces, stauies & bucklers: and that they had one gouernor, & that they were apparellled with mantles, and with ox-hides, & that their mantles had a painting about them, and that their gouernour ware a long shirt very fine girded vnto him, and ouer the same diuers mantles: and that the women were very long garments, and that they were white, and went all couered: and that euery day many Indians wayted at the gate of their gouernor to serue him, & that they did weare many Azure or blew stones, which were digged out of a rocke of stone, and that they had but one wife, with whom they were married, and that when their gouernors died, all the goods that they had were buried with them. And likewise all the while they eate, many of their men waite at their table to court them, and see them eate, and that they eate with napkins, and that they haue bathes. On thursday mo-
ning

ning at break of day the Indians came with the like cry to the banke of the riuer, and with greater desire to serue vs, bringing me meat to eat, and making me the like good cheere, which the others had done vnto me, hauing vnderstood what I was: & I gaue them crosses, with the self same order which I did vnto the former. And going farther by the riuer, I came to a country where I found better gouernment: for the inhabitants are wholly obedient vnto one only. But returning againe to conferre with mine interpreter touching the dwellings of those of Ceuola, he tolde me, that the lord of that country had a dog like that which I caried with me. Afterward when I called for dinner, this interpreter saw certaine dishes caried in the first and later seruice, whereupon he tolde me that the lord of Ceuola had also such as those were, but that they were greene, and that none other had of them sauing their gouernour, and that they were 4. which he had gotten together with that dogge, and other things, of a blacke man which had a beard, but that he knew not from what quarter he came thither, and that the king caused him afterward to be killed, as he heard say. I asked him whether he knew of any towne that was neere vnto that place: he tolde me that aboute the riuer he knew some, & that among the rest there was a lord of a towne called Quicoma, and another of a towne called Coama: and that they had great store of people vnder them. And after he had giuen me this information, he craued leaue of me to returne vnto his companions. From hence I began againe to set saile, and within a dayes sapling I found a towne dispeopled: where as soone as I was entred, by chance there arriued there 500. Indians with their bowes & arrowes, and with them was that principall Indian called Naguachato, which I had left behind, and brought with them certaine conies & yucas: and after I had friendly interteined them all, departing from them, I gaue them license to returne to their houses. As I passed further by the desert, I came to certain corages, out of which much people came toward me with an old man before them, crying in a language which mine interpreter wel vnderstood, and he said vnto those men: Brethren, you see here that lord; let vs giue him such as we haue, seeing he dooth vs pleasure, and hath passed through so many discourteous people, to come to visit vs. And hauing thus said, he offered to the Sunne, and then to me in like sort as the rest had done. These had certaine great bags & well made of the skins of fishes called Sea-bremies. And I vnderstood that this was a towne belonging vnto the lord of Quicoma, which people came thither onely to gather the fruit of their haruest in summer, and among them I found one which vnderstood mine interpreter very well: whereupon very easily I gaue them the like instruction of the crosse which I had giuen to others behind. These people had cotton, but they were not very carefull to vse the same: because there was none among them that knew the arte of weauing, & to make apparel thereof. They asked me how they should set by their crosse when they were come to their dwelling which was in the mountaine, and whether it were best to make an house about it, that it might not be wet, & whether they should hang any thing vpon the armes therof. I said no; & that it sufficed to set it in a place where it might be seene of all men, vntill I returned: and lest peraduenture any men of warre should come that way, they offered mee more men to goe with me, saying that they were naughtey men which I should finde aboute; but I would haue none: neuerthelesse 20. of them went with me, which when I drew neere vnto those which were their enemies, they warned mee thereof: and I found their centinels set vpon their garde on their borders. On Saturday morning I found a great squadron of people sitting vnder an exceeding great arbour, & another part of them without: and when I saw that they rose not vp, I passed along on my voyage: when they beheld this, an old man rose vp which said vnto me, Sir, why doe you not receiue victuals to eate of vs, seeing you haue taken food of others? I answered, that I tooke nothing but that which was giuen me, & that I went to none but to such as requested me. Here without any stay they brought me victuals, saying vnto me, that because I entred not into their houses, and stayed all day and all night in the riuer, and because I was the sonne of the Sunne, all men were to receiue me for their lord. I made them signes to sit down, and called that old man which mine interpreter vnderstood, and asked him whose that countrey was, and whether the lord thereof were there, he said, yea: and I called him to me; and when he was come, I embraced him, shewing him great loue: & when I saw that all of them tooke great pleasure at the friendly interteinement which I gaue him, I put a shire vpon him, and gaue him other trifles, and willed mine interpreter to vse the like speeches to that lord which he had done to the rest; and that done, I gaue him a crosse, which he receiued with a very good wil, as the others did: and this lord went a great way with me, vntill I was called vnto from the other side of the riuer, where the former old man stood with much people: to whom I gaue another crosse, vsing the like speech to them which I had vnto the rest, to wit, how they should vse it. Then following my way, I mette with another great company of people, with whom came that very same olde man whom mine interpreter vnderstood; and when I saw their lord which he shewed vnto me, I prayed him to come with me into my

This was the Negro that went with Frier Marco de Niza. Quicoma. Coama.

Conies and yucas.

Cotton. In mountaine.

Ceuola a goodly thing.

Gold and silver in a mountain neere Ceuola, in mighty river.

This river seemeth to bee Northward by the colde.

my boat, which he did very willingly, and so I went still by the river, and the olde man came and shewed me who were the chiefe lords: and I spake vnto them alwayes with great courtesie, & all of them shewed that they reioiced much thereat, & spake very wel of my coming thither. At night I withdrew my selfe into the midst of the river, & asked him many things concerning that country: and I found him as willing & wel disposed to shew them me, as I was desirous to know them. I asked him of Ceuola: and he told me he had bin there, and that it was a goodly thing, & that the lord thereof was very wel obeyed: and that there were other lords thereabout, with whom he was at continual warre. I asked him whether they had silver & gold, and he beholding certain bells, said they had metal of their colour. I inquired whether they made it there, and he answered me no, but that they brought it from a certain mountaine, where an old woman dwelt. I demanded whether he had any knowledge of a river called Torontecac, he answered me no, but of another exceeding mighty river, wherein there were such huge Crocodiles, that of their hides they made bucklers, and that they worshipped the Sunne neither more nor lesse then those which I had passed: and when they offer vnto him the fruits of the earth, they say: Receive hereof, for thou hast created them, and that they loued him much, because he warmed them; and that when he brake not forth, they were acolde. Wherein reasoning with him, he began somewhat to complaine, saying vnto me, I know not wherefore the Sunne bleth these termes with vs, because he giueth vs not clothes, nor people to spin nor to weaue them, nor other things which he giueth to many other, and he complained that those of that country would not suffer them to come there, and would not giue them of their cozne. I told him that I would remedie this, whereat he remayned very well satisfied.

Chap. 6.

They are aduertised by the Indians, wherefore the lorde of Ceuola killed the Negro, which went with Frier Marco, and of many other things: And of an old woman called *Ghatzaca*, which liueth in a lake and eateth no food. The description of a beast, of the skinn whereof they make targets. The suspicion that they conceiue of them, that they are of those Christians which were scene at Ceuola, and how they cunningly saue themselves.

The next day which was Sunday before breake of day, began their cry as they were wont: and this was the cry of 2. or 3. sorts of people, which had lye all night neere the riuers side, waiting for me: and they tooke Maiz & other cozne in their mouth, and sprinkled me therewith, saying that that was the fashion which they vsed when they sacrificed vnto the Sunne: afterward they gaue me of their victuals to eat, and among other things, they gaue me many white peason. I gaue them a crosse as I had done to the rest: and in the meane season that old man tolde them great matters of my doing, and poynted me out with his finger, saying, this is the lord, the sonne of the Sunne: and they made me to combe my beard, & to set mine apparell handsomely which I ware vpon my backe. And so great was the confidence that they had in me, that all of them tolde me what things had passed, & did passe among them, & what good or bad mind they bare one toward another. I asked them wherefore they imparted vnto me all their secrets, and that old man answered mee: Thou art our lord, & we ought to hide nothing from our lord. After these things, following on our way, I began againe to inquire of him the state of Ceuola, & whether he knewe that those of this country had ever scene people like vnto vs: he answered me no, sauing one Negro which ware about his legs & armes certain things which do ring. Your lordship is to cal to mind how this Negro which went with frier Marco was wont to weare bells, & feathers on his armes & legs, & that he caried plates of diuers colours, and that it was not much aboute a yeere agoe since he came into those parts. I demanded vpon what occasion he was killed; and he answered me, That the lord of Ceuola inquired of him whether he had other brethren: he answered that he had an infinite number, and that they had great store of weapons with them, and that they were not very farre from thence. Which when he had heard, many of the chiefe men consulted together, and resolved to kill him, that he might not giue newes vnto these his brethren, where they dwelt, & that for this cause they slew him, and cut him into many pieces, which were diuided among all those chiefe lords, that they might know assuredly that he was dead; and also that he had a dogge like mine, which he like wife killed a great while after. I asked him whether they of Ceuola had any enemies, and he said they had. And he reckoned vnto me 14. or 15. lords which had warre with them: and that they had mantles, and bowes like those aboute mentioned: howbeit he told me that I should find going by the river a people that had no warre neither with their neighbors, nor with any other. He told me that they had 3. or 4. sorts of trees bearing most excellent fruite to eat: and that in a certaine lake dwelt an olde woman, which was much honoured and worshipped of them: and that shee re-

The Negro that went with frier Marco de Niza name.

The cause wherefore Stephan Dorantez the Negro was slaine. The lord of Ceuola haue 14. or 15. lords their enemies. An olde woman called Ghatzaca in a lake greatly worshipped.

mayned

mayned in a litle house which was there, and that she neuer did eate any thing: and that there they made things which did sound, and that many mantles, feathers and Haiz were giuen vnto her. I asked what her name was, and he tolde me that she was called Guatuzaca, and that thereabout were many lordes which in their life & death, vled the like orders which they of Ceuola did, which had their dwelling in the summer with painted mantles, and in the winter dwelt in houses of wood of 2. or 3. lofts hie: and that he had seene all these things, sauing the old woman. And when againe I began to aske him moze questions, he would not answere me, saying that he was wearie of me: and many of those Indians comming about me, they said among themselues: Let vs marke him well, that we may knowe him when he commeth backe againe. The Monday following, the riuer was beset with people like to them, and I began to request the old man to tell me what people were in that countrey, which tolde me he thought I would soone forget them: and here he reckoned vnto me a great number of lordes, and people at the least 200. And discoursing with him of their armour, he said that some of them had certaine very large targets of lether, aboue two fingers thicke. I asked him of what beasts skinne they made them: and he described vnto me a very great beast, like vnto an Ore, but longer by a great handfull, with broad feete, the legs as bigge as the thigh of a man, and the head seuen handfuls long, the forehead of thre spannes, and the eyes bigger then ones fist, and the hornes of the length of a mans leg, out of which grew sharpe popnts, an handfull long, the forefeete and hinderfeete aboue seuen handfuls bigge, with a wretched tayle, but very great: and holding vnto his armes aboue his head, he said the beast was higher then that. After this hee gaue mee information of another olde woman which dwelt toward the sea side. I spent this day in giuing crosses to those people as I had done vnto the former. This old man that was with me leapt on those, & fell in conference with another which that day had often called him; and here both of them vled many gestures in their speech, mouing their armes, and poynting at me. Therefore I sent mine interpreter out, willing him to drawe neere vnto them, and listen what they said; and within a while I called him, and asked him whereof they talked, and he said, that he which made those gestures said vnto the other, that in Ceuola there were others like vnto vs with beards, and that they said they were Christians, and that both of them said that we were all of one company, and that it were a good beede to kill vs, that those others might haue no knowledge of vs, lest they might come to doe them harme: and that the old man had answered him, this is the sonne of the Sunne, & our lord, he doth vs good, and wil not enter into our houses, although we request him thereunto: he wil take away nothing of ours, he wil meddle with none of our women, and that to be short, he had spoken many other things in my commendation and fauour: and for all this the other stedfastly affirmed that we were all one, and that the old man said, Let vs goe vnto him, and aske him whether he be a Christian as the other be, or els the sonne of the Sunne: and the old man came vnto me, and said: In the countrey of Ceuola whereof you spake vnto me doe other men like vnto you d well. Then I began to make as though I wondered, and answered him, that it was impossible; and they assured me that it was true, and that two men had seene them which came from thence, which reported that they had things which did shoote fire, and swords as we had. I asked them whether they had seene them with their owne eyes: and they answered no; but that certaine of their companions had seene them. Then he asked mee whether I were the sonne of the Sunne, I answered him yea. They said that those Christians of Ceuola said so likewise. And I answered them that it might well be. Then they asked mee if those Christians of Ceuola came to ioyne themselues with me, whether I would ioyne with them: and I answered them, that they needed not to feare any whit at all, for if they were the sonnes of the Sunne as they said, they must needs be my brethren, and would ble towards all men the like loue and courtesie which I vled: whereupon hereat they seemed to be somewhat satisfied.

Antoniod' Espejo
speaketh of
such a great
lake.

200. Kindes of
people.

This might be
the crooke back
ed ore of Qui-
uira.

The sea side.

The Saunges
treasons to be
taken heere of,

Certaine
newes of the
Spaniards
at Ceuola.

Chap. 7.

It is tolde him that they are ten dayes iourney distant from Ceuola, and that there be Christians there, which make warre against the lords of that countrey. Of the Sodomie which those Indians vse with foure yong men, appoynted for that seruice, which weare womens apparel. Seeing they could not send newes of their being there to them of Ceuola, they went backe againe downe the riuer to their ships.

Then I prayed them to tel me how many dayes that kingdom of Ceuola, which they spake of, was distant from that riuer: and that man answered, that there was the space of tenne dayes iourney without habitation, and that he made none accompt of the rest of the way, because there were people to be found. Upon this aduertisement I was desirous to certifie Captaine Francis Vazquez of my being there, and imparted my mind with my souldiers, among whom I found

Ceuola tenne
dayes distant
from this
place.
A desert of ten
dayes iour-
ney.

none

none that was willing to goe thither, although I offered them many rewards in your lordships name, onely one Negro slaue though with an euil wil offered himselfe vnto me to go thither: but I looked for the comming of those two Indians which they told me of, and herewithall we went on our way vpon the riuer against the streame in such sort as we had done before. Here that olde man shewed me as a strange thing a sonne of his clad in womans apparel, exercising their office: I asked him how many there were of these among them, and he told me there were foure; & that when any of them died, there was a search made of all the women with child which were in the country, and that the first sonne which was borne of them, was appoynted to doe that duetie belonging vnto women, and that the women clad him in their apparell, saying, that seeing he was to doe that which belonged to them, he should weare their apparel: these yong men may not haue carnall copulation with any woman: but all the yong men of the countrey which are to marrie, may company with them. These men receiue no kind of reward for this incestuous act of the people of that countrey, because they haue libertie to take whatsoeuer they find in any house for their food. I saw likewise certaine women which liued dishonestly among men: and I asked the old man whether they were married, who answered me noe, but they were common women, which liued apart from the married women. I came at length after these discourses to pray them to send for those Indians, which they said had bin at Ceuola, & they told me that they were eight dayes iourney distant from that place, but that notwithstanding there was one among them which was their companion and which had spoken with them, as he met them on the way, when they went to see the kingdomes of Ceuola, and that they told him that he were not best to goe any farther, for he should find there a fierce nation like vs, and of the same qualities and making, which had fought much with the people of Ceuola, because they had killed a Negro of their company, saying, *Wherefore haue yee killed him: what did he to you: did he take any bread from you, or do you any other wrong: and such like speech.* And they said moreouer, that these people were called Christians, which dwelt in a great house, & that many of them had oxen like those of Ceuola, and other litle blacke beasts with wooll and hornes, & that some of them had beasts which they rode vpon, which ran very swiftly; & that one day before their departure, from sunne rising vntill sunne setting these Christians were all day in comming thither, & all of them lodged in that place where others had lodged, & that these two met with two Christians, which asked them whence they were, & whether they had fields sown with corne; and they told them that they dwelt in a farre country, and that they had corne, and that then they gaue each of them a litle cap, and they gaue them another to cary to their other companions, which they promised to do, & departed quickly. When I vnderstood this, I spoke againe with my company, to see if any one of them would go thither, but I found them vnwilling as at the first, and they said against me greater inconueniences. Then I called the old man to see if he would giue me any people to goe with me, & victuals to trauele through that wilderness, but he said before me many inconueniences & dangers, which I might incur in that voyage, shewing me the danger that there was in passing by a lord of Cumana, which threatened to make warre vpon them, because his people had entred into the others countrey to take a stagge, and that I should not therefore depart thence without seeing him punished. And when I replied that in any wise I must needs goe to Ceuola, he willed me to surcease from that purpose, for they looked that that lord without al doubt would come to annoy them, & that therefore they could not leaue their countrey naked to goe with me, and that it would be better, that I would make an end of that warre betwene them, and that then I might haue their company to Ceuola. And vpon this point we grew to such variance, that we began to grow into choler, and in a rage he would haue gone out of the boat, but I stayed him, and with gentle speeches began to pacifie him, seeing that it imported mee much to haue him my friend: but for all my courtesies which I shewed him, I could not alter him from his mind, wherein he stil remained obstinate. In this meane while I sent a man away vnto my ships to giue them knowledge of the iourney that I had determined to make. After this I prayed the old man that he would fetch him backe againe, because I had determined, that seeing I saw no meanes to be able to go to Ceuola, & because I would stay no longer among those people, because they should not discouer me, and likewise because I meant in person to visit my ships, with determination to returne againe by the riuer, carying with me other companions, & leaue there some which I had sicke, and telling the olde man and the rest that I would returne, and leauing them satisfied the best I could (although they alwayes said that I went away for feare) I returned downe the riuer: and that way which I had gone against the streame vpon the riuer in 15. dayes and an halfe, I made in my returne in 2. dayes and an halfe, because the streame was great and very swift. In this wise going downe the riuer, much people came to the banks, saying, Sir, wherefore doe you leaue vs: what discourtesie hath bin done vnto you: did you not say that you would remaine continually with vs.

Orent of Ceuola.

in desert.

Cumana.

He returneth in 2. dayes and an halfe to his ships.

and

and be out Lord: And turne backe againe: if any man aboue the riuer hath done you any wrong we will goe with our weapons with you and kill him; and such like words ful of loue and kindnes.

Chap. 8.

When they came to their shippes the Captaine named that coast *La Campaña de la Cruz*, and builded a Chapel vnto our Lady, and called the riuer *El Rio de Buena Guia*, and returned vp the same againe: when he came to *Quicon* and *Coama* the Lords of those places vsed him very courteously.

Vpon mine arriual at my ships I found all my people in health, although very beaue for my long stay, and because the current had fretted sower of their cables, and that they had lost two ankers which were recovered. After we had brought our ships together, I caused them to bring the into a good harbour, & to giue the carena to the shippe called Sanct Peter, & to mend all things that were needfull. And here assembling all my company together, I opened vnto them what knowledge I had receiued of Francis Vasquez; and how it might be that in those sixteene dayes space which I was in sayling vp the riuer he might peraduenture haue some knowledge of me, and that I was minded to returne by the riuer once againe to try if I could finde any meanes to ioyne my selfe with him: and although some spake against my determination, I caused al my boates to bee made ready, because the ships had no need of them. I caused one of them to be filled with wares of exchange, with corne and other seedes, with hennies & cockes of Castile, and departed by the riuer, leauing order that in that prouince called *Campaña de la Cruz* they should build an Oratorie or Chapell, and called it the Chappell of our Lady de la Buena Guia, and that they should call this riuer *Rio de Buena Guia* because that is your Lordships Deuise: I carried with me Nicolas Zamorano Pilote mayor, to take the height of the pole. And I departed on tuesday the fourteenth of September, & on wednesday I came vnto the first dwellings of the first Indians, which came running to hinder my passage, supposing that we had bene other people, for we caried with vs a fife, & a drummer, and I was clad in other apparell then I went in before, when they saw me first of all: and when they knew me they stayed, though I could not grow vnto perfect friendship with them, whereupon I gaue them some of those seedes which I brought with mee; teaching them how they should sow them: and after I had sayled 3 leagues, my first interpretour came euē to my boat to seeke me with great ioy, of whom I demanded wherefore he had left me, he tolde me that certaine companions of his had led him away. I made him good countenance and better intertainment, because he should beare me companie againe, considering howe much it did importe me to haue him with me. He excused himselfe because he stayed there to bring mee certaine feathers of Parrats, which he gaue me. I asked him what people these were, and whether they had any Lord: he answered me, yea; and named thre or foure vnto me, of foure or 25 names of people which he knew and that they had houses painted within, and that they had trafficke with those of Ceuola, and that in two moones hee came into the countrey. He told me mozeouer many other names of Lords, and other people, which I haue written downe in a booke of mine, which I will bring my selfe vnto your Lordship. But I thought good to deliuer this brieue relation to Augustine Guerriero in this haue of Colima, that he might send it ouerland to your Lordshippe, to whom I haue many other things to imparte.

But to returne to my iourney, I arriued at Quicama, where the Indians came forth with great ioy and gladnes to receiue me, aduertizing me that their Lord waited for my comming; to whom when I was come I found that he had with him five or sixe thousand men without weapons, from whom he went aparte with some two hundred onely, all which brought victuals with them, and so he came towards me, going before the rest with great authoritie, and before him and on each side of him were certaine which made the people stande aside, making him way to passe. Hee ware a garment close before and behind and open on both sides, fastened with buttous, brought with white and blacke checker worke, it was very soft and well made, being of the skimes of certaine delicate fishes called Sea breams. Asdoone as he was come to the waters side his seruants tooke him up in their arnes, and brought him into my boate, where I embraced him and receiued him with great ioy, shewing vnto him much kindnesse: vpon which intertainment his people standing by and beholding the same seemed not a litle to reioyce. This Lord turning himselfe to his people willed them to consider my courtesie, and that he being of his owne accord come vnto me with a strange people, they might see how good a man I was, and with how great loue I had entertained him, and that therefore they should take me for their Lord, and that all of them should become

Marke what things the Spaniards carpe with them in newe discoueries. Rio de buena Guia.

Parrats in these parts.

Two moones to Ceuola.

Another booke written of the particulars of that countrey.

Quicama.

my seruants, and doe whatsoeuer I would command them. There I caused him to sit downe, and to eat certaine conserues of sugar which I had brought with mee, and willed the interpreter to thanke him in my name for the fauour which he had done me in vouchsafing to come to see mee, recommending vnto him the worshipping of the crosse, and all such other things as I had recommended to the rest of the Indians; namely that they should liue in peace, and should leaue off warres, and should continue alwayes good friendes together: he answered, that of long time they had continued in warres with their neighbours, but that from thence forthward he would command his people that they should giue food to all strangers that passed through his kingdome, and that they should doe them no kinde of wrong, and that if any nation should come to invade him, he said he would tell them howe I had commanded that they should liue in peace, and if they refused the same, he would defend himselfe, and promised me, that he would neuer goe to seeke warre, if others came not to invade him. Then I gaue him certaine trifles, as well of the seedes which I brought, as of the hens of Castile, wherewith he was not a litle pleased. And at my departure I carped certaine of his people with me, to make friendship betweene them and those other people which dwelt aboute the Riuer: and here the interpreter came vnto me, to craue leaue to returne home; and I gaue him certaine gifts wherewith he departed greatly satisfied.

Coama.

The next day I came to Coama, and many of them knew me not, seeing me clad in other apparel, but the old man which was there as soone as he knew me leapt into the water, saying vnto me; Sir, lo here is the man which you left with me, which came forth very ioyfull & pleasant declaring vnto me the great courtesies which that people had shewed him, saying that they had strouen together who should haue him to his house, and that it was incredible to thinke what care they had at the rising of the Sunne to hold vp their hands and kneele before the Crosse. I gaue them of my seedes, and thanked them hartily for the good entertainment which they had shewed my man, and they besought me that I would leaue him with them, which I granted them vntill my return, and he stayed among them very willingly. Thus I went forward by the Riuer, taking that olde man in my companie, which told mee, that two Indians came from Cumana to enquire for the Christians, & that he had answered them that he knew none such, but that he knew one which was the sonne of the Sunne, and that they had perswaded him to ioyne with them to kill mee and my companions. I wished him to lend me two Indians, and I would send word by them, that I would come vnto them, and was desirous of their friendship, but if that they on the contrary would haue warre, I would make such a warre with them, that should displeale them. And so I passed through all that people, and some came and asked me, why I had not giuen them Crosse as well as the rest, and so I gaue them some.

Cumana.

Treason of
the sauaiges.

Chap. 9.

They goe on land, and see the people worship the Crosse which they had giuen them. The Captaine causeth an Indian to make a draught of the countrey: hee sendeth a Crosse to the Lord of Cumana, and going down the Riuer with the streame, he arriueh at his ships. Of the error of the Pilots of Cortez as touching the situation of this Coast.

The next day I went on land to see certaine cottages, and I found many women and children holding vp their hands and kneeling before a Crosse which I had giuen them. When I came thither I did the like my self; and conferring with the old man, he began to informe me of as many people and Prouinces as he knew. And when euening was come I called the old man to come and lodge with mee in my boate; hee answered that hee would not goe with mee because I would wearie him with asking him questions of so many matters: I told him that I would request him nothing else but that he would set me downe in a charte as much as he knew concerning that Riuer, and what maner of people those were which dwelt vpon the banckes thereof on both sides: which he did willingly. And then he requested me that I would describe my countrey vnto him, as he had done his vnto me. And for to content him, I caused a draught of certaine things to be made for him. The next day I entered betweene certaine very high mountaines, through which this Riuer passeth with a straight chanel, and the boats went vp against the streame very hardly for want of men to draw the same. Here certaine Indians came and told me, that in the same place, there were certaine people of Cumana, and among the rest an enchanter, who enquired which way we would passe; & they telling him that we meant to passe by the Riuer, he set certaine canes on both sides thereof, through which wee passed, without receiuing any kinde of damage which they intended against vs. Thus going forward I came vnto the house of the olde man which was in my company, and here I caused a very high Crosse to be set vp, wherupon I engraue certaine letters to signifie that I was come thither: and this I did, that if by chance any of the people of the

An Enchanter.

the generall Vasquez de Coronado should come thither, they might haue knowledge of my being there. At length seeing I could not attaine to the knowledge of that which I sought for, I determined to returne backe vnto my ships. And being ready to depart there arrived two Indians, which by meanes of the interpreters of the old man, told me that they were sent to me, and that they were of Cumana, and that their Lord could not come himselfe, because he was farre from that place, but desired me to signifie vnto him what my pleasure was. I told them, that I wished that he would alwayes embrace peace, and that I was comming to see that countrey, but being inforced to returne backe downe the Riuer I could not now doe it, but that hereafter I would returne, and that in the meane season they should giue that Crosse vnto their Lord, which they promised me to do, and they went directly to cary him that Crosse with certaine feathers which were on the same. Of these I sought to vnderstand what people dwelt upward vpon the bankes of the Riuer, which gaue me knowledge of many people, and told me that the Riuer went farre more by into the land then I had yet seene, but that they knew not the head thereof, because it was very far into the countrey, and that many other Riuers fell into the same.

This Riuer
ran much farther
then he
had travelled.

Having learned thus much the next day morning I returned downe the Riuer, and the day following I came where I had left my Spaniard, with whom I spake, and told him that all things had gone well with me, and that at this time and the former I had gone about 30 leagues into the countrey. The Indians of that place inquired of me what the cause was of my departure, and whē I would returne; to whom I answered, that I would returne shortly. Thus sayling downe the streame, a woman leapt into the water crying vnto vs to stay for her, and shee came into our boate, and crept vnder a bench, from whence we could not make her to come out: I vnderstood that shee did this, because her husband had taken vnto him another wife, by whom hee had children, saying that he ment not to dwell any longer with him, seeing he had taken another wife. Thus shee and another Indian came with me of their owne accord, and so I came into my ships, and making them ready we proceeded home on our voyage, coasting and oftentimes going on land, and entering a great way into the countrey, to see if I could learne any newes of Captaine Francis Vasquez and his companie; of whom I could haue no other knowledge, but such as I learned in the aforesaid Riuer. I bring with me many actes of taking possession of all that Coast. And by the situation of the Riuer and the height which I tooke, I finde that that which the Passers and Pilots of the Parquelle tooke is false, & that they were deceiued by 2 degrees, and I haue sayled beyond them about 4 degrees. I sayled by the Riuer 85 leagues, where I saw and learned all the particulars before mentioned, and many other things; whereof when it shall please God to giue mee leaue to kisse your Lordships hands, I will deliuer you the full and perfect relation. I thinke my selfe to haue had very good fortune, in that I found Don Luis de Castilia, and Augustine Chenero in the port of Colima: for the Galiot of the Adelantado came vpon mee, which was there with the rest of his fleet, and commanded me to strike sayle, which seeming a strange thing vnto me, and not vnderstanding in what state things were in Nueua Espanna, I went about to defend my selfe, and not to doe it. In the meane while came Don Luis de Castilia in a boate and conferred with mee, and I lay at anchor on the other side of the haven where the saide fleete rood, and I gaue vnto him this relation (and to auoyd striffe I determined to sayle away by night) which relation I carped about me briefely written; for I alwayes had a purpose to send the same, as soone as I should touch vpon Nueua Espanna, to aduertize your Lordship of my proceedings.

He sayled 85
leagues by the
Riuer.

The port of
Colima.

An extract of a Spanish letter written from Pueblo de los Angeles in Nueua Espanna in October 1597, touching the discouerie of the rich Isles of California, being distant eight dayes sayling from the maine.

WE haue seene a letter written the eight of October 1597, out of a towne called Pueblo de los Angeles situate eightene leagues frō Mexico, making mention of the Islands of California situate two or three hundred leagues frō the maine land of Nueua Espanna, in Mar del Sur: as that thither haue bene sent before that time some people to conquer them: which with losse of some twentie men were forced backe. After that they had wel visited and found those Islands or countreys to be very rich of gold and silver mynes, and of very fayre Orientall pearles, which were caught in good quantitie vpon one fathome and an halfe passing in beautie the pearles of the Island Margarita: the report thereof caused the Vice-roy of Mexico to send a citizen of Mexico with two hundred men to conquer the same. Theretn also was affirmed that within eight dayes they could sayle thither from the mayne.

The course which Sir Francis Drake held from the haven of Guatulco in the South sea on the backe side of Nueva España, to the North-west of California as far as fourtie three degrees: and his returne back along the said Coast to thirtie eight degrees: where finding a faire and goodly haven, he landed, and staying there many weekes, and discovering many excellent things in the countrey and great shewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the same, hee tooke possession thereof in the behalfe of her Maiestie, and named it *Nova Albion*.



We kept our course from the Isle of Cano (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of Nicaragua, where wee calked and trimmed our ship) along the Coast of Nueva España, untill we came to the Haven and Towne of Guatulco, which (as we were informed) had but seuentene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to stand in fiftene degrees and fiftie minutes.

As soon as we were entred this Haven we landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne house, where we found a Judge sitting in iudgement, he being associate with three other officers, upon three Negroes that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Judges, and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shippeboord, and caused the chiefe Judge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to avoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ransacked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our companie, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the Towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of Gold about him, and other iewels, which we tooke and so let him goe.

The Portugall
Pilote set on
land.

At this place our Generall among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall Pilote, which he tooke at the Island of Cape Verde, out of a ship of Saint Marie port of Portugall, and hauing set them a shoore, we departed thence.

Our General at this place and time thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate iniuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and reuenged: and supposing that her Maiestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coastes, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

We thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, least the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose handes he being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streights of the South side, with continuall stormes raining and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, wherefore he thought it not a good course to aduenture that way: he resolved therefore to auoide these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the Malucos, and thence to saile the course of the Portugales by the Cape of Bona Sperança.

Upon this resolution, he began to thinke of his best way for the Malucos, and finding himselfe, where hee now was, becalmed, hee sawe that of necessitie hee must bee enforced to take a Spanish course, namely to saile somewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 800 leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sayled from the 16 of Aprill after our olde stile till the third of June.

Sir Francis
Drake sayled
on the backe
side of America
to 43 degrees
of Northerly
latitude.
38 degrees.

The fift day of June being in fortie three degrees towardes the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complayned of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased upon vs, whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, & we drew backe againe without landing, til we came within thirtie eight degrees towardes the line. In which height it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the same.

In this Bay wee ankered the seuententh of June, and the people of the Countrey, hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselves vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things which we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) courteously intreated them, and liberally

rally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presentes which they sent vnto our Generall were feathers, and calcs of net worke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermost byminnes of the circle cliffs of wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

Their bed is the ground with rushes strawed on it, and lying about the house, they haue the fire in the midst. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knitt about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the toppe of the hill (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our tents) they stayed themselves, where one appointed for speaker, weaired himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall, with his companie, went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiu and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs they restored againe vnto vs those things which before we had bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the king himselfe, a man of a goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their king was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might bee in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to vs with a princely Haile, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drew neere vnto vs, so did they strue to behaue themselves in their actions with comeliness.

In the fore front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the king, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a merueilous length: the crownes were made of knitt work wrought artificially with feathers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bony substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelue, &c. Next vnto him which bare the scepter, was the king himselfe, with his Garde about his person, clad with Conie skinnies, and other skinnies: after them followed the naked common sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, and hauing in their hands one thing or other for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching, a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the king, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the king with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselves in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a dance, and that with a statelie countenance, whom the king with his Garde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and dance, sauing onely the women which daunced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the king, and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather supplication, that he would take their prouince and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the wholeland, and become his subiects. In which to perswade vs the better, the king and the rest,

A description
of the people
and Countrey
of Nova Albion.

These are like
chaines of
Humoy in Cana-
da and Hoche-
lage.

The king re-
sented his
crown and
kingdome to
Sir Francis
Drake.
Great riches
in Noua Albion.

with one consent and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because hee knewe not what honour and profite it might bee to our countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne and dignitie of the said Countrey in his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of the people leaving the king and his Guarde with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person, and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about of their sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee vsed signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them vppwardes to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worshippe. They shewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our handes, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their defeates. Euery thirde day they brought their sacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderstoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from vs, but daily frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into sorow. They intreated vs, that being absent wee would remember them, and by flesh provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Great herds
of Deere.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his companie trauelled by into the Countrey to their villages, where we found herds of Deere by a thousand in a companie, being most large and fat of body.

Abundance of
strange conies.

We found the whole countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of Conies, their bodies in bignes as be the Barbary Conies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feet of a Mant, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which shee gathereth her meate when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people ate their bodies, and make great account of their skimes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Noua Albion.

Our Generall called this countrey, Noua Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and clifles, which ly towarde the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

Gold and sil-
uer in the
earth of Noua
Albion.

There is no part of earth here to bee taken vp, wherein there is not some speciall likelihood of gold or silver.

At our departure hence our Generall set by a monument of our being there; as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate nailed vpon a faire gr at poste whereupon was engrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the tree giuing vp of the Prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peece of fixe pence of current English money vnder the plate, where vnder was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the countrey, neither did euer discover the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

The true and perfect description of a voyage performed and done by Francisco de Gualle a Spanish Captaine and Pilot, for the Vice-roy of New Spaine, from the Haven of Acapulco in New Spaine, to the Islands of the Luçones or Philippinas, vnto the Haven of Manilla, & from thence to the Haven of Macao in China, and from Macao backe againe to Acapulco, accomplished in the yeere of our Lord, 1584.

Chap. 1.



The tenth of March in the yeere of our Lorde 1582 wee set sayle out of the Haven of Acapulco, lying in the countrey of New Spaine, directing our course towarde the Islands of the Luçones, or Philippinas West Southwest, running in that maner for the space of twentie five leagues, till wee came vnder sixteene degrees, that so wee might shunne the calmes by sayling close by the Shoare. From thence forward we held our course West for the space of 30 leagues, & being there, we ran West, and West & by South, for the space of 180 leagues, to the Island called

Ma

Illa del Enganno, which is the furthest Iland lying in the South parts of y^e Ilands called De los Ladrones, that is, The Ilands of rouers, or Ilas de las Velas, under 13. degrees and 1/2. in latitude Septentrionall, and 164. degrees in longitude Orientall, vpon the fixed Peridionall line, which lyeth right with the Iland of Tercera. From thence we helde our course Westward for the space of 280. leagues, till we came to the point called El capo de Espirito Santo, that is, The point of the holy Ghost, lying in the Iland Tandaya, the first Iland of those that are called Philippinas, Luçones, or Manillas, which is a countrey with fewe hills, with some mines of brimstone in the middle thereof. From the point aforesayde, wee sailed West for the space of eightene leagues to the point of entrie of the channell, which runneth in betweene that Iland and the Iland of Luçon. This point of entrie lieth scarce vnder 12. degrees. All the coast that stretcheth from the entrie of the chanel to the point of El capo del Spirito Santo, is not very faire.

Eight leagues from the sayde point lyeth a haven of indifferent greatnesse, called Baya de Lobos, that is, The Bay of woolues, hauing a small Iland in the mouth thereof: and within the channell about halfe a league from the ende of the sayd Iland lyeth an Iland or cliffe, & when you passe by the point in the middle of the channell, then you haue five and twentie fathom deepe, with browne sand: there we found so great a streame running Westward, that it made the water to cast a skum as if it had beene a sande, whereby it put vs in feare, but casting out our lead, wee found five and twentie fathom deepe.

From the aforesayd entrie of the channell North, and North and by East about tenne leagues, lyeth the Iland of Caranduanes, about a league distant from the lande of Luçon, on the furthest point Eastward, and from the same entrie of the channell towards the West and Southwest, lyeth the Iland Capuli about sixe leagues from thence, stretching Westsouthwest, and Eastnortheast, being five leagues long, and foure leagues broad: and as wee pass by it, it lay Northward from vs vnder twelue degrees and 3/4. and somewhat high lande. Foure leagues from the aforesayd Iland of Capuli Northwestward lie the three Ilands of the haucn of Bollon in the Iland of Luçones, stretching North and South about foure leagues, distant from the firme lande halfe a league, whereof the furthest Southward lieth vnder thirteene degrees: In this channell it is twentie fathom deepe, with white sand, and a great streame, running Southeast: we passed through the middle of the channell. From this channell wee helde our course Southwest, and Southwest and by West, for the space of twentie leagues, vntill wee came to the West ende of the Iland of Tycao, which reacheth East and West thirteene leagues. This point of hooke lyeth vnder 12. degrees and 3/4. In the middle betweene this Iland and the Iland Capuli there lie three Ilands called the Faranias, and we ranne in the same course on the Northside of all the Ilands, at the depth of of 22. fathom with white sand.

From the aforesayd West point of the Iland Tycao to the point of Buryas it is East and West to sayle about the length of a league or a league and an halfe: we put into that channell, holding our course South, and South and by West about three leagues, vntill we were out of the channell at sixteene fathom deepe, with halfe white and reddish sande in the channell, and at the mouth thereof, whereof the middle lyeth vnder 12. degrees and 3/4. and there the streames runne Northward.

The Iland of Buryas stretcheth Northwest and Southeast, and is lowe lande, whereof the Northwest point is about three leagues from the coast of Luçon, but you cannot passe betweene them with any shippe, but with small foists and barkes of the countrey. This shallowe channell lieth vnder twelue degrees: and running thorow the aforesaid channell betweene the Ilands Tycao and Buryas, as I sayd before, we sayled Southward about two leagues from the Iland of Masbate, which stretcheth East and West 8. leagues long, being in breadth 4. leagues, and lyeth vnder 12. degrees and 1/2. in the middle thereof, and is somewhat high land.

From the sayd channell betweene Tycao and Buryas, wee helde our course Westnorthwest for thirteene leagues, leauing the Iland Masbate on the Southside, and the Iland Buryas on the North side: at the ende of thirteene leagues wee came by an Iland called Banton, which is in forme like a hat, vnder twelue degrees and 3/4. when we had sayl'd the aforesayd thirteene leagues and eight leagues more, on the South side wee left the Iland called Rebniam, which stretcheth Northwest, and Northwest and by North, and Southeast, and Southeast and by South, for the space of eight leagues, being high and crooked lande, whereof the North point lyeth vnder twelue degrees and 3/4. and there you finde 35. fathom deepe, with white sand.

From the aforesayd Iland of Banton Southward nine leagues, there beginne and followe three Ilandes, one of them being called Bantonilla, which is a small Iland in forme of a sugar loaf: the second Crymara, being somewhat great in length, reaching East and West about two leagues: the third Itaa, or the Ile of Goates, hauing certaine houels. By all these Ilands aforesayd

The Ile of Masbate.

aforesayd you may passe with all sortes of shippes, whereof the foremost lyeth Southward vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. From the Iland of Banconsilla, or small Banton, wee helde our course North-west for the space of foure leagues, to the chanell betweene the Ilands called de Vereies, and the Iland Marinduque, the Vereies lying on the South side vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$, (which are two small Ilands like two Frigats) and the Iland Marinduque on the North side vnder twelue degrees, and $\frac{1}{2}$. which is a great Iland, stretching West north-west, and East south-east, hauing in length 12. & in bredth 7. leagues. On the North side with the Iland Luçon it maketh a long and small chanell, running somewhat crooked, which is altogether full of shallowes and sandes, whereby no shippes can passe through it. The furthest point Westward of the same Iland lyeth vnder thirteene degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. It is high lande, on the East side hauing the forme of a mine of brimstone or fierie hill, and on the West side the land runneth downeward at the point thereof being round like a loafe of bread: in the chanell betweene it and the Vereies, there are 18. fathom deepe with small blacke sand.

From the aforesayd chanell of Vereies and Marinduque, wee helde our course Westnorth-west twelue leagues to the lande of Mindora, to the point or hooke called Dumaryn, lying full vnder thirteene degrees: Five leagues forward from the sayde chanell on the South side wee left an Iland called Isla del maestro del Campo, that is, The Iland of the Colonell, lying vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. which is a small and flat Iland: In this course we had 45. fathom deepe, with white sand.

By this point or end of the Iland Marinduque beginneth the Iland of Myndoro, which hath in length East and West five and twentie leagues, and in bredth twelue leagues, wherof the furthest point Southward lyeth vnder thirteene degrees, and the furthest point Northward vnder thirteene degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. and the furthest point Westward vnder thirteene degrees. This Iland with the Iland of Luçon maketh a chanell of five leagues broad, and tenor twelue fathom deepe with muddie ground of diuers colours, with white sande. Five leagues forward from Marinduque lyeth the riuer of the towne of Anagacu, which is so shallowe, that no shippes may enter into it. From thence two leagues further lie the Ilands called Bacco, which are three Ilands lying in a triangle, two of them being distant from the land about three hundred cubites, and between them and the land you may passe with small shippes: And from the lande to the other Iland, are about two hundred cubites, where it is altogether shallowes and sandes, so that where the shippes may passe outward about 150. cubites from the lande, you leaue both the Ilands on the South side, running betweene the third Iland and the riuer called Rio del Bacco, some what more from the middle of the chanell towarde the Iland, which is about a league distant from the other: the chanell is tenne fathom deepe, with mud and shelles vpon the ground: the riuer of Bacco is so shallowe, that no ships may enter into it. From this Iland with the same course two leagues forward, you passe by the point called El Capo de Refaleo, where wee cast out our lead, and found that a man may passe close by the lande, and there you shall finde great strong streames: and halfe a league forward with the same course, lyeth the towne of Mindoro, which hath a good haven for shippes of three hundred tunnes. Three leagues Northward from the same haven lyeth the Iland called Casaa, stretching East and West, being hilly ground.

From the sayde towne of Myndoro, wee helde our course Westnorth-west eight leagues, till wee came to the point or hooke of the sandes called Tulen, lying vpon the Iland of Luçon, which sande or banke reacheth into the Sea halfe a league from the coast: you must keepe about an hundred cubites from it, where you finde eight fathom water, muddie and shellie ground: you runne along by those sandes North, and North and by West for the space of two leagues, till you come to the riuer called Rio de Anasebo: all the rest of the coast called De los Limbones to the mouth or entrie of the Bay called Manilla, (which are foure leagues) is sayled with the same course. The Limbones (which are Ilands so called) are high in forme like a paire of Organs, with good hauens for small shippes, running along by the Limbones: and two leagues beyond them on the South side, wee leaue the Ilands of Fortan, and foure Ilands more, but the three Ilands of Lubao, which are very low, lie vnder 13. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. and the Limbones lie in the mouth or entrie of the Bay of Manilla vnder 14. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$.

From thence we ranne North-west for the space of five leagues to the haven of Cabite, keeping along by the land lying on the West side, where it is shallowe, and is called Los Baixos del Rio de Cannas, The shallowes of the riuer of Reedes: all along this Bay in the same course, there is from ten to foure fathom deepe.

Being by the point or hooke of Cabite, then wee kept but an hundred paces from it, running Southwest, southsouth-west, and South, untill wee discovered the whole mouth or entrie of the Bay

The Bay of
Manilla in 14.
degrees and
one quarter.

Bay, where we might anker at foure fathom about two hundred cubites from the lande, and then the towne of Manilla was two leagues Northward from vs.

Chap.2.

The course and voyage of the aforesayd *Francisco Gualle* out of the haven or roade of *Manilla*, to the haven of *Macao* in *China*, with all the courses and situations of the places.

Sailing out of the haven of *Cabite*, lying in the Bay of *Manilla*, wee helde our course Westward for the space of eightene leagues, to the point called *El Cabo de Samballes*: and when wee were eight leagues in our way, wee left the two Ilands *Maribillas* on the South side, and sailed about a league from them: the point of *Samballes* aforesayde lyeth under foureteene degrees, and $\frac{1}{2}$. being low land, at the end of the same coast of *Luçon*, on the West side.

From the hooke or point aforesayde, wee ranne North, and North and by West, for the space of five and twentie leagues (about a league from the coast of *Luçon*) to the point called *Cabo de Bullinao*: all this coast and Cape is high and hilly ground, which Cape lyeth under sixteene degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. From this Cape de *Bullinao* we helde our course North, and North and by East, for 45. leagues to the point called *El Cabo de Bojador*, which is the furthest lande Northward from the Iland *Luçon* lying under 19. degrees.

The Cape de *Bullinao* being past the lande maketh a great creeke or bough, and from this creeke the coast runneth North to the point of *Bojador*, being a land full of cliftes and rockes that reach into the Sea, and the land of the hooke or point is high and hilly ground.

From the point of *Bojador*, wee helde our course Westnorthwest an hundred and twentie leagues, untill we came to the Iland called *A Ilha Branca*, or the white Iland, lying in the beginning of the coast and Bay of the riuer *Canton* under two and twentie degrees, hauing foure and twentie fathom browne muddie ground.

From the Iland *Ilha Branca*, wee helde the aforesayde course of Westnorthwest, for the space of sixteene leagues, to the Iland of *Macao* lying in the mouth of the riuer of *Canton*, and it maketh the riuer to haue two mouthes or entries, and it is a small Iland about three leagues great.

Chap.3.

The Nauigation or course of the aforesayd *Francisco Gualle* out of the haven of *Macao* to *Newe Spaine*, with the situation and stretchings of the same, with other notable and memorable things concerning the same voyage.

When we had prepared our selues, and had taken our leaues of our friends in *Macao*, we set saile vpon the foure and twentieth of *July*, holding our course Southeast, & Southeast and by East, being in the wane of the Moone: for when the Moone increaseth, it is hard holding the course betweene the Ilands, because as then the water and streames run very strong to the Northwest; wee traualled through many narrowe channells by night, hauing the depth of eight or ten fathom, with soft muddie ground, untill wee were about the Iland *Ilha Branca*, yet we saw it not, but by the height we knew that we were past it.

Being beyond it, we ranne Eastsoutheast an hundred and fiftie leagues, to get about the sands called *Os Baixos dos Pescadores*, and the beginning of the Ilands *Lequeos* on the East side, which Ilands are called *As Ilhas fermosas*, that is to say, The faire Ilands. This I vnderstoode by a *Chinar* called *Sanry* of *Chinchon*, and hee sayde that they lie under one and twentie degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. there it is thirtie fathom deepe: and although wee sawe them not, notwithstanding by the height and depth of the water we knew we were past them.

Being past *As Ilhas fermosas*, or the faire Ilands, wee helde our course East, and East and by North, for two hundred and fiftie leagues, untill we were past the length of the Ilands *Lequeos*, saying about fiftie leagues from them: the said *Chinar* tolde me, that those Ilands called *Lequeos* are very many, and that they haue many and very good hauens, and that the people and inhabitants thereof haue their faces and bodies painted like the *Byfayas* of the Ilands of *Luçon* or *Philippinas* and are apparelled like the *Byfayas*, and that there also are mines of gold: Hee sayd likewise that they did often come with small shippes and barkes laden with *Bucks* and *Harts-hides*, and with golde in graines or very small peeces, to traffique with them of the coast of *China*, which hee assured mee to bee most true, saying that hee had bene nine times in the small Ilands, bringing of the same wares with him to *China*: which I beleueed to bee true, for that afterwarde

Canton 22.
degrees.
The Iland of
Macao.

Ilha Branca.

As Ilhas fermosas.

Lequeos.

mines of gold

I enquired thereof in Macao, and vpon the coast of China, and found that hee sayde true. The furthest or uttermost of these Islands stretching Northwarde and Eastwarde, lie vnder nine and twentie degrees.

Firando.

Being past these Islands, then you come to the Islands of Iapon, whereof the first lying West and South, is the Island of Firando, where the Portugals vse to traffique: they are in length altogether an hundred and thirtie leagues, and the furthest Eastward lieth vnder two and thirtie degrees: we ranne still East, and East and by North, untill we were past the sayd hundred and thirtie leagues.

Other Islands Eastward of Iapon.

All this information I had of the aforesayd Chinars, as also that there I should see some mines of brimstone or fierie hills, being seuentie leagues beyond them, and thirtie leagues further I should finde foure Islands lying together, which I likewise found, as hee had tolde mee: And that being in Iapon, he sayd hee had there seene certaine men of a very small stature, with great rolles of linnen cloth about their heads, that brought golde in small pieces, and some white Cangas of cotton, (which are pieces of cotton-linnen so called by the Chinars) as also salte-fish like the Spanish Atun, or Tunney, which hee sayde came out of other Landes Eastward from Iapon: and by the tokens and markes which hee shewed mee, I guessed whereabout those Islands should bee, and found them not farre from whence he sayd they lay. Hee sayd likewise that all the Islands of Iapon haue good hauens and chanelles, being a Countrey full of Rice, Coyne, Fish, and flesh, and that they are an indifferent and reasonable people to traffique with, and that there they haue much siluer.

Iapon 900. leagues distant from the coast of America in 37. degrees and an halfe.

Running thus East, and East and by North about three hundred leagues from Iapon, wee found a very hollowe water, with the streame running out of the North and Northwest, with a full and very broad Sea, without any hinderance or trouble in the way that wee past: and what winde soeuer blew, the Sea continued all in one sort, with the same hollow water and streame, untill wee had passed seuen hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the coast and land of newe Spaine wee beganne to lose the sayd hollow Sea and streame: whereby I most assuredly thinke and beleue, that there you shall finde a channell or straight passage, betweene the firme lande of newe Spaine, and the Countreys of Asia and Tartaria. Likewise all this way from the aforesayd seuen hundred leagues, we found a great number of Whale-fishes and other fishes called by the Spaniards Atuns or Tunnies, whereof many are found on the coast of Gibraltar in Spaine, as also Albacoras and Bonitos, which are all fishes, which commonly keepe in chanelles, straights, and running waters, there to disperse their seede when they breede: which maketh mee more assuredly beleue, that thereabouts is a channell or straight to passe through.

Seuen and thirtie deg. and an halfe. Read Francis Villosa chap. 16.

Being by the same course vpon the coast of newe Spaine, vnder seuen and thirtie degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, wee passed by a very high and faire lande with many trees, wholly without snowe, and foure leagues from the lande, you finde thereabouts many drifts of rootes, leaues of trees, reeds, and other leaues like figge leaues, the like whereof wee found in great abundance in the countrey of Iapon, which they eate: and some of those that wee found, I caused to bee sodden with flesh, and being sodden, they eate like Coleworts: there likewise wee found great store of Seales: whereby it is to bee presumed and certainly to bee beleued, that there are many riuers, bayes, and hauens along by those coastes to the hauens of Acapulco.

Cabo de San Lucas in 22. deg.

From thence wee ranne Southeast, Southeast and by South, and Southeast and by East, as wee found the winde, to the point called El Cabo de San Lucas, which is the beginning of the lande of California, on the Northwest side, lying vnder two and twentie degrees, being five hundred leagues distant from Cape Mendocino.

Hauens lately found out.

In this way of the aforesayd five hundred leagues along by the coast, are many Islands: and although they bee but small, yet without doubt there are in them some good hauens, as also in the firme land, where you haue these hauens following, now lately found out, as that of the Ile of Saint Augustine, lying vnder thirtie degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, and the Island called Isla de Cedros, scarce vnder eight & twenty deg. and $\frac{1}{2}$, and the Island lying beneath Saint Martyn, vnder three and twentie degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. All this coast and countrey, as I thinke, is inhabited, and sheweth to be a very good countrey: for there by night wee sawe fire, and by day smoke, which is a most sure token that they are inhabited.

From the point or hooke of Saint Lucas, to the Southeast side of California, wee helde our course Eastsoutheast, for the space of 80. leagues, to the point called El cabo de las corrientes, that is, the Cape of the streames lying vnder 19. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. And running this course, Northward about a league from vs wee sawe three Islands called Las tres Marias, (that is to say, The three Marias) running the same course. About foure leagues from the other Islands, there are other Islands,

lands reaching about two or three leagues: All this way from the mouth or gulf of California a-
forefayd, for the space of the sayd fourescore leagues, there are great streames that run Westward.

From the point of Cape de las Corrientes, wee ranne Southeast, and sometimes Southeast
and by East, for the space of an hundred and thirtie leagues to the haven of Acapulco. In this
way of an hundred and thirtie leagues, being twentie leagues on the way, we had the haven of Na-
tiuidad, that is, of the birth of the Virgin Mary: and other eight leagues further, the haven of
Saint Iago, or Saint Iames: and sixe leagues further, the sea Strand called La Playa de Colima,
that is, the Strand of Colima. All this coast from California to the haue of Acapulco is inha-
bited by people that haue peace and traffique with the Spaniards, and are of condition and quali-
ties like the people of the other places of new Spaine. Acapulco.

The conclusion of the Author of this last voyage.

At this description and nauigation haue I my selfe scene, prooued, and well noted in my boy-
age made & ended in the yeere of our Lord 1584, from great China out of the haue and ri-
uer of Canton, as I will more at large set it downe vnto your honour, with the longitudes and la-
titudes therof, as God shall permit mee time and leysure, whom I beseech to send you long and
happie dayes.

And the same was truly translated out of Spanish into lowe Dutch verbatim out of the Ori-
ginall copie, (wich was sent vnto the Viceroy of the Portugall Indies) by Iohn Huyghen Van
Linschoten,

**DIVERS VOYAGES MADE BY ENGLISH-
men to the famous Citie of Mexico, and to all or most part of the
other principall prouinces, cities, townes and places throughout the great and
large kingdom of New Spaine, euen as farre as Nicaragua and Panama, & thence to Peru:
together with a description of the Spaniards forme of gouernment there: and sundry
pleasant relations of the maners and customes of the natural inhabitants, and of
the manifold rich commodities & strange rarities found in those partes of
the continent: & other matters most worthy the obseruation.**

**The voyage of Robert Tomson Marchant, into Noua Hispania in
the yeere 1555. with diuers obseruations concerning the state of the
Country: And certaine accidents touching himselfe.**



Rober Tomson boꝛne in the towne of Andouer in Hamphire began his
trauaile out of England in An. 1553. in the moneth of March: who departing
out of the citie of Bristoll in a good ship called The barkeyong, in companie
of other Marchants of the sayde citie, within 8. dayes after arrived at Lis-
bone in Portugall, where the sayd Robert Tomson remained 15. dayes, at
the end of which he shipped himselfe for Spaine in the sayd shippe, and within
4. dayes arrived in the bay of Cadiz in Andalusia, which is vnder the king-
dom of Spaine, & from thence went by to the citie of Siuil by land, which is 20. leagues, and there
hee repaired to one Iohn Fields house an English Marchant, who had dwelt in the said city of Siuil
18. or 20. yeres married with wife and children: In whose house the said Tomson remained by the
space of one whole yeere or thereabout, for two causes: The one to learne the Castilian tongue,
the other to see the orders of the countrey, and the customes of the people. At the end of which time
hauing scene the fleetes of shippes come out of the Indies to that citie, with such great quantitie of
gold & silver, pearles, precious stones, sugar, hides, ginger, and diuers other rich commodities, he
did determine with himselfe to seeke meanes and opportunitie to passe ouer to see that rich coun-
trei from whence such great quantitie of rich commodities came. And it fell out that within short
time after, the sayd Iohn Field (where the sayd Tomson was lodged) did determine to passe ouer
into the West Indies, himselfe, with his wife, children, and familie, and at the request of the sayde
Tomson, he purchased a licence of the King to passe into the Indies, for himselfe, his wife and chil-
dren, and among them also for the sayde Tomson to passe with them: so that presently they made
preparation of victuall and other necessarie prouision for the voyage. But the shippes which were
prepared to perfourme the voyage being all ready to depart, vpon certaine considerations by the
kings commandement were stayed and arrested till further should bee knowen of the Kings plea-
sure. Whereupon the said Iohn Field, with Robert Tomson departed out of Siuil and came down
to

to S. Lucar 15. leagues off, and seeing the stay made vpon the ships of the said fleet, & being not assured when they would depart, determined to ship themselves for the Isles of the Canaries, which are 250. leagues from S. Lucar, and there to stay till the said fleet should come thither: for that is continually their port to make stay at 6. or 8. daies, to take in fresh water, bread, flesh, & other necessaries.

So that in the moneth of February in An. 1555. the sayde Robert Tomson with the said Iohn Field and his companie, shipped themselves out of the towne of S. Lucar in a caruel of the citie of Cadiz, and within 6. dayes they arrived at the port of the Grand Canaria, where at our comming the ships that rode in the said port began to cry out of all measure with loud voyces, in so much that the castle which stood fast by began to shoot at vs, and shot 6. or 7. shot at vs, and strooke downe our maine masse, before we could hoise out our boat to goe on land, to know what the cause of the shooting was, seeing that we were Spanish ships, and were comming into his countrey. So that being on lande, and complaining of the wrong and damage done vnto vs; they answered, that they had thought we had bene French rouers, that had come into the said port to do some harme to the ships that were there. For that 8. dayes past there went out of the said port a caruell much like vnto ours, laden wit sugers and other marchandise for Spaine and on the other side of the point of the sayd Island, met with a Frenchman of warre, who tooke the said caruell, & vnladed out of her into the said French ship both men & goods. And being demanded of the said Spaniards what other ships remained in the port whence they came, they answered that there remained diuers other ships, & one laden with sugers (as they were) & ready to depart for Spaine: vpon the which newes the Frenchmen put 30. tall men of their ship well appointed into the said caruel which they had taken, and sent her backe againe to the said port from whence she had departed the day before. And somewhat late towards the euening came into the port, not shewing past 3. or 4. men, and so came to an anchor hard by the other ships that were in the said port, and being secne by the castle and by the said ships, they made no reconing of her, because they knew her, & thinking that she had found contrary winde at the sea, or had forgot something behinde them, they had returned backe againe for the same, and so made no account of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ships in the said port: So that about midnight the said caruel with the Frenchmen in her went aboard the other ship that lay hard by laden with sugers, and droue the Spaniards that were in her vnder hatches, & presently let slip her cables and ankers, and set saile & carried her cleane away, and after this sort deceived them: And they thinking or fearing that we were the like, did shoote at vs as they did. This being past, the next day after our arriual in the sayd port, wee did vnbearke our selues and went on lande vnto the citie or head towne of the great Canaria, where we remained 18. or 20. dayes: and there found certaine Englishmen marchants seruants of one Anthony Hickman and Edward Castelin, marchants of the citie of London that lay there in traffique, of whom wee receiued great courtesie and much good cheere. After the which 20. dayes being past, in the which we had secne the countrey, the people, and the disposition thereof, wee departed from thence, and passed to the next Ile of the Canaries 18. leagues off, called Teneriffe, and being come on land, went vnto the citie called La Laguna, where we remained 7. moneths, attending the comming of the whole fleete, which in the ende came, and there hauing taken that which they had neede of, wee shipped our selues in a ship of Cadiz, being one of the saide fleete, which was belonging to an Englishman married in the citie of Cadiz in Spaine, whose name was Iohn Sweeting, and there came in the sayd ship for captain also an Englishman married in Cadiz, and sonne in law to the sayde Iohn Sweeting, whose name was Leonard Chilton: there came also in the said ship another Englishman which had bene a marchant of the citie of Exeter, one of 50. yeeres or thereabout, whose name was Ralph Sarre. So that wee departed from the sayd Islands in the moneth of October the foresayd yeere, 8. ships in our companie, and so directed our course towards the bay of Mexico, and by the way towards the Island of S. Domingo, otherwise called Hispaniola. So that within 32. dayes after we departed from the Isles of Canaries wee arrived with our ship at the port of S. Domingo, and went in ouer the baire where our ship knocked her keele at her entrie: and there our ship rid before the towne, where wee went on land, & refreshed our selues 16. dayes, where we found no bread made of wheat, but biscuit brought out of Spaine, and out of the bay of Mexico: for the countrey it selfe doeth yeelde no kinde of bread to make graine withall. But the bread they make there, is certaine cakes made of rootes called Cassavi, which is something substantiall, but it hath but an vnauoie taste in the eating thereof. Flesh of beefe and mutton they haue great store: for there are men that haue 10000. head of cattell, of oxen, bulles and kine, which they doe keepe onely for the hides: for the quantitie of flesh is so great, that they are not able to spend the hundredth part. Hogs flesh is there good store, very sweete and sauorie, and so holtsome, that they giue it to sick folkes to eat in stead of hennes and capons, although they haue good store of poultrie of that sort, as also of Guinycocks & Guinyhens.

English factors in the Grand Canaria.

Iohn Sweeting Englishman married in Cadiz, sendeth a ship of his owne into the West Indies vnder the conduct of his sonne in lawe Leonard Chilton. Ralph Sarre,

At the time of our being there, the citie of S. Domingo was not of about 500. households of Spaniards, but of the Indians dwelling in the suburbs there were more. The country is most part of the yere very hot, & very full of a kind of flies or gnats with long bills, which do prick & molest the people very much in the night when they are asleepe, in picking their faces and hands, and other parts of their bodies that lie vncovered, & make them to sweel wonderfully. Also there is another kind of small worme which creepeth into the soles of mens feet & especially of the black Moores and children which vse to go barefoot, & maketh their feet to grow as big as a mans head, & doth so ake that it would make one run mad. They haue no remedy for the same, but to open the flesh sometimes 3. or 4. inches & so dig them out. The countrey yeeldeth great store of suger, hides of oxen, bulls and kine, ginger, Cana fistula & Salsa perillia: mines of silver & gold there are none, but in some riuers here is found some smal quantitie of gold. The principal coine that they do traffique withal in that place, is blacke money made of copper & brasse: and this they say they do vse not for that they lacke money of gold and silver to trade withall out of the other parts of India, but because if they should haue good money, the marchants that deale with them in trade, would carry away their gold and silver, and let the countrey commodities lie still. And thus much for S. Domingo. So we were comming from the ples of Canaries to S. Domingo, & there staying vntil the moneth of December, which was 3. moneths. About the beginning of January we departed thence towards the bay of Mexico & new Spaine, toward which we set our course, and so sailed 24. dayes till we came within 15. leagues of S. Iohn de Vllua, which was the port of Mexico of our right discharge: And being so neere our said port, there rose a storme of Northerly windes, which came off from Terra Florida, which caused vs to cast about into the sea againe, for feare least that night we should be cast vpon the shoare before day did breake, and so put our selues in danger of casting away: the winde and sea grew so foule and strong, that within two houres after the storme began, eight ships that were together were so dispersed, that we could not see one another. One of the ships of our company being of the burthen of 500. tun called the hulke of Carion, would not cast about to sea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to purchase the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, but missing the port went with the shoare and was cast away. There were drowned of that ship 75. persons, men, women and children, and 64. were saued that could swim, and had meanes to saue themselves: among those that perished in that ship, was a gentleman who had bene present the yere before in S. Domingo, his wife and 4. daughters with the rest of his seruants & household. We with the other 7. ships cast about into the sea, the storme during 10. dayes with great might, boisterous winds, fogs & raine: our ship being old and weake was so tossed, that she opened at the sterne a fadome vnder water, and the best remedy we had was to stop it with beds and pilobiers, and for feare of sinking we threw and lightned into the sea all the goods we had or could come by: but that would not serue. Then we cut our maine mast and threw all our Ordnance into the sea sauing one peece, which early in a morning when wee thought wee should haue sunke, we shot off, and as pleased God there was one of the ships of our company neere vnto vs, which we saw not by meanes of the great fogge, which hearing the sound of the peece, & vnderstanding some of the company to be in great extremitie, began to make towards vs, and when they came within hearing of vs, we desired them for the loue of God to helpe to saue vs, for that we were all like to perish. They willed vs to hoise our foresaile as much as we could & make towards them, for they would do their best to saue vs, and so we did: And we had no sooner hoised our foresaile, but there came a gale of winde & a peece of a sea, strooke in the foresaile, and caried saile & masse all ouer boord, so that then we thought there was no hope of life. And then we began to embrace one another, euery man his friend, euery wife her husband, and the children their fathers and mothers, committing our soules to Almighty God, thinking neuer to escape aliue: yet it pleased God in the time of most need when all hope was past, to aide vs with his helping hand, and caused the winde a little to cease, so that within two houres after, the other ship was able to come aboord vs, & tooke into her with her boat man, woman and child, naked without hose or shoe vpon many of our feete. I do remember that the last person that came out of the ship into the boat, was a woman blacke Moor, who leaping out of the ship into the boat with a pong sucking child in her armes, leapt too short and fell into the sea, and was a good while vnder the water before the boat could come to rescue her, and with the spreading of her clothes rose aboue water againe, and was caught by the coat & pulled into the boate hauing still her child vnder her arme, both of them halfe drowned, and yet her naturall loue towards her child would not let her let the child goe. And when she came aboord the boate she helde her child so fast vnder her arme still, that two men were scant able to get it out. So we departed out of our ship & left it in the sea: it was worth foure hundred thousand ducats, ship & goods when we left it. And within thre dayes after we arriued at our port of S. Iohn de Vllua in New Spaine. I do re-

Many of our
men died of
these wormes
at the taking
of Puerto rico.

The countrey
yeeldeth
great store
of suger.

There were
drowned of
that ship
75. persons.

the countrey

Cuerpo Santo.

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member that in the great and boisterous storme of this foule weather, in the night, there came vpon the coppe of our maine yarde and maine masse, a certaine little light, much like vnto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Cuerpo santo, and saide it was S. Elmo, whom they take to bee the aduocate of Sailers. At the which light the Spaniards fell downe vpon their knees and worshipped it, praying God and S. Elmo to cease the torment, and saue them from the perill that they were in, with promising him that at their comming on land, they would repaire vnto his Chappell, and there cause Masses to be saide, and other ceremonies to be done. The friers cast reliques into the sea, to cause the sea to be still, and likewise said Gospels, with other crossings and ceremonies vpon the sea to make the storme to cease: which (as they said) did much good to weaken the furie of the storme. But I could not perceiue it, nor gaue no credite to it, till it pleased God to send vs the remedie & deliuered vs from the rage of the same, His Name be praised therfore. This light continued aboord our ship about three houres, flying from masse to masse, & from top to top: and sometime it would be in two or three places at once. I informed my selfe of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they said, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the Sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, which flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit on the masts and throwes of the ships that are at sea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be so: for that I haue seene the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once. By this men may see how the Papists are giuen to beleue and worship such vaine things and toys, as God, to whom all honour doth appertaine, and in their neede and necessities do let to call vpon the liuing God, who is the giuer of all good things.

His arrivall at
Vera Cruz,

Florida 300:
leagues from
San Iuan de
Villua.

The 16. of April in Anno 1556. we arrived at the port of S. Iohn de Villua in new Spaine, very naked and distressed of apparell, and all other things, by meanes of the losse of our foresaid ship and goods, and from thence we went to the new Towne called Vera Cruz, five leagues from the said port of S. Iohn de Villua, marching still by the sea side, where wee found lying vpon the sands great quantitie of mightie great trees with rootes and all, some of them of foure, five, and sixe cart load by our estimation, which, as the people tolde vs, were in the great stormy weather, which we indured at sea, rooted out of the ground in Terra Florida, which is three hundred leagues ouer by Sea, and brought thither. So we came to the saide Towne of Vera Cruz, where wee remained a moneth: and there the said Iohn Field chanced to meete with an olde friend of his acquaintance in Spaine, called Gonçalo Ruiz de Cordoua, a very rich man of the saide Towne of Vera Cruz: who hearing of his comming thither with his wife and family, and of his misfortune by Sea, came vnto him and receiued him and all his household into his house, and kept vs there a whole moneth, making vs very good cheere, and giuing vs good intertainment, and also gaue vs that were in all eight persons of the said Iohn Fields house, double apparell new out of the shop of very good cloth, coates, cloakes, hose, shirts, smocks, gownes for the women, hose, shoes, and al other necessary apparel, and for our way by to the Citie of Mexico, horses, molles and men, and money in our purses for the expences by the way, which by our accompt might amount vnto the summe of 400. Crownes. And after wee were entred two dayes iourney into the Countrey, I the saide Robert Tomson fell so sicke of an ague, that the next day I was not able to sit on my horse, but was faine to be caried vpon Indians backs, from thence to Mexico. And when wee came within halfe a dayes iourney of the Citie of Mexico, the saide Iohn Field also fell sicke, and within three dayes after we arrived at the said Citie, hee died: And presently sickened one of his children, and two more of his household people, and within eight dayes died. So that within tenne dayes after we arrived at the Citie of Mexico, of eight persons that were of vs of the saide company, there remained but foure aliue, and I the said Tomson was at the point of death of the sicknes that I got vpon the way, which continued with mee the space of sixe moneths. At the ende of which time it pleased Almighty God to restore me my health againe, although weake and greatly disabled. And being some thing strong, I procured to seeke meanes to liue, and to seeke a way how to profite my selfe in the Countrey, seeing it had pleased God to sende vs thither in safetie. Then by friendship of one Thomas Blake a Scottishman horne, who had dwelt and had bene married in the said Citie about twentie yeeres before I came to the saide Citie, I was preferred to the seruice of a gentleman a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and one of the first conquerours of the said Citie, whose name was Gonçalo Cerezo, with whom I dwelt twelue moneths and a halfe. At the ende of which I was maliciously accused by the Holy house for matters of Religion, and so apprehended and caried to prison, where I lay close prisoner seven moneths, without speaking to any creature, but to the Jailor that kept the said prison, when he brought me my meat and drinke. In the meane time was brought into the saide prison one Augustin Boacio an Italian of Genoua also for matters of Religion, who was taken at Sacatecas 80. leagues to the North.

Mexico.

Northwest of the Citie of Mexico : At the ende of the said seven moneths, we were both caried to the high Church of Mexico, to doe open penance vpon an high scaffold, made before the high Altar, vpon a Sunday, in the presence of a very great number of people, who were at the least fise or sixe thousand. For there were that came one hundred mile off, to see the saide Auto (as they call it) for that there were neuer none before, that had done the like in the saide Countrey, nor could not tell what Lutheranes were, nor what it meant : for they neuer heard of any such thing before. We were brought into the Church, euery one with a S. Benito vpon his backe, which is halfe a yard of yallow cloth, with a hole to put in a mans head in the middelt, and cast ouer a mans head: both flaps hang one before, and another behinde, and in the middelt of euery flap, a S. Andrewes crosse, made of red cloth, sowed on vpon the same, and that is called S. Benito. The common people before they sawe the penitents come into the Church, were giuen to vnderstand that wee were heretiques, infidels, and people that did despise God, and his workes, and that wee had bene more like deuils then men, and thought wee had had the fauour of some monstres, or heathen people. And when they saw vs come into the Church in our players coates, the women and children beganne to cry out, and made such a noise, that it was strange to see and heare, saying, that they neuer sawe goodlier men in all their liues, and that it was not possible that there could be in vs so much euill as was reported of vs, and that we were more like Angels among men, then such persons of such euill Religion as by the Priestes and friers wee were reported to be, and that it was great pite that wee should bee so used for so small an offence. So that being brought into the saide high Church, and set vpon the scaffold which was made before the high Altar, in the presence of all the people, vntill high Masse was done, and the sermon made by a frier, concerning our matter, they did put vs in all the disgrace they could, to cause the people not to take so much compassion vpon vs, for that wee were heretiques, & people that were seduced of the deuill, & had forsaken the faith of the Catholique Church of Rome, with diuers other reprochfull wordes, which were too long to recite in this place. High Masse and Sermon being done, our offences, as they called them, were recited, euery man what he had said and done, and presently was the sentence pronounced against vs. That was, that the said Augustine Boacio was condemned to weare his S. Benito all the dayes of his life, and put into perpetuall prison, where hee should fulfill the same, and all his goods confiscated and lost. And I the saide Tomson to weare the S. Benito for three yeeres, and then to be set at libertie. And for the accomplishing of this sentence or condemnation, we must be presently sent downe from Mexico, to Vera Cruz, and from thence to S. Iohn de Villua, and there to be shipped for Spaine, which was 65. leagues by land, with strait commandement, that vpon paine of 1000. duckets, the Masters euery one should looke traitly vnto vs, and carry vs to Spaine, and deliuer vs vnto the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Siuill, that they should put vs in the places, where we should fulfill our penances that the Archbishop of Mexico had entophned vnto vs, by his sentence there giuen. For performance of the which, we were sent downe from Mexico, to the Sea side, which was 65. leagues, with fetters vpon our feete, and there deliuered to the Masters of the ships, to be caried for Spaine, as before is said. And it was so, that the Italian, fearing that if he had presented himselfe in Spaine before the Inquisitors, that they would haue burned him, to preuent that danger, when wee were coming homeward, and were arrived at the yland of Terçera, one of the yles of the Agores, the first night that we came into the said port to an anchor, about midnight he found the meanes to get him naked out of the ship into the sea, & swam naked ashore, and so presently got him to the further side of the plaunt, where hee found a little Caruel ready to depart for Portugal, in the which he came to Lisbon, and passed into France, and so into England, where hee ended his life in the Citie of London. And I for my part kept still aboard the ship, and came into Spaine, and was deliuered to the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Siuill, where they kept me in close prison, till I had fulfilled the three yeeres of my penance. Which time being expired, I was freely put out of prison, and set at libertie: and being in the Citie of Siuill a cather of one Hugh Typton, an English marchant of great doing, by the space of one yeere, it fortuned that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard, called Iohn de la Barrera, that had bene long time in the Indies, and had got great summes of golde and siluer, and with one onely daughter, shipped himselfe for to come for Spaine, and by the way charnted to die, and gaue all that hee had vnto his onely daughter, whose name was Marie de la Barrera; and being arrived at the Citie of Siuill, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to mee 2500. pounds in barres of golde and siluer, besides iewels of great price. This I thought good to speake of, to shew the goodnes of God to all them that put their trust in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in such great misery and infamy to the world, should be provided at Gods hand in one moment, of more then in all my life before I could attaine vnto by my owne labour.

After we departed from Mexico, our S. Benitoes were set vp in the high Church of the said Citie, with our names written in the same, according to their vse and custome, which is and will be a monument and a remembrance of vs, as long as the Romish Church doth raigne in that country. The same haue bene seene since by one Iohn Chilton, and diuers others of our nation, which were left in that countrey long since, by Sir Iohn Hawkins. And because it shalbe knowne wherefore it was that I was so punished by the Clergies hande, as before is mentioned, I will in brieue words declare the same.

It is so, that being in Mexico at the table, among many principall people at dinner, they began to inquire of me being an Englishman, whether it were true, that in England they had ouerthrowen all their Churches and houses of Religion, and that all the images of the Saines of heauen that were in them were throwen downe, broken, and burned, and in some places high wayes stoned with them, and whether the English nation denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as they had bene certified out of Spaine by their friends. To whom I made answer, that it was so, that in deed they had in England put downe all the Religious houses of friers and monks that were in England, and the images that were in their Churches and other places were taken away, and bled there no more: for that (as they say) the making of them, and putting of them where they were adored, was cleane contrary to the expresse comendement of Almighty God, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen image, &c. and that for that cause they thought it not lawfull that they should stand in the Church, which is the house of adoration. One that was at the declaring of these words, who was my master Gonsalo Cerefo, answered and said, if it were against the comendement of God, to haue images in the Churches, that then he had spent a great deale of money in vaine, for that two yeres past he had made in the monastery of Santo Domingo, in the said citie of Mexico, an image of our Lady of pure siluer & golde, with pearles and precious stones, which cost him 7000. and odder pesos, and euery peso is 4, 8, 8, d. of our money: which indeed was true, for that I haue seene it many times my selfe where it stands. At the table was another gentleman, who presuming to defend the cause more then any other that was there, saide, that they knew well y-nough that they were made but of stockes and stones, and that to them was no worship giuen, but that there was a certaine veneration due vnto them after they were set vp in the Church, and that they were set there to a good intent: the one, for that they were books for the simple people, to make them vnderstand the glory of the saints that were in heauen, & a shap of them to put vs in remembrance to cal vpon them, to be our intercessors vnto God for vs, for that we are such miserable sinners, that we are not worthy to appeare before God, & that vsing deuotion to saines in heauen, they may obtaine at Gods hands the sooner, the thing that we demand of him. As for example, said he, imagin that a subiect hath offended his king vpon the earth in any kind of respect, is it for the party to go boldly to the king in person, & to demand pardon for his offences? No, saith he, the presumption were too great, & possibly he might be repulsed, and haue a great rebuke for his labour. Better it is for such a person to seek some priuate man neere the king in his Court, and make him acquainted with his matter, & let him be a mediator to his Maiesty for him, & for the matter he hath to do with him, and so might he the better come to his purpose, and obtaine the thing which he doeth demand: euen so saith he, it is with God and his saines in heauen: for we are wretched sinners, and not worthy to appeare nor present our selues before the Maiesty of God, to demand of him the thing that we haue need of: therefore thou hast need to be deuout, and haue deuotion to the mother of God, and the saines of heauen, to be intercessors to God for thee, and so mayest thou the better obtaine of God the thing that thou dost demand. To this I answered, & said, sir, as touching the comparison you made of the intercessors to the king, how necessary they were, I would but aske you this question. Set the case that this king you speak of, if he be so merciful, as when he knoweth that one, or any of his subiects hath offended him, he send for him to his owne towne, or to his owne house, or palace, & say vnto him, come hither, I know that thou hast offended many lawes, if thou dost know thereof, and dost repent thee of the same, with full intent to offend no more, I will forgive thy trespassse, and remember it no more: said I, if this be done by the kings owne person, what then hath this man need to go seeke friendship at any of the kings priuat seruants hands, but go to the principal, seeing that he is readier to forgive thee, then thou art to demand forgiveness at his hands? Euen so is it with our gracious God, who calleth and crieth out vnto vs throughout all the world, by the mouth of his Prophets, Apostles, and by his owne mouth, saying, Come vnto me al ye that labour and are ouer laden, and I wil refresh you: besides 1000. other offers and proffers which hee doth make vnto vs in his holy Scriptures. What then haue we need of the saines helpe that are in heauen, whereas the Lord himselfe doth so freely offer himselfe vnto vs? At which sayings, many of the hearers were astonished, and said, that by that reason, I would giue to vnderstand, that the

inuocation

inuocation of Saints was to be disanulled, and by the Lawes of God not commanded. I answered, that they were not my words, but the words of God himselfe: looke into the Scriptures your selfe, and you shall so finde it. The talke was perceiued to be prejudiciall to the Romish doctrine, and therefore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, and all remained vntought vpon, had it not bene for a villanous Portugal that was in the company, who said, Basta ser Ingles para saber todo esto y mas: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Bishop of Mexico, and his Pouiloz, and said, that in a place where he had bene the day before, was an Englishman, who had said, that there was no need of Saints in the Church, nor of any inuocation of Saints, vpon whose denomination I was apprehended for the same words here rehearsed, and none other thing, and thereupon was vled, as before is writtten.

Now to speake somewhat of the description of the countrey, you shall vnderstand, that the port of S. Iohn de Villua is a very little Island low by the water side, the broadest or longest part thereof not aboute a bow shoote ouer, and standeth within two furlongs of the firme land. In my time there was but one house, and a little Chappel to say Masse in, in all the Island: the side to the land wards is made by mans handes, with free-stone and grauel, and is 4. fadome deepe downe right, wherfore the great ships that come in there do ride so neere the shoare of the Island, that you may come and goe aland vpon their beake noses. They vse to put great chaines of yron in at their halsters, and an ancker to the landward, and all little ynough to moze well their shippes for feare of the Northerly winds, which come off the coast of Florida, that sometimes haue caried ships, & houses, and all away to the shoare. The king was wont to haue 20. great mightie Negroes, who did serue for nothing else, but onely to repaire the said Island, where the foule weather doeth hurt it. The Countrey all thereabout is very plaine ground, & a mile from the sea side a great wilbernes, with great quantitie of red Deere in the same, so that when the mariners of the ships are disposed, they go vpon into the wilbernes, and do kil of the same, and bring them aboord to eat, for their recreation.

Sant Iuan de Villua.

From this port to the next towne, which is called Vera Cruz, are 5. leagues almost by the Sea side, till you come within one league of the place, and then you turne vpon towards the land, into a wood, till you come to a litle riuer hard by the said townes side, which sometimes of the yere is dry without water. The towne of Vera Cruz in my time, had not past 300. households, and serued but for the folke of the ships, to buy and bring their goods aland, and deliuer it to their owners, as also the owners and their factors to receiue their goods of the Masters of the ships. This towne standeth also in a very plaine on the one side the riuer, and the other side is enuironed with much lande blowne from the sea side with the tempest of weather, many times comming vpon that coast. This towne also is subiect to great sicknes, and in my time many of the Mariners & officers of the ships did die with those diseases, there accustomed, & especially those that were not vled to the countrey, nor knew the danger thereof, but would commonly go in the Sunne in the heat of the day, & did eat fruit of the countrey with much disorder, and especially gaue themselves to womens company at their first comming: whereupon they were cast into a burning ague, of the which few escaped.

The way and distance from San Iuan de Villua to Vera Cruz, is fife leagues.

Halfe a dayes journey from Vera Cruz, towards Mexico, is a lodging of fife or sixe houses, called the Rinconado, which is a place, where is a great pinnacle made of lime and stone, fast by a riuer side, where the Indians were wont to doe their sacrifices vnto their gods, and it is plaine and low ground betwixt that and Vera Cruz, and also subiect to sicknes: but afterward halfe a dayes journey that you do begin to enter into the high land, you shall find as faire, good, and sweet countrey, as any in the world, and the farther you go, the goodlier and sweeter the countrey is, till you come to Pueblo de los Angeles, which may be some 43 leagues from Vera Cruz, which was in my time a towne of 600. households, or thereabout, standing in a goodly soile. Betweene Vera Cruz and that you shall come through many townes of the Indians, and villages, and many goodly fieldes of meadow grounds, Riueres of fresh waters, forrests, and great woods, very pleasant to behold. From Pueblo de los Angeles, to Mexico, is 20. leagues of very faire way and countrey, as before is declared. Mexico was a Citie in my time, of not aboute 1500. households of Spaniards inhabiting there, but of Indian people in the suburbs of the said city, dwelt aboute 300000. as it was thought, and many more. This City of Mexico is 65. leagues from the North sea, and 75. leagues from the South sea, so that it standeth in the midst of the maine land, betwixt the one sea and the other. It is situated in the midst of a lake of standing water, and enuironed round about with the same, fauing in many places, going out of the Citie, are many broad wayes through the said lake or water. This lake and Citie is enuironed also with great mountaines round about, which are in compasse aboute thirtie leagues, and the saide Citie and lake of standing water, doeth stand in a great plaine in the midst of it. This lake of standing water doeth proceed from the shedding of the raine, that falleth vpon the saide mountaines, and so gather themselves together in this place.

Venta de Rinconado.

Pueblo de los Angeles.

Mexico.

Don Luis de
Velasco.

This is to be
understood of
his second
coming into
Spaine.

Mexico con-
quered Anno
1519. and
1520.

Cochinilla is
not a worme
nor a flye, but a
berry.

Indico.

All the whole proportion of this Citie doeth stand in a very plaine ground, and in the midst of the said Citie is a square place of a good bow shoote ouer from side to side: and in the midst of the said place is the high Church, very faire and well builded all throught, at that time not halfe finished, and round about the said place, are many faire houses built: on the one side, are the houses where Mutezuma the great king of Mexico that was, dwelt, and now there lye alwayes the viceroyes that the King of Spaine sendeth thither euery three peeres. And in my time there was for viceroy a gentleman of Castil, called Don Luis de Velasco. And on the other side of the said place, ouer against the same, is the Bishops house, very faire built, and many other houses of goodly building. And hard by the same, are also other very faire houses, built by the Marques de Valle, otherwise called Hernando Cortes, who was hee that first conquered the said Citie and Countrey, who after the said conquest which hee made with great labour and trauaile of his person, and danger of his life, and being growen great in the Countrey, the King of Spaine sent for him, saying that he had some particular matters to impart vnto him. And when he came home, he could not bee suffered to returne backe againe, as the King before had promised him. With the which, for sorrow that he tooke, he died; and this he had for the reward of his good seruice.

The said Citie of Mexico hath the streetes made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place, at the one ende of the street, may see at the least a good mile forward, and in all the one part of the streets of the North part of their Citie, there runneth a pretie lake of very cleare water, that euery man may put into his house as much as he will, without the cost of any thing, but of the letting in. Also there is a great caue or ditch of water, that commeth through the Citie, euene vnto the high place, where come euery morning at the break of the day twentie or thirtie Canoas, or troughes of the Indians, which bring in them all maner of prouision for the citie, which is made, and groweth in the Countrey, which is a very good commoditie for the inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the said Citie, of beefe, mutton, and hennes, capons, quails, Guiny-cotkes, and such like, all are very good cheape: To say, the whole quarter of an ore, as much as a slaue can carry away from the Butchers, for five Tomynes, that is, five Royals of plate, which is iust two shillings and six pence, and a fat sheepe at the Butchers for three Royals, which is 18. pence and no more. Bread is as good cheape as in Spaine, and all other kinde of fruites, as apples, pearres, pomegranats, and quinces, at a reasonable rate. The Citie goeth wonderfully forward in building of frieries and Nunneries, and Chappels, and is like in time to come, to be the most populous Citie in the world, as it may be supposed. The weather is there alwayes very temperate, the day differeth but one houre of length all the yere long. The fields and the woods are alwayes greene. The woods full of popinayes, and many other kinde of birdes, that make such an harmonie of singing, and crying, that any man will reioyce to heare it. In the fields are such odoriferous smells of flowers and hearbs, that it giueth great content to the senses. About the Citie of Mexico two, three, or foure leagues off, are diuers townes of Indians, some of 4000, or 6000, households, which doe stand in such a goodly soyle, that if Christians had the inhabitation thereof, it would be put to a farther benefite. In my time were dwelling and aliue in Mexico, many ancient men that were of the conquerours at the first conquest with Hernando Cortes: for then it was about 36. peeres agoe, that the said Countrey was conquered.

About Mexico there are diuers Mines of siluer, and also in other places there about, but the principall Mines that are in all New Spaine are in Sacatecas, 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Mines of S. Martin, thirtie leagues, both to the North westward of Mexico, where is great store of gold and siluer. Also there is a place called the Miseca, fiftie leagues to the North west, which doth yeeld great store of very good silke, and Cochinilla. Wine and oyle there is none growing in the Countrey, but what commeth out of Spaine. Also there are many goodly fruits in that Countrey, whereof we haue none such, as Plantanos, Guyaues, Sapotes, Tunas, and in the wilbernes great store of blacke cherries, and other wholsome fruites. The Cochinilla is not a worme, or a flye, as some say it is, but a berrie that groweth vpon certaine bushes in the wilde field, which is gathered in time of the yeere, when it is ripe. Also the Indico that doeth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe that groweth in the wilde fieldes, and is gathered at one time of the yeere, and burnt, and of the ashes thereof, with other confections put thereunto, the said Indico is made. Balme, Salsa perilla, Cana fistula, sugar, ore hides, and many other good and seruiceable things the Countrey doeth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there solde and distributed to many nations.

ROBERT TOMSON.

A voyage

A voyage made by M. Roger Bodenham to S. Iohn de Vllua in the bay of Mexico, in the yeere 1564.

In Roger Bodenham hauing a long time liued in the city of Siuil in Spaine, being there married, and by occasion thereof vsing trade and traffique to the parts of Barbary, grew at length to great losse and hindzance by that new trade begun by me in the city of Fez: whereupon being returned into Spaine, I began to call my wits about mee, and to consider with my selfe by what meanes I might recouer and renew my state: and in conclusion, by the ayde of my friends, I procured a ship called The Barke Fox, pertaining to London, of the burden of eight or nine score tunnes; and with the same I made a voyage to the West India, hauing obtained good fauour with the Spanish merchants, by reason of my long abode, and marriage in the countrey. My voyage was in the company of the Generall Don Pedro Melendes for Noua Hispania: who being himselfe appointed Generall for Terra Firma and Peru, made his sonne Generall for New Spaine, although Pedro Melendes himselfe was the principall man and director in both fleets. We all departed from Cadiz together the last day of May in the yere 1564: and I with my ship being vnder the conduct of the sonne of Don Pedro aforesayd, arriued with him in Noua Hispania, where immediatly I tooke order for the discharge of my merchandise at the port of Vera Cruz, otherwise called Villa Rica, to be transported thence to the city of Mexico, which is sixty and odde leagues distant from the sayd port of Villa Rica. In the way are many good townes, as namely, Pueblo de los Angeles, and another called Tlaxcalan. The city of Mexico hath three great causeyes to bring men to it, compassed with a lake, so that it needeth no walles, being so defended by the water. It is a city plentifull of all necessary things, hauing many faire houses, churches, and monasteries. I hauing continued in the countrey the space of nine moneths, returned againe for Spaine with the Spanish fleet, and deliuered the merchandise and siluer which I had in the ship into the Contratacion house, and there receiued my freight, which amounted outwards and homewards to the value of 13000 ducats and more. I obserued many things in the time of my abode in Noua Hispania, as well touching the commodities of the countrey as the maners of the people both Spanyards and Indians: but because the Spanish histories are full of those obseruations, I omit them, and referre the readers to the same: onely this I say, that the commodity of Cochinilla groweth in greatest abundance about the towne of Pueblo de los Angeles, and is not there woorth above forty pence the pound.

20 new trade begun in the city of Fez by Roger Bodenham.

The place where Cochinilla groweth, and the price thereof.

A notable discourse of M. Iohn Chilton, touching the people, maners, mines, cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of New Spaine, and other prouinces in the West Indies, seene and noted by himselfe in the time of his trauels, continued in those parts, the space of seuentene or eightene yeeres.

In the yeere of our Lord 1561, in the moneth of Iuly, I Iohn Chilton went out of this city of London into Spaine, where I remained for the space of seuen yeeres, & from thence I sailed into Noua Hispania, and so trauelled there, and by the South Sea, vnto Peru, the space of seuentene or eightene yeeres: and after that time expired, I returned into Spaine, and so in the yere 1586 in the moneth of Iuly, I arriued at the aforesayd city of London; where perusing the notes which I had taken in the time of my trauell in those yeeres, I haue set downe as followeth.

In the yeere 1568, in the moneth of March, being desirous to see the world, I embarked my selfe in the bay of Cadiz in Andalusia, in a shippe bound for the Isles of the Canaries, where she tooke in her lading, & set forth from thence for the voyage, in the moneth of Iune, the same yere. Within a moneth after, we fell with the Isle of S. Domingo, and from thence directly to Noua Hispania, and came into the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, which is a litle Island standing in the sea, about two miles from the land, where the king mainteineth about 50 souldiers, and captaines, that keepe the forts, and about 150 negroes, who all the yeere long are occupied in carping of stones for building, & other vses, and to helpe to make fast the ships that come in there, with their cables. There are built two bulwarkes at each end of a wall, that standeth likewise in the sayde Island, where the shippes vse to ride, made fast to the sayd wall with their cables, so neere, that a man may leape ashore. From this port I iourneyed by land to a towne called Vera Cruz, standing by a

1568.

Cadiz.

San Iuan de Vllua.

Vera Cruz, riuers

Xalapa fixeene
leagues.

Perota seuen
leagues.

Fuentes de O-
zumba nine
leagues.
Pueblo de los
Angeles eight
leagues.

Tlaxcalla foure
leagues north-
ward from los
Angeles.

Vulcan is a hill
that continu-
ally burneth
with fire.

Cochinilla.

Pueblo de los
Angeles 20
leagues from
Mexico.

His voyage
from Mexico
to Nueva Bis-
caia.

riuers side, where all the factours of the Spanish merchants dwell, which receiue the goods of such ships as come thither, and also lade the same with such treasure and merchandize as they returne backe into Spaine. They are in number about foure hundred, who onely remaine there, during the time that the Spanish fleet dischargeth, and is laden againe, which is from the end of August to the beginning of April following. And then for the vnwholesomnesse of the place they depart thence fixeene leagues further by within the countrey, to a towne called Xalapa, a very healthfull soile. There is neuer any woman deliuered of childe in this port of Vera Cruz: for so soone as they perceiue themselves conceiued with childe, they get them into the countrey, to auoid the perill of the infected aire, although they vse euery morning to drine thow the towne about two thousand head of cattell, to take away the ill vapours of the earth. From Xalapa seuen leagues I came to another place, named Perota, wherein are certaine houses builded of straw, called by the name of ventas, the inhabitants whereof are Spaniards, who accustome to harbour such traouellers as are occasioned to iourney that way by into the land. It standeth in a great wood of Pine and Cedar trees, the soile being very colde, by reason of store of snow which lieth on the mountaines there all the yere long. There are in that place an infinite number of deere, of bignesse like unto great mules, hauing also homes of great length. From Perota nine leagues, I came to the Fuentes of Ozumba, which fuentes are springs of water issuing out of certaine rocks into the midst of the high wayes, where likewise are certaine ranges, and houses, for the vses before mentioned. Eight leagues off from this place I came to the city of the Angels, so called by that name of the Spaniards, which inhabit there to the number of a thousand, besides a great number of Indians. This city standeth in very plaine fields, hauing neere adioyning to it many sumptuous cities, as namely the city of Tlaxcalla, a city of two hundred thousand Indians, tributaries to the king, although he exacteth no other tribute of them then a handfull of wheat a piece, which amounteth to thirteene thousand hanneses yeerely, as hath appeared by the kings books of account. And the reason why he contenteth himselfe with this tribute, onely for them, is, because they were the occasion that he tooke the city of Mexico, with whom the Tlaxcallians had warre at the same time when the Spaniards came into the countrey. The gouernour of this city is a Spaniard, called among them The Alcalde mayor, who administred chiefest causes of iustice both unto the Christians and Indians, referring smaller and lighter vices, as drunkennesse and such like, to the iudgement and discretion of such of the Indians as are chosen euery yere to rule amongst them, called by the name of Alcaldes. These Indians from foureteene yeres olde bywards, pay unto the king for their yerely tribute one ounce of siluer, and an hannege of maiz, which is valued among them commonly at twelue reals of plate. The widowes among them pay halfe of this. The Indians both of this city, and of the rest, lying about Mexico, goe clothed with mantles of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, painted thowout with works of diuers and fine colours. It is distant from the city of the Angels foure leagues to the Northward, & foureteene from Mexico. There is another city a league from it, called Chetula, consisting of more then sixty thousand Indians, tributaries, and there dwell not about twelue Spaniards there. From it, about two leagues, there is another, called Acazingo, of about fifty thousand Indians, and about eight or twelue Spaniards, which standeth at the foot of the Vulcan of Mexico, on the East side. There are besides these, three other great cities, the one named Tepiaca, a very famous city, Waxazingo, and Tichamachalcho: all these in times past belonged to the kingdome of Tlaxcalla: and from these cities they bring most of their Cochinilla into Spaine. The distance from the city of the Angels, to the city of Mexico is twenty leagues. This city of Mexico is the city of greatest fame in all the Indies, hauing goodly and costly houses in it, builded all of lime and stone, and seuen streets in length, and seuen in breadth, with riuers running thow euery second street, by which they bring their prouision in canoas. It is situated at the foot of certaine hilles, which containe in compasse by estimation about twenty leagues, compassing the sayd city on the one side, and a lake which is foureteene leagues about on the other side. Upon which lake there are built many notable and sumptuous cities, as the city of Tescuco, where the Spaniards built five frigats, at that time when they conquered Mexico, and where also Fernando Cortes made his abode five or six moneths in curing of the sicknesse of his people, which they had taken at their comming into the countrey. There dwell in this city about sixty thousand Indians, which pay tribute to the king. In this city the sayd Fernando built the finest church that euer was built in the Indies, the name whereof is S. Peters.

After I had continued two yeres in this city, being desirous to see further the countreys, I imploied that which I had, and tooke my voyage towards the prouinces of California, in the which was discovered a certaine countrey, by a Biscaine, whose name was Diego de Guiana, and

and called it after the name of his countrey, New Biscay, where I solde my merchandise for exchange of silver, for there were there certaine rich mines discovered by the aforesayd Biskaine. Going from Mexico I directed my voyage somewhat toward the Southwest, to certaine mines, called Tamascaltepec, and so travelled forward the space of twenty dayes thorow desert places uninhabited, till I came to the valley of S. Bartholomew, which ioyneth to the province of New Biscay. In all these places the Indians for the most part go naked, and are wilde people. Their common armour is bowes and arrowes: they vse to eate up such Christians as they come by. From hence departing, I came to another province named Xalisco, and from thence to the port of Nauidad, which is 120 leagues from Mexico, in which port arrive alwayes in the moneth of April, all the ships that come out of the South sea from China, and the Philippinas, and there they lay their merchandise ashore. The most part whereof is mantles made of Cotton wooll, Ware, and fine platters gilded, made of earth, and much golde.

The next Summer following, being in the yeere 1570 (which was the first yeere that the Popes Bulls were brought into the Indies) I undertooke another voyage to wards the province of Sonsonate, which is in the kingdome of Guatimala, whither I caried diuers merchandize of Spaine, all by land on mules backs. The way thitherward from Mexico is to the city of the Angels, and from thence to another city of Christians 80 leagues off, called Guaxaca, in which there dwell about 50 Spaniards, and many Indians. All the Indians of this province pay their tribute in mantles of Cotton wooll, and Cochinilla, whereof there groweth abundance thorowout this countrey. Neere to this place there lieth a port in the South sea, called Aguatulco, in the which there dwell not about three or foure Spaniards, with certaine Negroes, which the king mainteineth there: in which place Sir Francis Drake arrived in the yeere 1579, in the moneth of April, where I lost with his being there about a thousand buckets, which he tooke away, with much other goods of other merchants of Mexico from one Francisco Gomes Rangifa, factor there for all the Spanish merchants that then traded in the South sea: for from this port they vse to imbarke all their goods that goe for Peru, and to the kingdome of Honduras. From Guaxaca I came to a towne named Nixapa, which standeth upon certaine very high hilles in the province of Sapotecas, wherein inhabit about the number of twenty Spaniards, by the King of Spaines commandement, to keepe that country in peace; for the Indians are very rebellious: and for this purpose hee bestoweth on them the townes & cities that be within that province. From hence I went to a city called Tecoaantepec, which is the farthest towne to the Eastward in all Noua Hispania, which sometime did belong to the Marques de Valle, and because it is a very fit port, standing in the South sea, the king of Spaine, upon a rebellion made by the sayd Marques against him, tooke it from him, and doth now possesse it as his owne. Neere in the yeere 1572 I saw a piece of ordinance of brasse, called a Demy culuerin, which came out of a ship called the Iesus of Lubec, which captaine Hawkins left in S. Iohn de Vllua, being in fight with the Spaniards in the yeere 1568; which piece they afterwards caried 100 leagues by land ouer mighty mountaines to the sayd city, to be embarked there for the Philippinas. Leaving Tecoaantepec, I went still along by the South sea about 150 leagues in the desolate province of Soconusco, in which province there groweth cacao, which the Christians carry from thence into Noua Hispania, for that it will not grow in any colde countrey. The Indians of this countrey pay the king their tribute in cacao, giuing him foure hundred cargas, and euery carga is 24000 almonds; which carga is woorth in Mexico thirty pieces of reals of plate. They are men of great riches, and withall very proud: and in all this province thorowout, there dwell not twenty Christians. I travelled thorow another province called Suchetepec; and thence to the province of Guasacapan: in both which provinces are very few people, the biggest towne therein hauing not about two hundred Indians. The chiefeest merchandise there, is cacao. Hence I went to the city of Guatimala, which is the chiefe city of all this kingdome: in this city doe inhabit about 80 Spaniards: and here the king hath his gouernors, & counsell, to whom all the people of the kingdome repaire for iustice. This city standeth from the coast of the South sea 14 leagues within the land, and is very rich, by reason of the golde that they fetch out of the coast of Veragua. From this city to the Eastward 60 leagues lieth the province Sonsonate, where I solde the merchandize I caried out of Noua Hispania. The chiefeest city of this province is called S. Saluador, which lieth 7 leagues from the coast of the South sea, and hath a port lying by the sea coast, called Acaxutla, where the ships arrive with the merchandize they bring from Noua Hispania; and from thence Iade backe againe the cacao: there dwell heere to the number of threescore Spaniards. From Sonsonate I travelled to Nicoia, which is in the kingdome of Nicaragua, in which port the king buildeth all the shipping that trauell out of the Indies to the Malicos. I went forward from thence

New Biscay.

The Silver mines of Tamascaltepec. The valley of S. Bartholomew.

The haven where ships of China & the Philippinas arrive.

Guaxaca.

Aguatulco.

Nixapa.

Sapotecas.

Tecoantepec.

Soconusco.

Suchetepec.

Guasacapan.

Guatimala.

Sonsonate.

San Saluador.

Acaxutla.

Nicoia a port where ships which goe to the Philippinas are builded.

Puerto de Ca-
uallos a rich
place.

The descripti-
on of Hauana
at large.

The small force
of Hauana.

The common
duties of Cuba.

Nombre de
Dios.
Panama.

Porosfi.
Cusco.
Paica.

Vera Paz.

thence to Costa rica, where the Indians both men and women go all naked, and the land lieth be-
tweene Panama, and the kingdome of Guatimala: and for that the Indians there live as warri-
ers, I durst not passe by land, so that here in a towne called S. Salvador I bestowed that which I
caried in annile (which is a kinde of thing to die blew withall) which I caried with me to the
port of Cauillos, lying in the kingdome of Honduras, which port is a mighty huge gulfe, and at
the comming in on the one side of it there lieth a towne of little force without ordinance of any o-
ther strength, hauing in it houses of straw: at which towne the Spanyards vse yeerely in the mo-
neth of August to unlade foure ships which come out of Spaine laden with rich merchandise, and
receiue in heere againe their lading of a kinde of merchandise called Annile and Cochinilla (al-
though it be not of such value as that of Noua Hispania) and silver of the mines of Tomaangua,
and golde of Nicaragua, and hides, and Salsa perilla, the best in all the Indies: all which merchan-
dize they retorne, and depart from thence alwayes in the moneth of April following, taking their
course by the Island of Iamaica, in which Island there dwell on the West side of it certeine Spa-
nyards of no great number. From this place they go to the cape of S. Anthony, which is the ve-
termost part of the Westward of the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Hauana lying hard by,
which is the chiefest port that the king of Spaine hath in all the countreys of the Indies, and of
greatest importance: for all the ships, both from Peru, Honduras, Porto rico, S. Domingo, Ia-
maica, and all other places in his Indies, arrive there in their retorne to Spaine, for that in this
port they take in victuals and water, and the most part of their lading: here they meet from all the
foresayd places alwayes in the beginning of May by the kings commandement: at the entrance
of this port it is so narrow, that there can scarce come in two ships together, although it be aboue
fye sadome deepe in the narrowest place of it. In the North side of the comming in there stand-
eth a tower, in which there watcheth every day a man to descrie the sailes of ships which hee can
see on the sea; and as many as he discouereth, so many banners he setteth upon the tower, that the
people of the towne (which standeth within the port about a mile from the tower) may under-
stand thereof. Under this tower there lieth a sandy shoze, where men may easily go aland; and by
the tower there runneth a hill along by the waters side, which easily with small floze of ordinance
subdueth the towne and port. The port within is so large that there may easily ride a thousand
saile of ships without anker or cable, for no winde is able to hurt them. There inhabit within the
towne of Hauana about three hundred Spanyards, and about threescore souldiers, which the king
mainteineth there for the keeping of a certeine castle which hee hath of late erected, which hath
planted in it about twelue pieces of small ordinance, and is compassed round with a small ditch,
whereof at their pleasure they may let in the sea. About two leagues from Hauana there lieth
another towne called Wanabacoa, in which there is dwelling about an hundred Indians, and
from this place 60 leagues there lieth another towne named Bahama, situate on the North side of
the Island. The chiefest city of this Island of Cuba (which is aboue 200 leagues in length) is
also called Sant lago de Cuba, where dwelleth a bishop & about two hundred Spanyards; which
towne standeth on the South side of the Island about 100 leagues from Hauana. All the trade
of this Island is cattell, which they kill onely for the hides that are brought thence into Spaine;
for which end the Spanyards maineine there many negroes to kil their cattell, and foster a great
number of hogs, which being killed, and cut into small pieces, they dry in the Sun, and so make
it poulison for the ships which come for Spaine.

Hauing remained in this Island two moneths, I tooke shipping in a frigate, and went ouer to
Nombre de Dios, and from thence by land to Panama, which standeth vpon the South sea.
From Nombre de Dios to Panama is 17 leagues distance: from which towne there runneth a
riuer which is called the riuer of Chagre, which runneth with in 5 leagues of Panama, to a place
called Cruzes, thozow which riuer they carry their goods, and disimbarke them at the sayd Cru-
zes, and from thence they are conueyed on mules backs to Panama by land; where they againe
imbarke them in certeine small shippes in the South sea for all the coast of Peru. In one of these
ships I went to Porosfi, and from thence by land to Cusco, and from thence to Paica.

Here I remained the space of seuen moneths, and then returned into the kingdome of Guati-
mala, and arrived in the prouince of Nicolia, and Nicaragua. From Nicaragua I travelled by
land to a prouince called Nicamula (which lieth toward the North sea in certaine high moun-
taines) for that I could not passe thozow the kingdome of Guatimala at that time for waters,
where with all the Low countreys of the prouince of Soconusco, lying by the South sea, are
drowned with the raine that falleth aboue in the mountaines, enduring alwayes from April to
September: which season for that cause they call their Winter. From this prouince I came
into another called De Vera Paz, in which the chiefest city is also called after that name, where
there

there dwelleth a bishop and about forty Spaniards. Among the mountaines of this countrey toward the North sea, there is a prouince called La Cádona, where are Indian men of war which the king can not subdue, for that they haue townes and forts in a great lake of water aboue in the sayd mountaines: the most part of them goe naked, and some weare mantles of cotton wooll. Distance from this about 80 leagues, I came into another prouince called the prouince of Chiapa, wherein the chiefest city is called Sacaelan, where there dwelleth a bishop and about an hundred Spaniards. In this countrey there is great store of Cotton wooll, wherof the Indians make fine linnen cloth, which the Christians buy and cary into Noua Hispania. The people of this prouince pay their tribute to the king all in Cotton wooll and Feathers. Foureteene leagues from this city there is another called Chiapa, where are the finest gemmets in all the Indies, which are caried hence to Mexico, 300 leagues from it. From this city I travelled still thorow hilles and mountaines, till I came to the end of this prouince, to a hill called Ecatepec, which in English signifieth The hill of winde: for that they say, it is the highest hill that euer was discovered: for from the top of it may be discovered both the North and the South seas; and it is in height supposed to be nine leagues. They which trauell ouer it, lie alwayes at the foot of it ouer night, and begin their iourney about midnight, to trauell to the top of it before the Sunne rise the next day, because the winde bloweth with such force after wards, that it is impossible for any man to goe up: from the foot of this hill to Tecoahteppec, the first towne of Noua Hispania, are about fiftene leagues. And so from hence I iourneyed to Mexico.

By and by after I came to Mexico (which was in the yere 1572) in the company of another Spaniard, which was my companion in this iourney, we went together toward the prouince of Panuco, which lieth vpon the coast of the North sea, and within three dayes iourney we entered a city called Mestilan, where there dwelt twelue Spaniards: the Indian inhabitants there were about thirty thousand. This city standeth vpon certaine hie mountaines, which are very thicke planted with townes very holesome and fruitfull, hauing plentifull fountaines of water running thorow them. The high wayes of these hilles are all set with fruits, and trees of diuers kindes, and most pleasant. In euery towne as we passed thorow, the Indians presented vs with victuals. Within twenty leagues of this place there is another city called Clanchinoltepec, belonging to a gentleman, where there inhabit about fourty thousand Indians; and there are among them eight or nine friers of the Order of Saint Augustine, who haue there a Monastery. Within three dayes after we departed from this place, and came to a city called Guaxutla, where there is another Monastery of friers of the same Order: there dwell in this towne about twelue Spaniards. From this place for wards beginneth a prouince called Gualtecan, which is all plaine grounds without any hilles. The first towne we came vnto is called Tancuyabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, hauing all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long downe to their knees, tied as women vse to doe with their haire-laces. When they goe out of their doozes, they cary with them their bowes and arrowes, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and vse it for a principall medicine for certaine woymes which breed in their lips and in their gummes. After nine dayes trauell from this place, we came to a towne called Tampice, which is a port towne vpon the sea, wherein there dwell, I thinke, forty Christians, of which number whilst wee abode there, the Indians killed foureteene, as they were gathering of Salt, which is all the trade that they haue in this place: it standeth vpon the entrie of the riuer of Panuco, which is a mighty great riuer; and were it not for a land that lieth at the mouth of it, ships of five hundred tunne might goe by into it about three score leagues. From hence we went to Panuco, foureteene leagues from Tampice, which in times past had bene a goodly city, where the king of Spaine had his gouernour: but by reason that the Indians there destroyed the Christians, it lieth in a maner waste, containing in it not a boue tenne Christians with a priest. In this towne I fell sicke, where I lay one and forty dayes, hauing no other sustenance then fruit and water, which water I sent for about sixe leagues off within the countrey. Here I remained till my companion came to me, which had departed from me another way, retaining in my company onely a slaue, which I brought with me from Mexico. And the last day in Easter weeke my companion came to me, finding me in a very weake state, by reason of the vnholesomenesse of the place. Notwithstanding my weakenesse, I being set on an horse, and an Indian behinde mee to holde mee, wee went forward on our voyage all that day till night. The next day in the morning we passed ouer the riuer in a canoa; and being on the other side, I went my selfe before alone: and by reason there met many wayes traied by the wilde beasts, I lost my way, and so travelled thorow a great wood about two leagues: and at length

Chiapa 300
leagues from
Mexico.Ecatepec an hill
nine leagues
high.

Tecoantepes

His iourney
to Panuco.

Mestilan.

Clanchinoltepec
a gentleman
dwelling

Guaxutla.

Gualtecan.

Tancuyabo.

Salt a principall
medicine for
many diseases.Tampice a port
towne.

Panuco.

fell into the hands of certaine wilde Indians, which were there in certaine cottages made of straw; who seeing me, came out to the number of twenty of them, with their bowes and arrowes, and spake vnto mee in their language, which I vnderstood not: and so I made signes vnto them to helpe mee from my horse; which they did by commandement of their lord, which was there with them; and lighted downe. They caried me vnder one of their cottages, and layed me vpon a mat on the ground: and perceiuing that I could not vnderstand them, they brought vnto mee a little Indian wench of Mexico, of fifteene or sixteene yeeres of age, whom they commanded to aske me in her language from whence I came, and for what intent I was come among them: for (sayth she) doest thou not know Christian, how that these people will kill and eat thee? To whom I answered, let them doe with me what they will; heere now I am. Shee replied, saying, thou mayest thanke God thou art leane; for they feare thou hast the pocks: otherwise they would eat thee. So I presented to the king a little wine which I had with me in a bottle; which he esteemed aboue any treasure: for for wine they will sell their wiues and children. Afterwards the wench asked me what I would haue, and whether I would eat any thing. I answered that I desired a little water to drinke, for that the countrey is very hote: and shee brought me a great Venice glasse, gilded, full of water. And maruelling at the glasse, I demanded how they came by it. Shee tolde me that the Casique brought it from Shallapa, a great towne distant 30 leagues from this place on the hilles, whereas dwelt certeine Christians, and certeine friers of the Order of S. Augustine, which this Casique with his people on a night slew; and burning the friers monastery; among other things reserued this glasse: and from thence also brought me. Hauing now bene conuersant with them about three or foure houres, they bid her aske me if I would goe my way. I answered her, that I desired nothing els. So the Casique caused two of his Indians to leade me forward in my way; going before me with their bowes and arrowes, naked, the space of three leagues, till they brought me into an high way: and then making a signe vnto me, they signified that in short time I should come to a towne where Christians inhabited, which was called S. Iago de los valles, standing in plaine fields, walled about with a mud wall: the number of the Christians that dwelt therein, were not aboue foure or five and twenty, vnto which the king of Spaine giueth Indians and townes, to keepe the countreys subiect vnto him. Heere the Christians haue their mighty mules, which they carry for all the parts of the Indies, and into Peru, for that all their merchandize are caried by this meane by land. In this towne aforesayd, I found my company which I had lost before, who made no other account of me but that I had bene slaine: and the Christians there likewise maruelled to heare that I came from those kinde of Indians a-live, which was a thing neuer seene nor heard of before: for they take a great pride in killing a Christian, and to weare any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men. In this towne I remained eightene dayes, till I recovered my health, and in the meane space there came one Don Francisco de Pago, whom the viceroy Don Henrico Manriques had sent for captaine generall, to open and discover a certeine way from the sea side to the mines of Sacatecas, which were from this place 160 leagues, for to transport their merchandize by that way, leauing the way by Mexico, which is seuen or eight weeks trauell. So this captaine tooke me and my company, with the rest of his souldiers, to the number of forty, which he had brought with him, and five hundred Indians, which we tooke out of two townes in this prouince called Tanchipa, and Tamaclipa, all good archers, and naked men, and went thence to the riuer de las Palmas, which is of great bignesse, parting the kingdome of Noua Hispania and Florida: and going still along by this riuer the space of three dayes, seeking passage to passe over; and finding none, we were at length inforced to cut timber to make a balsa or raft, which when we had made, we sate on it, the Indians swimming in the water, and thrusting it before them to the other side. Within thirty dayes after, traueilling thorow woods, hilles, and mountaines, we came to the mines of Sacatecas, which are the richest mines in all the Indies, and from thence they fetch most silver: at which mines there dwelt aboue three hundred Christians: and there our captaine gaue vs leaue to depart. So we came to the balley of S. Michael toward Mexico; and from thence to Pueblo nuevo; and from that place to the prouince of Mechucan, after which name the chiefeest city of that place is called, where there dwelles a bishop, and aboue an hundred Spaniards in it: it aboundeth with all kind of Spanish fruits, and hath woods full of nut trees, and wild vines. Heere are many mines of copper, and great store of cattell. It lieth 60 leagues from Mexico, whither we came within foure dayes after. The Indians of this countrey are very mighty and big men.

Afterwards I returned another way to the prouince of Sonsonate by Vera cruz, and so to Rio Aluarado, and from thence to the prouince of Campeche, which lieth on the South side of the bay of

Shallapa.

San Iago de los
valles.S. Iago de los
valles.Don Henrico
Manriques viceroy
of Mexico.Rio de las
Palmas.The mines of
Sacatecas.The balley of
S. Michael.
Pueblo nuevo.
Mechucan.

Copper mines

Campeche.

of Mexico: the chiefe towne of this prouince is called Merida, in which is a bishop and almost 100 Spaniards. The Indians of this prouince pay all their tribute in mantles of cotton wooll and cacao. There is no port in all this prouince for a ship of 100 tun to ride in, but onely in the riuer of Tabasco, by which riuer this city of Merida standeth. The chiefest merchandize which they lade there in small frigats, is a certeine wood called campeche, (where with they vse to die) as also hides and annile. By this there lieth the prouince of Iucatan, nere the Honduras by the North sea coast, where there is also another bishop, and a towne likewise named Iucatan, where there dwell a few Spaniards. They haue no force at all in all this coast to defend themselves withall, saue only that the land is low, and there is no port to receiue any shipping, vnlesse they be frigats, which cary from thence to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, ware, cacao, hony, and also mantles of cotton wooll, whereof they make there great store, and of which kind of merchandize there is great trade thence to Mexico: of the same also they pay their tribute to the king.

The king hath tribute brought him yerely out of the Indies into Spaine betweene nine and ten millions of gold and siluer: for he receiueth of euery Indian which is subiect vnto him (excepting those which do belong to the Incommenderos, which are the children of those Spaniards, who first conquered the land, to whom the king gaue and granted the gouernment of the cities and townes subdued for three liues) twelue reals of plate, and a hannege of maiz, which is a wheat of the countrey, (five of them making a quarter of English measure) and of euery widow woman he hath five reals, & halfe a hannege of maiz. And so if any Indian haue twenty children in his house, he payeth for euery one of them, being aboue fiftene yeres old, after that rate. This Wheat being duely brought to the gouernour of euery prouince and city, is sold in Mexico by the kings gouernours there euery yeere; so that the money receiued for it, is put into the kings Treasure there, and so is yerely caried from thence into Spaine. Of the Spaniards which are owners of the mines of gold and siluer, he receiueth the fift part of it, which he calleth his quintas, which being taken out of the heape, there is his armes set on it; for otherwise it may not be brought out of the land into Spaine, vnder paine of death. The marke of siluer, which is eight ounces, when it cometh out of the mines, not hauing the kings seale vpon it, is woorth three and forty reals of plate, and so it is current: and when they will bring it for Spaine, they cary it to the kings Treasure house, where his seale is set vpon it; and so it is raised in value thereby to the scope and foure reals of plate: and so the king hath for his custome of euery marke of plate one and twentie reals.

From the yere of 1570, which was the yeere that the Popes bulls came into the Indies, as is afore mentioned, he hath receiued both of the Indians which are tributaries vnto him, and also of all others belonging to the Incommenderos, of euery one being aboue twelue yeeres of age, foure reals of euery bull. Also they cary other pardons with them into the Indies, for such as be dead, although an hundred yeres before the Spaniards came into the countrey: which pardons the friers in their preachings perswaded the poore Indians to take, telling them that with giuing foure reals of plate for a Masse, they would deliuer their soules out of purgatory. Of the Christians likewise dwelling there he hath fourteene reals for euery bull: and there be certeine bulls brought thither for the Christians besides the former, which serue for pardoning all such faults wherein they haue trespassed either against the king, by keeping backe his customes, or one against another by any other iniury; for euery hundred crownes whereof a mans conscience doth accuse him that he hath deceiued the king or any other, he must giue ten for a bull, and so after that rate for euery hundred which he hath any way stolen, and so is pardoned the fault. The reuenue of his bulls after this maner peeldeth vnto his treasury yerely aboue threemillions of gold, as I haue bene credibly informed, although of late both the Spaniards and Indians do refuse to take the bulls; for that they perceiue he doth make a yerely custome of it: onely ech Indian taketh one pardon for all his householde, (whereas in former time euery Indian vled to take one for euery person in his house) and teareth the same into small pieces, and giueth to euery one of his householde a little piece, saying thus, they need now no more, seeing in that which they bought the yeere before they had aboue ten thousand yeres pardon. These pieces they sticke vp in the wall of the houses where they lie. Both the Christians & Indians are weary with these infinite taxes and customes, which of late he hath imposed vpon them, more then in the yeeres before: so as the people of both sorts did rebell twise in the time that I was among them, and would haue set vp another king of themselves: for which cause the king hath commanded vpon paine of death, that they should not plant either wine or oile there, but should alwayes stand in need of them to be brought out of Spaine, although there would more grow there in foure yeeres, then there groweth in Spaine in twenty, it is so fertile a countrey.

Merida.

Mo de Tabasco.

Iucatan.

The greatnesse of the king of Spaines tribute out of the West India.

The quintas

The marke of siluer is 64 reals of plate.

The reuenue of the kings bulls and pardons came yerely to thys millions.

Rebellions in Nova Hispania by too great exactions.

The reasons
which moue
the kings of
Spaine to forbid
foyer traffike
in the West In-
dies.

And the king to keepe the countrey alwayes in subiection, and to his owne vse, hath streightly provided by lawe, vpon paine of death, and losse of goods, that none of these countreys should traffique with any other nation, although the people themselues doe much now desire to trade with any other then with them, and would vndoubtedly doe, if they feared not the perill ensuing thereupon.

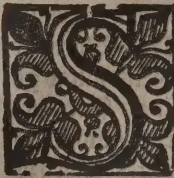
Maguis,

About Mexico, and other places in Noua Hispania, there groweth a certeine plant called magueis, which yeeldeth wine, vineger, honny, and blacke sugar, and of the leaues of it dried they make hempe, ropes, shooes which they vse, and tiles for their houses: and at the ende of euery leafe there groweth a sharpe point like an awle, where with they vse to boze or pearce thozow any thing.

Thus to make an end, I haue heere set downe the summe of all the chiefest things that I haue obserued and noted in my seuateene yeres trauell in those parts.

A relation of the commodities of Noua Hispania, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawks merchant, which liued five yeeres in the sayd countrey, and drew the same at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire of Eton in the county of Hereford, 1572.

S. Iohn de Vllua,



Saint Iohn de Vllua is an Island not high aboue the water, where as now the Spanyards vpon S. Iohn Hawkins being there, are in making a strong fort. In this place all the ships that come out of Spaine with goods for these parts, do vnlade: for they haue none other port so good as this is. The comming into this place hath three chanelles, and the best of all is the Northmost, which goeth by the maine land: and on euery side of the chanelles there are many small rocks as big as a small barrell: they wil make men stand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Island there by, called The Island of sacrifices, where as the Spanyards did in times past vnlade their goods: and for that, they say, there are vpon it spirits or deuils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In these places the North wind hath so great dominion, that oftentimes it destroyeth many ships and barks. This place is giuen to great sicknesse. These Islands stand in 18 degrees and a halfe, and about the same is great plenty of fish.

Spirits.

Vera Cruz,

Five leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua is a faire riuer: it lieth North west from the port, and goeth to a little towne of the Spanyards called Vera Cruz, and with small vessels or barks, which they call frigats, they carpy all their merchandize which cometh out of Spaine, to the said towne: and in like maner bring all the gold, siluer, cochinita, hides, and all other things that the shippes carpy into Spaine vnto them. And the goods being in Vera Cruz, they carpy them to Mexico, and to Pueblo de los Angeles, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and diuers other places so farre within the countrey, that some of them are 700 miles off, and some moze, and some lesse, all vpon horses, mules, and in waines drawen with oxen, and in carres drawen with mules.

In this towne of Vera Cruz within these twenty yeres, when women were brought to bed, the children new borne incontinently died; which is not so now in these dayes, God be thanked.

Musquito.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diseases, by reason of the great heat, and a certeine gnat or flie which they call a musquito, which biteth both men and women in their sleepe; and as soone as they are bitten, incontinently the flesh swelleth as though they had bene bitten with some venomous woyme. And this musquito or gnat doth most follow such as are newly come into the countrey. Many there are that die of this annoyance.

Popinians.

Ponkeys.

This towne is situated vpon the riuer aforesayd, and compassed with woods of diuers maners and sorts, and many fruits, as oranges and limons, guaiues, and diuers others, and birds in them, popinians both small and great, and some of them as big as a rauens, and their taitles as long as the taitle of a fozant. There are also many other kinde of birds of purple colour, and small monkeys, maruellous proper.

Wheat thwile
in a pere.

This hote or sicke countrey continueth five and forty miles towards the city of Mexico; and the five and forty miles being passed, then there is a temperate countrey, and full of tillage: but they water all their cozne with riuers which they turne in vpon it. And they gather their Wheat thwile a pere. And if they should not water the ground where as their cozne is sown, the country is so hote it would burne all.

Tlaxcalla a free
city.

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it about 16000 households. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings of Spaine: for these were the occasion that Mexico was woonne in so short time, and with so little losse of men. Where-
foze

fore they are all gentlemen, and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the cochinitla growing.

Mexico is a great city; it hath more then fifty thousand households, whereof there are not past five or six thousand houses of Spaniards: all the other are the people of the countrey, which live vnder the Spaniards lawes. There are in this city stately buildings, and many monasteries of friers and nunnnes, which the Spaniards haue made. And the building of the Indians is somewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of small chambers, with very small windowes, which is not so comly as the building of the Spaniards. This city standeth in the midst of a great lake, and the water goeth thorow all or the most part of the streets, and there come small boats, which they call canoas, and in them they bring all things necessary, as wood, and coales, and grasse for their horses, stones and lime to build, and come.

This city is subiect to many earthquakes, which oftentimes cast downe houses, and kill people. This city is very well provided of water to drinke, and with all maner of victuals, as fruits, flesh and fish, bread, hennes and capons, Guiny cocks and hennes, and all other fowle. There are in this city every weeke three Faires or Markets, which are frequented with many people, aswell Spaniards as the people of the countrey. There are in these Faires or Markets all maner of things that may be inuented, to sell, and in especiall, things of the countrey. The one of these Faires is vpon the Monday, which is called S. Hypolitos faire, and S. James his faire is vpon the Thursday, and vpon Saturday is S. Johns faire. In this city is alwayes the kings gouernour or viceroy, and there are kept the Termes and Parliaments. And although there be other places of iustice, yet this is aboue all: so that all men may appeale vnto this place, and may not appeale from this city, but onely into Spaine before the king: and it must be for a certeine summe: and if it be vnder that summe, then there is no appellacion from them. Many riuers fall into this lake which the city standeth in: but there was neuer any place found whither it goeth out.

The Indians know a way to drowne the city, and within these thre yeeres they would haue practised the same: but they which should haue bene the doers of it were hanged: and euer since the city hath bene well watched both day and night, for feare least at some time they might be deceiued: for the Indians loue not the Spaniards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and orchards of the fruits of the countrey, maruellous faire, where the people haue great recreation. The men of this city are marvellous vicious; and in like maner the women are dishonest of their bodie, more then they are in other cities or townes in this countrey.

There are neere about this city of Mexico many riuers and standing waters, which haue in them a monstrous kinde of fish, which is marvellous rauening, and a great deuourer of men and cattell. He is wont to sleepe vpon the dyke land many times, and if there come in the meane time any man or beast and wake or disquiet him, he speedeth well if he get from him. He is like vnto a serpent, sauing that he doth not slie, neither hath he wings.

There is West out of Mexico a port to wne which is on the South sea, called Puerto de Acapulco, where as there are shippes which they haue ordinarily for the nauigation of China, which they haue newly found. This port is threescore leagues from Mexico.

There is another port to wne which is called Culiacan, on the South sea, which lieth West and by North out of Mexico, and is 200 leagues from the same: and there the Spaniards made two shippes to goe seeke the streight or gulf, which, as they say, is betweene the Newfoundland and Groenland; and they call it the Englishmens streight: which as yet was neuer fully found. They say, that streight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spaniards account to be marvellous rich.

Toward the North from Mexico there are great store of silver mines. There is greater quantitie of silver found in these mines toward the North, then there is in any other parts: and as the most men of experience sayde alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. These mines are commonly vpon great hilles and stony ground, marvellous hard to be laboured and wrought.

Out of some of the mines the Indians finde a certeine kinde of earth of diuers colours, where with they paint themselves in times of their dances, and other pastimes which they vse.

In this countrey of Noua Hispania there are also mines of golde, although the golde be commonly found in riuers, or very neere vnto riuers. And now in these dayes there is not so much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

There are many great riuers, and great store of fish in them, not like vnto our kindes of fish. And there are marvellous great woods, and as faire trees as may be seene, of diuers sorts, and especially firre trees, that may mast any shippe that goeth vpon the sea, oaks and pineapples, and

Mexico.

Mexico.

Mexico.

Mexico.

Mexico.

Mexico.

Mexico.

Mexico.

Mexico.

Mexico.

Mexico.

Mesquiquez.

another tree which they call Mesquiquez : it beareth a fruit like vnto a peascod, marvellous sweet, which the wilde people gather, and keepe it all the yere, and eat it in stead of bread.

Seuen cities
by witchcraft
not found of
the seekers.

The Spanyards haue notice of seuen cities which old men of the Indians shew them should lie towards the Northwest from Mexico. They haue vsed and vse dayly much diligence in seeking of them, but they cannot find any one of them. They say that the witchcraft of the Indians is such, that when they come by these towne they cast a mist vpon them, so that they cannot see them.

Pedro Morales &
Nicolas Burgig-
non write the
like of Copalla.

They haue vnderstanding of another city which they call Copalla : and in like maner, at my beeing in the countrey, they haue vsed much labour and diligence in the seeking of it : they haue found the lake on which it should stand, and a canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiously, and could not finde nor see any man nor the towne, which to their vnderstanding should stand on the same water, or very neere the same.

The strange
open of Cibola.

There is a great number of beasts or kine in the countrey of Cibola, which were neuer brought thither by the Spanyards, but breed naturally in the countrey. They are like vnto our oxen, sauing that they haue long haire like a lion, and short hornes, and they haue vpon their shoulders a bunch like a camell, which is higher then the rest of their body. They are marvellous wild and swift in running. They call them the beasts or kine of Cibola.

Cibola abandoned.

This Cibola is a city which the Spanyards found now of late, without any people in the same, goodly buildings, faire chimneys, windowes made of stone & timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheelles to draw their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire stones vpon the graues. And the captaine would not suffer his souldiers to breake vp any part of these graues, saying, he would come another time to do it.

A great river
near Cibola.

They asked certeine people which they met, whether the people of this city were gone : and they made answer, they were gone downe a riuer, which was there by, very great, and there had builded a city which was more for their commodity.

as was
said
before

This captaine lacking things necessary for himselfe and his men, was faine to returne backe againe, without finding any treasure according to his expectation : neither found they but fewe people, although they found beaten wayes, which had bene much haunted and frequented. The captaine at his coming backe againe, had a great chcke of the gouernour, because he had not gone forwarde, and seene the end of that riuer.

Water con-
gealed to salt.

They haue in the countrey, farre from the sea side, standing waters, which are salt : and in the moneths of April and May the water of them congealeth into salt, which salt is all taken for the kings vse and profit.

Dogs of India
described.

Their dogs are all crooked backt, as many as are of the countrey breed, and cannot run fast : their faces are like the face of a pig or an hog, with sharpe noses.

Cacao a fruit
currant as
money.

In certeine prouinces which are called Guatimala, & Soconusco, there is growing great store of cacao, which is a berry like vnto an almond : it is the best merchandize that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meat to eat. It goeth currantly for money in any market or faire, and may buy any flesh, fish, bread or cheese, or other things.

Fruits.

There are many kinde of fruits of the countrey, which are very good, as plantans, sapotes, guiaues, pinas, aluacatas, tunas, mamios, limons, oranges, walnuts very small and hard, with little meat in them, grapes which the Spanyards brought into the countrey, and also wilde grapes, which are of the countrey, and are very small, quinses, peaches, figs, and but few apples, and very small, and no peares : but there are melons and calabacas or gourds.

There is much hony, both of bees and also of a kind of tree which they call magueiz. This hony of magueiz is not so sweet as the other hony is, but it is better to be eaten only with bread, then the other is ; and the tree serueth for many things, as the leaues make threed to sewe any kinde of bags, and are good to couer and thatch houses, and for diuers other things.

Hot springs.

They haue in diuers places of the countrey many hote springs of water : as aboue all other, I haue seene one in the prouince of Mechuacon. In a platine field without any mountaine, there is a spring which hath much water, & it is so hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe be cast into it, within on halfe houre it will be as well sodden as it will be ouer a fire in halfe a day. I haue seene halfe a sheepe cast in, and immediatly it hath bene sodden, and I haue eaten part of it.

Hares and
conies.
Sea fish.

There are many hares, and some conies. There are no partridges, but abundance of quails.

They haue great store of fish in the South sea, and many oysters, and very great. The people do open the oysters, and take out the meat of them, and dry it as they do any other kinde of fish, and keepe them all the yere : and when the times serue, they send them abroad into the countrey to sell, as all other fish. They haue no salmon, nor trout, nor pike, nor carpe, tench, nor pike in all the countrey.

There

There are in the countrey mightie high mountaines, and hilles, and snow vpon them: they commonly burne; and twise euery day they cast out much smoke and ashes at certeine open places, which are in the tops of them.

Burning
mountaines.

There is among the wilde people much manna. I haue gathered of the same, and haue eaten it, and it is good: for the Apothecaries send their seruants at certeine times, to gather of the same for purgations, and other vses.

Manna.

There are in the mountaines many wilde hogs, which all men may kill, and lions and tygres; which tygres do much harme to men that trauell in the wilderness.

Wilde hogs,
lions, and ty-
gres.

In this countrey, not long since, there were two pooze men that found a maruellous rich mine; and when these men went to make a register of the same (according to the law and custome) before the kings officers, they thought this mine not meet for such men as they were: and violently tooke the sayd mine for the king; and gaue no part thereof vnto the two pooze men. And with- in certaine dayes the kings officers resorted thither to labor in the mine, & they found two great mightie hilles were come together; so they found no place to worke in. And in the time while I was among them, which was fife yeeres, there was a pooze shepheard, who keeping his sheepe, happened to finde a well of quicke-siluer; and he went in like maner to manifest the same, as the custome and maner is; the kings officers dealt in like order as they did with the two pooze men that found the rich mine, taking it quicke from the shepheard: but when they went to fetch home the quicke-siluer, or part thereof, they could neuer finde it againe. So these things haue bene declared vnto the king, who hath giuen commandement, that nothing being found in the fields, as mines, and such like, shall be taken away from any man. And many other things haue bene done in this countrey, which men might count for great maruels.

Mines disco-
uered, not
found againe.

The authour
fife yeeres in
Nueua Espanna.

There is great abundance of sugar here, & they make diuers conserues, & very good, and send them into Peru, where as they sell them maruellous well, because they make none in those parts.

Sugar & con-
serues.

The people of the countrey are of a good stature, tawny coloured, broad faced, flat nosed, and giuen much to drinke both wine of Spaine and also a certeine kind of wine which they make with hony of Magueiz, and roots, and other things which they vse to put into the same. They call the same wine Pulco. They are soone drunke, and giuen to much beaflinesse, and void of all goodnesse. In their drunkennesse they vse and commit Sodomy; and with their mothers and daughters they haue their pleasures and pastimes. Whereupon they are defended from the drinking of wines, vpon paines of money, as well he that selleth the wines as the Indian that drinke the same. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine and in France were not sufficient for the West Indies onely.

Description of
the Indians
person and
maners.

They are of much simplicity, and great cowards; voide of all valour, and are great witches. They vse diuers times to talke with the diuell, to whom they do certeine sacrifices and oblations: many times they haue bene taken with the same, and I haue seene them most cruelly punished for that offence.

The people of
Nueua Espanna
great cow-
ards.

The people are giuen to learne all maner of occupations and sciences, which for the most part they learned since the comming of the Spanyards: I say all maner of arts. They are very artificiall in making of images with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kind of maner as he is. The finenesse and excellency of this is woonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, should giue themselves to so fine an arte as this is. They are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and coppersmiths, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, tailors, sadlers, imbroderers, and of all other kind of sciences: and they will do worke so good cheape, that pooze yong men that goe out of Spaine to get their liuing, are not set on worke: which is the occasion there are many idle people in the countrey. For the Indian will liue all the weeke with lesse then one groat; which the Spanyard cannot do, nor any man els.

They say, that they came of the linage of an olde man which came thither in a boat of wood, which they call a canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood or after, neither can they giue any reason of the flood, nor fro whence they came. And when the Spanyards came first among them, they did certeine sacrifice to an image made in stone, of their owne inuention. The stone was set vpon a great hill, which they made of bricks of earth: they call it their Cowa. And certeine dayes in the yere they did sacrifice, certeine olde men, and yong children; and onely beleued in the Sunne and the Doone, saying, that from them they had all things that were need- ful for them. They haue in these parts great store of cotton wooll, with which they make a maner of linnen cloth, which the Indians wear, both men and women, and it serueth for shirts & smocks, and all other kind of garments, which they wear vpon their bodies: and the Spanyards vse it to all such purposes, especially such as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all

The Indians
ignorance fro
whence they
came.

The Sun and
Doone hono-
red.
Store of cotton.

The wilde
Indians.

maner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I say linnen cloth, would be solde out of all measure.

The wilde people go naked, without any thing vpon them. The women weare the skinn of a deere before their priuities, and nothing els vpon all their bodies. They haue no care for any thing, but onely from day to day for that which they haue need to eat. They are big men, and likewise the women. They shoot in bowes which they make of a cherry tree, and their arrowes are of cane, with a sharpe flint stone in the end of the same; they will pierce any coat of maile: and they kill deere, and cranes, and wilde geese, ducks and other fowle, and wormes, and snakes, and diuers other vermin, which they eat. They liue very long: for I haue seene men that haue bene an hundred yerres of age. They haue but very little haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

Friers in re-
uerence.

The Indians haue the friers in great reuerence: the occasion is, that by them and by their meanes they are free and out of bondage; which was so ordeined by Charles the emperoz: which is the occasion that now there is not so much gold and siluer comming into Europe as there was while the Indians were slaues. For when they were in bondage they could not chuse but doe their taske euery day, and bring their masters so much metall out of their mines: but now they must be well payed, and much intreated to haue them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the mines, and to the kings quinto or custome.

Copper mines

There are many mines of copper in great quantity, whereof they spend in the countrey as much as serueth their turnes. There is some golde in it, but not so much as will pay the costs of the fining. The quantity of it is such, and the mines are so farre from the sea, that it will not be worth the fraight to cary it into Spaine. On the other side, the kings officers will giue no licence to make ordinance thereof; whereupon the mines lie vnlaboured, and of no valuation.

The pompe of
owners of
mines.

There is much lead in the countrey; so that with it they couer churches, and other religious houses: wherefore they shall not need any of our lead, as they haue had need thereof in times past. The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the mines is maruellous to beholde: the apparell both of them and of their wiues is moze to be compared to the apparell of noble persons then otherwise. If their wiues goe out of their houses, as vnto the church, or any other place, they goe out with great maiesty, and with as many men and maids as though she were the wife of some noble man. I will assure you, I haue seene a miners wife goe to the church with an hundred men, and twenty gentlewomen and maids. They keepe open house: who will, may come to eat their meat. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and supper. They are princes in keeping of their houses, and bountifull in all maner of things.

Things neces-
sary to mines
of siluer and
golde.

A good owner of mines must haue at the least an hundred slaues to cary and to stampe his metals; he must haue many mules, and men to keepe the mines; he must haue milles to stampe his metals; he must haue many waines and oren to bring home wood to fine the oare; he must haue much quicke-siluer, and a marvellous quantity of salt-brine for the metals; and he must be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quicke-siluer, it is a new inuention, which they finde moze profitable then to fine their oare with lead. Howbeit the same is very costly: for there is neuer a hundred of quick-siluer but costeth at the least threescore pounds sterling. And the mines fall dayly in decay, and of lesse value: and the occasion is, the few Indians that men haue to labour their mines.

The plenty of
cattell.

There is in New Spaine a marvellous increase of cattell, which dayly do increase, and they are of a greater growth then ours are. You may haue a great steere that hath an hundred weight of tallow in his belly for sixteene shillings; and some one man hath 20000 head of cattell of his owne. They sell the hides vnto the merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be well spared. They spend many in the countrey in shooes and boots, and in the mines: and as the countrey is great, so is the increase of the cattell woonderfull. In the Island of Santo Domingo they commonly kill the beasts for their hides and tallow; and the fowles eat the carkeises: and so they do in Cuba and Porto Rico, whereas there is much sugar, and cana fistula, which dayly they send into Spaine. They haue great increase of sheepe in like maner, and dayly do intend to increase them. They haue much wooll, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. They make cloth as much as serueth the countrey, for the common people, and send much cloth into Peru. I haue seene cloth made in the city of Mexico, which hath bene solde for tenne pezos a vare, which is almost foure pounds English, and the vare is lesse then our pard. They haue woad growing in the countrey, and alum, and bzasil, and diuers other things to die withall, so that they make all colours. In Peru they make no cloth: but hereafter our cloth will be kittle set by in these parts, vntill it be some fine cloth. The woolls are commonly foure shillings euery roue, which is five & twenty pounds: and in some places of the countrey that are farre from the places where as they make cloth, it is woorth nothing, and doth serue but onely to make beds for men to lie on.

Sheepe.
Wooll.
Cloth.

Woad.
Alum.
Bzasil.

They

They make hats, as many as doe serue the Countrey, very fine and good, and sell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like maner send them into Peru.

Many people are set on worke both in the one and in the other: they spin their wooll as we doe, and in steed of oyle, they haue hogs grease: they twill not their threed so much as wee doe, neither worke so fine a threed. They make no kerlies, but they make much cloth, which is course, and sell it for lesse then 12. pence the bare. It is called Sayall.

They haue much silke, and make all maner of sorts thereof, as Tassataes, Sattins, Veluets of all colours, and they are as good as the silkes of Spaine, sauing that the colours are not so perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

They haue many hoxles, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They haue as good Jennets, as any are in Spaine, and better cheape then they bee in Spaine. And with their mules they cary all their goods from place to place.

There is raine vsually in this Countrey, from the moneth of May, to the midst of October, euery day, which time they call their winter, by reason of the said waters. And if it were not for the waters which fall in these hot seasons, their Maiz, which is the greatest part of their sustenance, would be destroyed. This Maiz is the greatest maintenance which the Indian hath, and also all the common people of the Spaniards. And their hoxles and mules which labour, cannot be without the same. This graine is substantiall, and increaseth much blood. If the Spaniards should bee without it, they coulde not labour their Mines: for all their seruants eate none other bread, but onely of this Maiz, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in some places of England.

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. shillings of money, and an hangee of Maiz, which is worth 4. shillings more vnto the King euery yeere. This is payd in all Noua Hispania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, sauing the Citie of Tlascalla, which was made free, because the citizens thereof were the occasion that Cortes tooke Mexico in so little a time. And although at the first they were freed from payment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to vsurpe vpon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne costes euery yeere for the King, which is as beneficial vnto him, and as great cost vnto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe.

The ships which goe out of Spaine with goods for Peru, goe to Nombre de dios, and there discharge the said goods: and from thence they be caried ouer the necke of a land, vnto a port towne in the South sea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues distant from Nombre de dios. And there they doe ship their goods againe, and so from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither three moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. dayes. They haue selome foule weather, and fewe ships are lost in the South sea. Foure yeeres past, to wit 1568. there was a ship made out of Peru, to seek Salomons Islands, and they came somewhat to the South of the Equinoctial, & found an Island with many blacke people, in such number that the Spaniards durst not go on land among them. And because they had bene long vpon the voyage, their people were very weake, and so went not on land, to know what commoditie was vpon it. And for want of victuals, they arriued in Noua Hispania, in a port called Puerto de Nauidad, and thence returned backe againe vnto Peru, whereas they were euill entreated, because they had not knowen more of the same Island.

They haue in this port of Nauidad ordinarily their ships, which goe to the Islands of China, which are certaine Islands which they haue found within these 7. yerres. They haue brought from thence gold, and much Cinamom, and dihes of earth, and cups of the same, so fine, that euery man that may haue a peece of them, will giue the weight of siluer for it. There was a Hariner that brought a pearle as big as a doves egge from thence, & a stone, for which the Viceroy would haue giuen 3000. duckets. Many things they bring from thence, most excellent. There are many of these plands, and the Spaniards haue not many of them as yet: *for the Portugals disturbe them much, and combate with them euery day, saying, it is part of their conquest, and to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are goodly people in them, and they are great Hariners, richly apparellled in cloth of gold, and siluer, and silke of all sorts, and goe apparellled after the maner of the Turkes. This report make such as come from thence. The men of the maine land haue certaine trafique with some of these planders, and come thither in a kind of ships, which they haue with one saile, and bring of such marchandize as they haue need of. And of these things there haue bene brought into New Spaine both cloth of gold and siluer, and diuers maners of silks, and works of gold and siluer, marueilous to be seene. So by their saying, there is not such a countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the plands 190. leagues: and the plands are not farre from the Malucos Northwards. And the people of those plands, which the Spaniards haue, say, that if they would bring their wiues and children, that then they should haue among them what they would

Hogs grease
in steed of oyle.

Silks of sundry
dyed sorts.

Hoxles,
Mules,
Jennets.

Maiz graine
for man and
beast, eaten in
cakes.

An Hangee is a
busket and an
hangee.

Salomons Islands
found, and found in
the South sea
1568.

China found
by the West.

* This is to be
understood of
the time when
this discourse
was written,
Anno 1572.

China ships
with one saile.

would haue. So there goe women dayly, and the king payeth all the charges of the married men and their wiues, that go to those ylands. And there is no doubt, but the trade will be marueilous rich in time to come. It was my fortune to be in company with one Diego Guieres, who was the first Pilot that euer went to that Countrey of the Philippinas. Hee maketh report of many strange things in that Countrey, as well riches, as other, and saith, if there bee any Paradise vpon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that sitting vnder a tree, you shall haue such sweet smells, with such great content and pleasure, that you shall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor haue any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the odoriferous smells will be so sweete. This man hath good liuings in Noua Hispania, notwithstanding hee will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treasure there is abundance, as he maketh mention. In this countrey of Noua Hispania there are many buckes and does, but they haue not so long hornes as they haue here in England. The Spaniards kill them with hand-guns, and with grayhounds, and the Indians kill them with their bowes and arrowes, and with the skins they make chamoyce, such as we in England make doublets and hose of, as good as the skins that are dyed in Flanders, & likewise they make marueilous good Spanish leather of them. There is a bird which is like vnto a Rauen, but he hath some of his feathers white: there is such abundance of them, that they eate all the corrupt and dead flesh which is in the countrey. Otherwise the abundance of carren is so much, that it would make a marueilous corrupt aire in all the Countrey, and be so noisome, that no man could abide it. Therefore it is commanded, there shall none of them be killed. These birds are alwayes about Cities, and townes, where there is much flesh killed.

Chamoice.

Spanish leather.
India hauens
not killed, to
denote car-
ren.

Wrongs done
to the Indi-
ans punished.

Justice & cause
of euillie.

The Indians are much fauoured by the Iustices of the Countrey, and they call them their orphans. And if any Spaniard should happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to strike any of them, being in any towne, whereas iustice is, they are as well punished for the same, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard is farre from Mexico, or any place of iustice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he list, considering he is so farre from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian do what he commaundeth him, and if he will not doe it, hee beatech and misleadeth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, vntill hee finde an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediatly heard, & although it be a knight, or a right good gentleman, he is forthwith sent for, and punished both by his goods, and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Iustice. This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and ciuill, as they are: and if they should not haue this fauour, the Spaniards would soone dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may call them dogs, and vse other euill words, as much as they will, and the Indian must needs put it by, and goe his way.

The poore Indians wil go euery day two or thre leagues to a faire or market with a childe vpon their necks, with as much fruit or rootes, or some kinde of ware, as cotton wooll, or cadis of all colours, as shall be not past worth a pennie: and they wil mainteine themselves vpon the same. For they liue with a marueilous small matter.

They are in such pouertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you shall haue an Indian to goe with you all the day with your bed vpon his backe, for one royall of plate: and this you shall haue from one towne to another. Here you are to vnderstand, that all men that trauelle by the way, are alwayes wont to carry their beds with them. They are great cheeues, and wil steale all that they may, and you shall haue no recompence at their hands.

The apparel
of the Indi-
ans.

The garments of the women, are in this maner. The uppermost part is made almost like to a womans smocke, sauing that it is as broad aboue as beneath, and hath no sleeves, but holes on eche side one to put out their armes. It is made of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers, of red cadis and blew, and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the knees, and then they haue another cloth made after the same maner, and that goeth rounde about their waste, and reacheth to their shooes, and ouer this a white fine sheet vpon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legges. Their haire is made by round with an haire lace about their head. And the men haue a small paire of breeches of the same cotton wooll, and their shirts which hang ouer their breeches, and a broad girdle about their middles, and a sheete with flowers vpon their backs, and with a knot vpon one shoulder, & an hat vpon their heads, and a paire of shooes. And this is all their apparell, although it be a Casique, which they vse in all the Countrey.

The houses of
the Indians.

The wals of the houses of the Indians, are but plaine, but the stones are layd so close, that you shall not well perceiue the ioynts betweene one stone and another, they are so finely cut: and by the meanes that the stones are so workmanly done, and finely ioyned together, there is some beautie in

in their wals. They are marueilous small and light, as Pumie stones. They make their doozes very little, so that there can go in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houses are small, and one roome they haue reserved for their friends, when they come to talke one with another, and that is alwayes faire matted, and kept marueilous cleane, and hanged full of images, and their chaires standing there to sit in. They eate their meate vpon the ground, and sleepe on the ground vpon a mat, without any bed, both the gentlemen, and other.

The Indians strike their fire with one sticke in another, as well the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not how to doe it with an yron, and a stone.

In Noua Hispania, euery 10. or 12. leagues they haue a contrary speech, sauing onely about Mexico: so there is a number of speeches in the Countrey.

Mutezuma which was the last King of this Countrey, was one of the richest princes which haue bene seene in our time, or long befoze. He had all kinde of beasts which were then in the countrey, and all maner of birds, and fishes, and all maner of wormes, which creepe vpon the earth, and all trees, and flowers, and herbes, all fashioned in siluer and gold, which was the greatest part of all his treasure, and in these things had he great ioy, as the old Indians report. And vnto this day, they say that the treasure of Mutezuma is hidden, and that the Spaniards haue it not. This King would giue none of his people freedome, nor forgiue any of them that should pay him tribute, though he were neuer so poore. For if it had bene told him that one of his tributaries was poore, & that he was not able to pay his tribute according to the custome, then he would haue him bound to bring at such times as tributes should be payd, a quill full of Lice, saying, hee would haue none free, but himselfe. He had as many wiues or concubines, as hee would haue, and such as liked him. Alwayes whensoever he went out of his Court to passe the time, he was borne vpon 4. of his noble mens shoulders set vpon a table, some say, of golde, and very richly dressed with feathers of diuers and many colours and flowers. He washed all his body euery day, were it neuer so cold. And vnto this day so do all the Indians, and especially the women.

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great subiectiō. They may haue in their houses no sword nor dagger, nor knife with any point, nor may weare vpon them any maner of armes, neither may they ride vpon any horse nor mules, in any saddle nor bzidle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greatest paine of all. They haue attempted diuers times to make insurrections, but they haue bene ouerthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beastly cowardlinesse.

There remaine some among the wild people, that vnto this day eate one another. I haue seene the bones of a Spaniard that haue bene as cleane burnished, as though it had bene done by men that had no other occupation. And many times people are caried away by them, but they neuer come againe, whether they be men or women.

They haue in the Seaylands of red salt in great abundance, whereas they lade it from place to place about the Sea coast: and they spend very much salt with salting their hides, and fish: and in their Pinies they occupie great quantitie. They haue much Alumie, and as good as any that is in all the Leuant, so that they neede none of that commoditie. They haue also of their owne growing much Cana fistula, & much Salsa Perilla, which is marueilous good for many kind of diseases.

There are in Florida many Jarrefalcons, and many other kinde of hawkes, which the gentlemen of Noua Hispania send for euery yere. The Spaniards haue two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

A discourse written by one Miles Philips Englishman, one of the company put on shoare Northward of Panuco, in the West Indies by M. Iohn Hawkins 1568. conteining many special things of that countrey and of the Spanish gouernment, but specially of their cruelties vsed to our Englishmen, and amongst the rest to himselfe for the space of 15. or 16. yeres together, vntil by good and happy meanes he was deliuered fro their bloody hands, and returned into his owne Countrey. An. 1582.

Chap. I.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of England, with the number and names of the ships, their Captaines and Masters, and of our trafique and dealing vpon the coast of Africa.

Vpon munday the second of October 1567. the weather being reasonable faire, our Generall M. Iohn Hawkins, hauing commanded all his Captaines and Masters to be in a readinesse to make saile with him, hee himselfe being imbarked in the Iesus, whereof was appointed for Master Robert Barrer, hoised saile, and departed from Plimouth vpon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America,

Fire rubbed out of two stiches. Diuers speeches.

Mutezuma, and his riches.

The Indians wash their selues euery day.

Cannibals.

Islands of salt.

Alumie.

Cassa fistula.

Salsa Perilla.

Florida.

This fleet consisted of 6 ships. 1. The Iesus.

2. The Mynion, America, being accompanied with five other saile of ships, as namely the Mynion, wherein went for Captaine M. Iohn Hampton, and Iohn Garret Haster. The William and Iohn, wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and James Raunce Haster. The Iudith, in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake after ward knight, and the Angel, whose Haster, as also the Captaine and Haster of the Swallow I now remember not. And so sayling in company together vpon our voyage vntill the tenth of the same moneth, an extreeme storme then tooke vs nere vnto Cape Finister, which dured for the space of foure dayes, and so separated our ships, that wee had lost one another, and our Generall finding the Iesus to bee but in ill case, was in minde to giue ouer the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleuenth of the same moneth the Seas waxing calme, and the winde comming faire, hee altered his purpose, and held on the former entended voyage: And so comming to the pland of Gomera being one of the plands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ships which were before dispersed; wee then tooke in fresh water and departed from thence the fourth of Nouember, and holding on our course, vpon the eighteenth day of the same moneth wee came to an anchor vpon the coast of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelue sadome water; and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160. or thereabout, seeking to take some Negros. And they going vp into the Countrey for the space of sixe miles, were encountred with a great number of the Negros: who with their inuenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were inforced to retire to the ships, in which conflict they recouered but a fewe Negros, and of these our men which were hurt with their enuenomed arrowes, there died to the number of seuen or eight in very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that wee were forced to put stickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open, and so afterward passing the time vpon the coast of Guinea, vntill the twelfth of January, wee obtained by that time the number of 150. Negros. And being ready to depart from the Sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambassadour to our Generall, from a King of the Negros, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, desiring our Generall to graunt him succour and ayde against those his enemies, which our Generall granted vnto, and went himselfe in person a lande, with the number of two hundred of our men or thereabouts, and the said King which had requested our ayde, did ioyne his force with ours, so that thereby our Generall assaulted, and set fire vpon a Towne of the said King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of eight or ten thousand Negros, and they perceiuing that they were not able to make any resistance fought by flight to saue themselves, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of eight or nine hundred, which our Generall ought to haue had for his share: howbeit the Negro King which requested our ayde, falsifying his word and promise, secretly in the night conueyed himselfe away with as many prisoners as he had in his custodie: but our Generall notwithstanding finding himselfe to haue now very neere the number of 500. Negros thought it best without longer abode to depart with them, and such marchandize as hee had from the coast of Africa, towards the West Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fewel, and so with speed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a storme that wee had, wee lost one of our ships, namely the William and Iohn, of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

Chap. 2.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of Africa, with the day and time of our arriual in the West Indies, also of our trade, and trafique there, and also of the great crueltie that the Spaniards vsed towards vs, by the Vice-roy his direction, and appointment, falsifying his faith and promise giuen, and seeking to haue intrapped vs.

ALl things being made in a readinesse, at our Generall his appointment, vpon the thirde day of February 1568. wee departed from the coast of Africa, hauing the weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard; and sayling so for the space of 52. dayes, vpon the 27. of March 1568. we came in sight of an pland called Dominica, vpon the coast of America in the West Indies, situated in 14. degrees of latitude, and 322. of longitude: from thence our Generall coasted from place to place, euer making trafique with the Spaniards and Indians as hee might, which was somewhat hardly obtained, for that the King had straightly charged all his gouernours in those parts not to trade with any: yet notwithstanding, during the moneths of April and May, our Generall had reasonable trade and trafique, and courteous entertainment in sundry places, as at Margarita, Coracao, and else where, till we came to Cape de la vela, and Rio de Hacha, (a place from whence all the pearles doe come:) the gouernour there would not by any means

meanes permit vs to haue any trade or trafique, nor yet suffer vs to take in fresh water: by meanes whereof our Generall for the auoyding of famine and thirst about the beginning of Iune, was enforced to land two hundred of our men, and so by maine force and strength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes hee could procure: And so recouering the Towne with the losse of two of our men, there was a secret and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of 200, and bywards, and of our other marchandize also. From thence we departed for Carthagena, where the Gouvernour was so straight, that wee could not obtaine any trafique there, and so for that our trade was neere finished, our Generall thought it best to depart from thence the rather for the auoyding of certaine dangerous stormes called the Huricanos, which accustomed to begin there about that time of the yere, & so the 24. of Iuly 1568. we departed from thence directing our course North: and leauing the yland of Cuba vpon our right hand, to the Eastward of vs, and so sayling toward Florida, vpon the 12. of August an extreme tempest aroose, which dured for the space of 8. dayes, in which our ships were most dangerously tossed and beaten hither, & thither, so that we were in continuall feare to be drowned by reason of the Gallownes of the coast, and in the end we were constrained to flee for succour to the port of S. Iohn de Villua, or Vera Cruz, situated in 19. degrees of latitude, and in 279. degrees of longitude, which is the port that serueth for the Citie of Mexico: in our seeking to recouer this port our Generall met by the way three small ships that caried passengers, which hee tooke with him, and so the sixteenth of September 1568. wee entered the saide port of S. Iohn de Villua. The Spaniards there supposing vs to haue bene the King of Spaines Fleet, the chiefe officers of the Countrey thereabouts came presently aboard our Generall, where perceiving themselves to haue made an vnwise aduventure, they were in great feare to haue bene taken and stayed: howbeit our Generall did vse them all very courteously. In the said port there were twelue ships which by report had in them in treasure to the value of two hundred thousand pound, all which being in our Generall his power and at his deuotion, he did freely set at libertie, as also the passengers which he had before stayed, not taking from any of them all the value of one groat: onely hee stayed two men of credite and accompt, the one named Don Laurenzo de Alua, and the other Don Pedro de Riueria, and presently our Generall sent to the Viceroy to Mexico which was threescore leagues off, certifying him of our arriual there by force of weather, desiring that forasmuch as our Queene his Soueraigne, was the king of Spaine his louing sister and friend, that therefore hee would, considering our necessities and wants, furnish vs with victuals for our Fraute, and quietly suffer vs to repaire and amend our ships. And furthermore that at the arriual of the Spanish Fleet which was there dayly expected and looked for, to the ende that there might no quarrell arise betweene them, and our Generall and his company for the breach of amitie, he humbly requested of his excellencie, that there might in this behalfe some special order be taken. This message was sent away the 16. of September 1568. it being the very day of our arriual there.

The next morning being the seuenteenth of the same moneth, wee descried 13. saile of great shippes: and after that our Generall vnderstood, that it was the king of Spaines Fleet then looked for, he presently sent to aduertise the Generall hereof, of our being in the said port, and giuing him further to vnderstand, that before he should enter there into that harbour, it was requisite that there should passe betweene the two Generals some orders and conditions to bee obserued on either part, for the better contriuing of peace betweene them and theirs, according to our Generals request made vnto the Viceroy. And at this instant our Generall was in a great perplexitie of minde, considering with himselfe that if hee should keepe out that Fleet from entering into the port, a thing which hee was very well able to doe with the helpe of God, then should that Fleet be in danger of present shipwacke and losse of all their substance, which amounted vnto the value of one million and eight hundred thousand pounds. Again he saw that if he suffered them to enter, hee was assured that they would practise by all maner of meanes to betray him and his, and on the other side the haue was so little, that the other Fleet entering, the shippes were to ride one hard aboard of another. Also hee saw that if their Fleet should perish by his keeping of them out, as of necessity they must if he should haue done so, then stood hee in great feare of the Queene our Soueraignes displeasure in so waighthe a cause: therefore did he choole the least euill, which was to suffer them to enter vnder assurance, and so to stand vpon his guard, and to defend himselfe and his from their treasons which we were well assured they would practise, and so the messenger being returned from Don Martin de Henriques, the new Viceroy, who came in the same Fleet, and had sufficient authoritie to command in all cases both by Sea and by lande in this prouince of Mexico or new Spaine, did certifie our Generall, that for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the king of Spaine and our Soueraigne, all our requests should bee both fauourably granted.

Mexico 60.
leagues from
S. Iuan de Villua.

It is put
downe 6. mil-
lions in Sir
Iohn Hawkins
his relation.

granted, and faithfully performed: signifying further that he heard and understood of the honest and friendly dealing of our Generall, toward the king of Spaines subiects in all places where he had bene, as also in the said port: so that to bee by these our requests were articulated, and set downe in writing. Viz.

4. Articles concluded by on, betwixt the English & the Spaniards: although the treacherous Spaniards kept none of them.

1 The first was that wee might haue victuals for our money, and license to sell as much wares, as might suffice to furnish our wants.

2 The second, that we might be suffered peaceably to repaire our ships.

3 The thirde that the pland might bee in our possession during the time of our abode there. In which pland our Generall for the better safetie of him and his, had already planted and placed certaine Ordnance which were eleuen pieces of brasse, therefore he required that the same might so continue, and that no Spaniard should come to lande in the saide pland, hauing or wearing any kinde of weapon about him.

4 The fourth and the last, that for the better and more sure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelue gentlemen of credite bee deliuered of either part as hostages.

These conditions were concluded and agreed vpon in writing by the Viceroy and signed with his hand, and sealed with his seale, and 10 hostages vpon either part were receiued. And further it was concluded that the two Generalls should meet, and giue faith ech to other for the performance of the premises. At which being done, the same was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet, & commandement was giuen that none of either part should violate or breake the peace vpon paine of death: thus at the ende of thre dayes all was concluded, and the Fleet entered the port, the ships saluting one another as the maner of the Sea doth require: the morrow after being friday we laboured on all sides in placing the English ships by themselves, & the Spanish ships by themselves, the Captaines and inferiour persons of either part, offering, and shewing great courtesie one to another, and promising great amitie vpon all sides. Howbeit as the sequel shewed, the Spaniards meant nothing lesse vpon their parts. For the Viceroy and gouernour thereabout had secretly at land assembled to the number of 1000, chosen men, and wel appointed, meaning the next Thursday being the 24. of September at dinner time to assault vs, and set vpon vs on all sides. But before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse briefly to describe the maner of the pland as it then was, and the force and strength, that it is now of. For the Spaniards since the time of our Generalls being there, for the better fortifying of the same place, haue vpon the same pland built a faire Castle, and bulwarke very well fortified: this port was then at our being there, a little pland of stones, not past thre foote aboue water in the highest place, and not past a bow-shotte ouer any way at the most, and it standeth from the maine land, two bowshottes or more: and there is not in all this coast any other place for ships safely to arriue at: also the North windes in this coast are of great violence and force, and vnlesse the shippes bee safely moored in, with their anchors fastened in this pland, there is no remedie, but present destruction and shipwracke. All this our generall wisely foreseeing, did provide that he would haue the said pland in his custody, or els the Spaniards might at their pleasure, haue but cut our cables, and so with the first Northwinde that blew we had had our pasport, for our ships had gone a shoore. But to returne to the matter.

The time approaching that their treason must be put in practice, the same Thursday morning, some appearance thereof began to shewe it selfe, as shifting of weapons from shippe to shippe, and planting, and bending their Ordnance against our men that warded vpon the lande, with great repaire of people: which apparant shewes of breach of the Viceroyes faith caused our Generall to sende one to the Viceroy, to enquire of him what was meant thereby, which presently sent and gaue order, that the Ordnance aforesayde, and other things of suspicion should bee remooued, returning answer to our Generall in the faith of a Viceroy, that hee would bee our defence, and safetie from all villanous treacherie: this was vpon Thursday in the morning. Our Generall not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conueyed a great number of men aboord a great hulke or ship of theirs of fire hundred tunne, which shippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee sent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the Master of the Iesus, a man that could speake the Spanish tongue very well, and required that those men might bee vnshippt againe, which were in that great hulke. The Viceroy then perceiuing that their treason was thoroughly espied, stayed our Master, and sounded the Trumpet, and gaue order that his people should vpon all sides charge vpon our men, which warded on shoore, and else where, which strooke such a male, and sudden feare among vs, that many gaue place, and sought to recouer our shippes for the safetie of themselves. The Spaniards which secretly were hid in ambush at lande were quickly conueyed ouer to the pland in their long boates, and so comming to the pland, they slew all our men that

A faire castle and bulwarke builded vpon the pland of San Iuan de Villua.

The value of a Spaniard's vice-roy his faith.

The villanous treacherie of the Spaniards and their crueltye.

that they could meete with, without mercy. The Minion which had somewhat before prepared her selfe to auoyd the danger, haled away and abode the first vntill of the 300 men that were in the great hulke: then they sought to fall aboord the Iesus, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men slaine: but yet our men defended themselves, and kept them out: so the Iesus also got loose, and ioyning with the Minion, the fight wared hote vpon all sides: but they hauing woon and got our ordnance on shore, did greatly annoy vs. In this fight there were two great shippes of the Spaniards sunke, and one burnt, so that with their shippes they were not able to harne vs, but from the shore they beat vs cruelly with our owne ordnance, in such sort that the Iesus was very sore spoiled: and suddenly the Spaniards hauing fired two great ships of their owne, they came directly against vs, which bred among our men a marvellous feare. Howbeit the Minion which had made her sayles ready, shifted for her selfe, without consent of the Generall, Captaine or Master, so that very hardly our Generall could be receiued into the Minion: the most of our men that were in the Iesus shifted for themselves, and followed the Minion in the boat, and those which that small boat was not able to receiue, were most cruelly slaine by the Spaniards. Of our ships none escaped sauing the Minion and the Iudith: and all such of our men as were not in them were enforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men ashore, they tooke and hung them up by the armes vpon high postes vntill the blood burst out of their fingers ends: of which men so used, there is one Copstow, and certaine others yet aliue, who by the mercifull prouidence of the almighty, were long since arrived here at home in England, carrying still about with them (and shal to their graues) the marks and tokens of those their inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealings.

Copstowe one
of Mr. Hawkins
men returned
from Nueva
Espanna.

Chap. 3.

Wherein is shewed, how that after we were escaped from the Spaniards, wee were like to perish with famine at the Sea, and how our Generall, for the auoiding thereof was constrained to put halfe of his men on land, and what miseries wee after that sustained amongst the Sauage people, and how againe we fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

After that the Viceroy, Don Martin Henriques, had thus contrary to his faith and promise, most cruelly dealt with our Generall master Hawkins, at S. Iohn de Vllua, where most of his men were by the Spaniards slaine and drowned, and all his ships sunke and burned, sauing the Minion, and the Iudith, which was a small barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then Captaine master Francis Drake aforesayd: the same night the said barke lost vs, we being in great necessity, and enforced to remooue with the Minion two bow-shoote from the Spanish fleete, where we ankered all that night: and the next morning wee weyed anker, and recouered an Island a mile from the Spaniards, where a storme tooke vs with a North winde, in which we were greatly distressed, hauing but two cables and two ankers left: for in the conflict before we had lost three cables and two ankers. The next morning after, the storme being ceased and the weather faire, we weyed, and set sayle, being many men in number, and but small store of victuals to suffice vs for any long time: by meanes whereof we were in despaire and feare that we should perish through famine, so that some were in minde to peeble themselves to the mercy of the Spaniards, other some to the Sauages or Infidels, and wandring thus certaine daies in these unknownen seas, hunger constrained vs to eate hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrats and munkies: to be short, our hunger was so great, that wee thought it sauourie and sweete whatsoever wee could get to eate.

And on the eight of October wee came to land againe, in the bottome of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to haue found some inhabitantes, that wee might haue had some reliefe of victuals, and a place where to repaire our ship, which was so greatly bruiſed, that we were scarce able with our weary armes to keepe forth the water: being thus oppressed with famine on the one side, and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing whereto find reliefe, wee began to be in wonderfull despaire, and we were of many mindes, amongst whom there were a great many that did desire our Generall to set them on land, making their choise rather to submit themselves to the mercie of the Sauages or Infidels, then longer to hazard themselves at sea, where they very well sawe, that if they should remaine together, if they perished not by drowning, yet hunger would enforce them in the ende to eate one another: to which request our Generall did very willingly agree, considering with himselfe that it was necessary for him to lessen his number, both for the safetie of himselfe & the rest: and therupon being resolved to set halfe his people ashore that he had then left aliue, it was a world to see how suddenly mens minds were altered: for they which a

little before desired to be set on land, were now of another minde, and requested rather to stay: by meanes whereof our Generall was inforced, for the more concentration of all mens minds, and to take away all occasions of offence, to take this order: If first he made choice of such persons of seruice and account, as were needfull to stay, and that being done, of those which were willing to goe he appointed such as he thought might be best spared, and presently appointed that by the boat they should bee set on shore, our Generall promising vs that the next yeere he would either come himselfe, or else send to fetch vs home. Here againe it would haue caused any stony heart to haue relented to heare the pitifull moone that many did make, and howe loth they were to depart: the weather was then somewhat stormy and tempestuous, and therefore we were to passe with great danger, yet notwithstanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to goe away, must of necessitie doe so. Wherefore those that went in the first boat were safely set on shore, but of them which went in the second boate, of which number I my selfe was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attaine to the shore, and therefore we were constrained through the cruell dealing of Iohn Hampton captaine of the Minion, and Iohn Sanders boate swaine of the Iesus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine sea, hauing more then a mile to shore, and so to shift for our selues, and either to sinke or swimme. And of those that so were (as it were) throwen out, and compelled to leape into the sea, there were two drowned, which were of captaine Blands men.

They were put
on land 25
leagues north-
ward of Panuco
the 8 of Octo-
ber 1568.

In the euenting of the same day, it being Sunday the eight of October, 1568, when we were all come to shore, we found fresh water, whereof some of our men drunke so much, that they had almost cast themselves away, for wee could scarce get life of them for the space of two or three houres after: other some were so cruelly swollen, what with the drincking in of the salt water, and what with the eating of the fruit which wee found on land, hauing a stone in it much like an almond (which fruit is called Capule) that they were all in very ill case, so that we were in a maner all of vs both feeble, faint and weak.

Capule a kind
of stone fruit.

The next morning being Tuesday, the ninth of October, we thought it best to trauell along by the sea coast, to seeke out some place of habitation: (whether they were Christians or Sauesges, we were indifferent, so that we might haue wherewithall to sustaine our hungry bodies) and so departing from an hill where we had rested all night, not hauing any drie cheere about vs, (for those that were not wet being not throwen into the sea, were choicely wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly.) As we went from the hill, and were come into the plaine, we were greatly troubled to passe for the grasse and weedes that grewe there higher then any man. On the left hand we had the sea, and vpon the right hand great woods, so that of necessitie we must needs passe on our way Westward, through those marshes; and going thus, suddenly we were assaulted by the Indians, a warlike kind of people, which are in a maner as Canibals, although they doe not feede vpon mans flesh as Canibals doe.

Chichimici a
warlike and
cruel people.

These people are called Chichimici, and they vse to weare their haire long, euen down to their knees, they doe also colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew, which maketh them to seeme very ugly and terrible to beholde. These people doe keepe warres against the Spaniards, of whom they haue bene oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spaniards there is no mercy. They perceiuing vs at our first comming on land, supposed vs to haue bene their enemies, the bordering Spaniards, and hauing by their forerunners deseried what number we were, and how feeble and weak without armour or weapon, they suddenly according to their accustomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike sort, raised a terrible and huge crie, and so came running fiercely vpon vs, shooting off their arrowes as thicke as halle, vnto whose mercy we were constrained to yeld, not hauing amongst vs any kind of armour, nor yet weapon, sauing one caluer, and two old rustie swords, whereby to make any resistance, or to saue our selues: which when they perceiued, that wee sought not any other then saouer and mercie at their handes, and that we were not their enemies the Spaniards, they had compassion on vs, and came and caused vs all to sit down: and when they had a while surueyed, and taken a perfect view of vs, they came to all such as had any coloured clothes amongst vs, and those they did strip stark naked, and tooke their clothes away with them, but those that were apparelled in blacke they did not meddle withall, and so went their wayes, and left vs without doing vs any further hurt, onely in the first yunt they killed eight of our men. And at our departure, they perceiuing in what weak case we were, pointed vs with their hands which way we should go to come to a towne of the Spaniards, which as we afterwards perceiued, was not past ten leagues from thence, vsing these words: Tampice, Tampice Christiano, Tampice Christiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to say in English, at Tampice you shall find the Christians. The weapons that they vse are no other but bowes and arrowes,

Our men assal-
ted by the Chi-
chemici.

Eight of our
men slaine.

arrowes, and their arme is so good, that they very selborne misse to hit any thing that they shoote at. Shortly after they had left vs stript (as aforesayd) we thought it best to deuide our selues into two companies, and so being separated, halfe of vs went vnder the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man alieue, and dwelleth at this instant in the towne of Plimmouth, whom before we chose to be captaine ouer vs all, and those which went vnder his leading, of which number Miles Philips was one, trauailed Westward that way which the Indians with their hands had be-
 pointed vs to go. The other halfe went vnder the leading of one Iohn Hooper, whom they did choose for their captaine, & with the company that went with him, Dauid Ingram was one, and they tooke their way and trauelled Northward, and shortly after, within the space of two dayes, they were againe incountered with the sauage people, and their captaine Hooper and two more of his company were slaine: then againe they diuided themselves, and some held on their way still Northward, and other some, knowing that we were gone Westward, sought to meet with vs againe, as in truth there was about the number of 25 or 26 of them that met with vs in the space of foure dayes againe, and then we began to reckon amongst our selues, how many wee were that were set on shore, and we found the number to be an hundred and fourteene, whereof two were drowned in the sea, and eight were slaine at the first incounter, so that there remained an hundred and soute, of which 25 went Westward with vs, and 52 to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram since hath often told me, there were not past three of their company slaine, and there were but fire and twenty of them that came againe to vs, so that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainly heard of, the number of three and twenty men. And verely I doe thinke that there are of them yet alieue, and married in the said countrey, at Cibola, as hereafter I purpose (God willing) to discourse of more particularly, with the reason and causes that make mee so to thinke of them that were lacking, which were Dauid Ingram, Twide, Browne, and sundry others, whose names wee could not remember. And being thus met againe together, we trauelled on still Westward, sometime thorow such thicke woods, that we were inforced with cudgels to breake a way the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodie: o-
 ther some times we should trauell thorow the plaines, in such high grasse that wee could scarce see one another, and as we passed in some places, we should haue of our men slaine, and fall downe suddenly, being strooken by the Indians, which stood behinde trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by, for wee went scatteringly in seeking of fruites to relieue our selues. We were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kind of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spaniards called them Muskitos. There are also in the sayd countrey a number of other kinde of flies, but none so noysome as these Tequanies bee: you shall hardly see them they be so small, for they are scarce so big as a gnat: they will sucke ones blood maruelously, and if you kill them while they are sucking, they are so venomous that the place will swell extremely, euen as one that is stung with a Waspe or Bee: but if you let them sucke their fill, and to goe away of themselves, then they doe you no other hurt, but leaue behinde them a red spot somewhat bigger then a flea-biting. At the first wee were terribly troubled with these kinde of flies, not knowing their qualities, and resistance wee could make none against them, being naked: as for cold wee feared not any, the countrey there is alwayes so warme. And as we trauelled thus for the space of tenne or twelue dayes, our captaine did oftentimes cause certaine to goe vpon the toppes of high trees, to see if they could descrie any towne or place of inhabitants, but they could not perceiue any, and vying often the same order to climbe vpon high trees, at the length they descried a great riuer that fell from the Northwest into the maine sea, and presently after, we heard an harquebuzze shot off, which did greatly incourage vs, for thereby wee knew that we were neere to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to finde some succour and comfort, and within the space of one houre after, as we trauelled, we heard a cocke crowe, which was also no small ioy vnto vs, and so we came to the North side of the riuer of Panuco, where the Spaniards haue certaine Salines, at which place it was that the harquebuzze was shot off, which before we heard: to which place we went not directly, but missing thereof, we left it about a bow-shot vpon our left hand: of this riuer wee dranke very greedily, for wee had not met with any water in fire dayes before, and as we were here by the riuer side resting our selues, and longing to come to the place where the cocke did crowe, and where the harquebuzze was shot off, we perceived many Spaniards vpon the other side of the riuer, riding vpon and downe on horsebacke, and they perceiuing vs, did suppose that we had bene of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichimeci: the riuer was not past halfe a bowe shoot ouer: and presently one of the Spaniards tooke an Indian boate called a Canoas, and so came ouer, being rowed by two Indians, and hauing taken the view of vs, did presently rowe ouer backe againe to the Spaniards, who with-

Anthony Godard

Dauid Ingram.

The riuer of Panuco.

out any delay made out about the number of twenty horsemen, and imbarcking themselves in the Canoas, they led their horses by the reines swimming ouer after them, and being come ouer to that side of the riuer where we were, they sadled their horses, and being mounted vpon them with their lances charged, they came very fiercely running at vs. Our capitaine Anchony Godard seeing them come in that order, did perswade vs to submit and peelde our selues vnto them, for being naked, as we at this time were, and without weapon, we could not make any resistance, whose bidding we obeyed, and vpon the peelding of our selues, they perceiued vs to be Christians, and did call for moze Canoas, and caried vs ouer by foure and foure in a boat, and being come on the other side, they vnderstanding by our capitaine how long we had bene without meate, imparted between two and two a loafe of bread made of that countrey wheat, which the Spaniards call Maiz, of the bignesse of our halfe penie loaues, which bread is named in the Indian tongue Clashacally. This bread was very sweete and pleasant vnto vs, for we had not eaten any in a long time before: and what is it that hunger doth not make to haue a sauory and a delicate taste? And hauing thus parted the bread amongst vs, those which were men they sent afoze to the towne, hauing also many Indians inhabitants of that place to garde them: they which were yong, as boyes, and some such also as were feeble, they tooke vp vpon their horses, behind them, and so caried vs to the towne where they dwelt, which was very neere distant a mile from the place where we came ouer.

The Salines
of Panuco.

This towne is well situated, and well replenished with all kindes of fruits, as Oranges, Limons, Pomegranates, Appricoks, and Peaches, and sundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it also at that time about the number of two hundred Spaniards, men, women, and chilozen, besides Negroes. Of their Salines, which lie vpon the West side of the riuer, moze then a mile distant from thence, they make a great profit, for it is an excellent good merchandize there: the Indians doe buy much thereof, and carie it vpon the countrey, and there sell it to their owne countrey people, in doubling the price. Also much of the Salt made in this place, is transported from thence by sea to sundry other places, as to Cuba, S. Iohn de Villua, and the other ports of Tamiago, and Tamachos, which are two barred hauens West and by South aboue threescore leagues from S. Iohn de Villua. When we were all come to the towne, the Gouverneur there shewed himselfe very seuerie vnto vs, and threatened to hang vs all: and then he demanded what money wee had, which in trueth was very little, for the Indians which we first met withall, had in a maner taken all from vs, and of that which they left, the Spaniards which brought vs ouer, tooke away a good part also: howbeit, from Anthony Godard the Gouverneur here had a chaine of gold, which was giuen vnto him at Carthagena, by the Gouverneur there, and from others he had some small store of money: so that wee accounted that amongst vs all he had the number of five hundred Pezos; besides the chaine of gold.

And hauing thus satisfied himselfe, when he had taken all that we had, he caused vs to be put into a little house much like a hogstie, where we were almost smothered: and before we were thus shut vp into that little coat, they gave vs some of the countrey wheate, called Mayz, sodden, which they feede their hogs withall. But many of our men which had bene hurt by the Indians at our first comming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grieuous, desired to haue the helpe of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The gouernour, and most of them all answered, that wee should haue none other Surgeon but the hangman, which should sufficiently heale vs of all our griefes: and thus reuiling vs, and calling vs English dogs, and Lutheran heretikes, we remained the space of thre dayes in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of vs, waiting euery houre to be bereaued of our liues.

Chap. 4.

Wherin is shewed how we were vsed in Panuco, and in what feare of death we were there, and how we were caried to Mexico to the Viceroy, and of our imprisonment there and at Tescuco, with the courtesies and cruelties wee receiued during that time, and how in the end wee were by proclamation giuen to serue as slaues to sundry gentlemen Spaniards.

Vpon the fourth day after our comming thither, and there remaining in a perplexitie, looking euery houre when we should suffer death, there came a great number of Indians and Spaniards weaponed to fetch vs out of the house, and amongst them wee espied one that brought a great many of new halters, at the sight whereof we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently haue suffered death, and so crying and calling to God for mercie and forgiveness of our sinnes, we prepared our selues, making vs ready to die: yet in the end,

as the sequel shewed, their meaning was not so: for when wee were come out of the house, with those halters they bound our armes behind vs, and so coupling vs two and two together, they commanded vs to march on through the towne, and so along the countrey from place to place toward the citie of Mexico, which is distant from Panuco West and by South the space of ninetie leagues, having onely but two Spaniards to conduct vs, they being accompanied with a great number of Indians warding on either side with bowes and arrowes, lest we should escape from them. And travelling in this order, vpon the second day at night we came vnto a towne which the Indians call Nohele, and the Spaniards call it Santa Maria: in which towne there is a house of white friers, which did very courteously vse vs, and gaue vs hote meat, as mutton and broth, and garments also to couer our selues withal, made of white bayes: we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruit, called Nochole, which fruit is long and small, much like in fashion to a little cucumber. Our greedy feeding caused vs to fall sicke of hote burning agues. And here at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt: for he had bene before shot with an arrow into the throat at the first encounter.

The next morrow about ten of the clocke, we departed from thence, bound two & two together, and garded as before, and so traualled on our way toward Mexico, till we came to a towne within forty leagues of Mexico, named Mestlan, where is a house of blacke friers: and in this towne there are about the number of three hundred Spaniards, both men, women, and children. The friers sent vs meat from the house ready dished, and the friers, and the men and women vsed vs very courteously, and gaue vs some shirts and other such things as we lacked. Here our men were very sicke of their agues, and with eating of another fruit called in the Indian tongue, Guiacos, which fruit did binde vs so sore, that for the space of tenne or twelue dayes we could not ease our selues. The next morning we departed from thence with our two Spaniards and Indian gard, as aforesayd. Of these two Spaniards the one was an aged man, who all the way did very courteously intreate vs, and would carefully go before to prouide for vs both meat and things necessary to the uttermost of his power: the other was a young man who all the way trauelled with vs, and neuer departed from vs, who was a very cruell carline, and he caried a iaueline in his hand, and sometimes when as our men with very feeblenesse and faintnesse were not able to goe so fast as he required them, he would take his iauelin in both his handes, and strike them with the same betweene the necke and the shoulders so violently, that he would strike them downe: then would he cry, and say, Marchad, marchad Ingleses perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios: which is as much to say in English, as March, march on you English dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a towne called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name: as this towne of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of silver, and are about five leagues distant from this towne of Pachuca towards the Northwest.

Here at this towne the good olde man our Gouvernour suffered vs to stay two dayes and two nights, hauing compassion of our sicke and weake men, full sore against the minde of the young man his companion. From thence we tooke our iourney, and trauelled foure or five dayes by little villages, and Scantias, which are farmes or dairie houses of the Spaniards, and euer as wee had neede, the good olde man would still prouide vs sufficient of meates, fruites, and water to sustaine vs. At the end of which five dayes wee came to a towne within five leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, where wee also stayed one whole day and two nights, where was a faire house of gray friers, howbeit wee saw none of them. Here wee were told by the Spaniards in the towne, that wee had not past fiftene English miles from thence to Mexico, where of we were all very ioyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we should either be relieved, and set free out of bonds, or els bee quickly dispatched out of our liues: for seeing our selues thus caried bound from place to place, although some vsed vs courteously, yet could wee neuer ioy, nor be merrie till wee might perceiue our selues set free from that bondage, either by death or other wise.

The next morning we departed from thence on our iourney towards Mexico, and so trauelled till wee came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spaniards a very faire church, called our Ladys church, in which there is an image of our Lady of silver & gilt, being as high, & as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of silver as there be dayes in the yeere, which vpon high dayes are all lighted. Whensoever any Spaniards passe by this church, although they be on horse backe, they will alight, and come into the church, and kneele before this image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all euil: so that whether he be horseman or footman he will not passe by, but first goe into the Church, and pray as aforesayd, which if they doe not, they thinke and beleue that they shall neuer prosper: which image

Nuestra Señora.

they call in the Spanish tongue, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. At this place there are certain cold baths, which arise, springing up as though the water did seeth: the water whereof is somewhat brackish in taste, but very good for any that haue any soze or wound, to wash themselves therewith, for as they say, it healeth many: and every yeere once vpon our Lady day the people vse to repaire thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and they say that our Lady of Guadalupe doeth worke a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any towne of Spaniards that is inhabited, but certaine Indians doe dwell there in houses of their own countrey building.

Certaine Englishmen taken prisoners at the fight at Sant Iuan de Villua.

Here we were met with a great number of Spaniards on horsebacke, which came from Mexico to see vs, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to see a wonder: we were still called vpon to march on, and so about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the said day we entred into the citie of Mexico, by the way or street called La calle Santa Catherina: and we stayed not in any place till we came to the house or palace of the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, which standeth in the middle of the city, hard by the market place, called La plaza del Marques. We had not stayed any long time at this place, but there was brought vs by the Spaniards from the market place great store of meat, sufficient to haue satisfied five times so many as we were: some also gaue vs hats, & some gaue vs money: in which place we stayed for the space of two houres, & from thence we were conueyed by water in two large Canoas to an hospitall where as certaine of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at S. Iohn de Villua: wee should haue gone to our Ladies hospitall, but that there were also so many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for vs. After our coming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco dyed within the space of fourteene dayes: soone after which time we were taken forth from that place, and put altogether into our Ladies hospitall, in which place we were courteously vsed, and visited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the citie, who brought vs diuers things to comfort vs withall, as succats and marmilads, and such other things, and would also many times giue vs many things, and that very liberally. In which hospitall we remained for the space of sixe moneths, vntill we were all whole and sound of body, and then we were appointed by the Vice Roy to be caried vnto the towne of Tescuco, which is from Mexico South-west distant eighthe leagues: in which towne there are certaine houses of correction and punishment for ill people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London: in which place diuers Indians are sold for slaves, some for ten yeeres, and some for twelue. It was no small grieue vnto vs when we understood that we should be caried thither, and to be vsed as slaves, we had rather be put to death: howbeit there was no remedy, but we were caried to the prison of Tescuco, where we were not put to any labour, but were very straitly kept, & almost famished, yet by the good prouidence of our mercifull God, we happened there to meet with one Robert Sweeting, who was the sonne of an Englishman bozne of a Spanish woman: this man could speake very good English, and by his means wee were holpen very much with victuals from the Indians, as mutton, hennes, & bread. And if we had not bene so relieved, we had surely perished: and yet all the prouision that wee had gotten that way was but slender. And continuing thus straightly kept in prison there for the space of two moneths, at the length wee agreed amongst our selues to breake forth of prison, come of it what would, for we were minded rather to suffer death then longer to liue in that miserable state. And so hauing escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to flie for the safetie of our selues, the night was darke, and it rained terribly, and not hauing any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceived our selues to be come hard to the citie of Mexico, which is 24 English miles fra Tescuco.

Robert Sweeting an Englishman

English gentlemen hostages.

Almost an hundred Englishmen prisoners in Mexico.

The day being come we were espied by the Spaniards, & pursued, and taken, and brought before the Vice Roy and head iustices, who threatened to hang vs for breaking of the kings prison. Yet in the end they sent vs into a garden belonging to the Vice Roy: & coming thither, we found there our English gentlemen which were deliuered as hostages when as our General was betrayed at S. Iohn de Villua, as is aforesaid, and with them wee also found Robert Barret, the Master of the Iesus, in which place we remained labouring and doing such things as we were commanded, for the space of 4 moneths, hauing but two sheepe a day allowed to suffice vs all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread we had euery man two loaves a day, of the quantity of one halfe penny loaf. At the end of which foure moneths, they hauing remooued our gentlemen hostages, and the Master of the Iesus to a prison in the Vice Roy his owne house, did cause it to be proclaimed, that what gentleman Spaniard soeuer was willing, or would haue any English man to serue him, and be bound to keepe him forth coming, to appeare before the Iustices within one moneth after notice giuen, that they should repaire to the said garden, and there take their choice: which

procla-

proclamation was no sooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden againe, so that happie was he that could soonest get one of vs.

Chap. 5.

Wherein is shewed in what good sort, and how wealthily we liued with our masters yntill the coming of the Inquisition, when as againe our sorowes began a fresh: Of our imprisonment in the holy house, and of the seuerer iudgement and sentences giuen against vs, and with what rigour and crueltie the same were executed.

The gentlemen that thus tooke vs for their seruants or slaues, did new apparell vs through out, with whom we abode, doing such seruice as they appointed vs vnto, which was for the most part to attend vpon them at the table, and to be as their chamberlaines, & to waite vpon them when they went abroad, which they greatly accounted of: for in that countrey no Spaniard will serue one another, but they are all of them attended and serued by Indians weekly, and by Negroes which be their slaues during their life. In this sort we remained and serued in the said citie of Mexico, and thereabouts for the space of a yeere and somewhat longer. Afterwards many of vs here by our masters appointed to go to sundry of their Mines where they had to doe, and to be as ouerseers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which mines many of vs did profite & gaine greatly: for first we were allowed three hundred Pezos a man for a yeere, which is threescore pound sterling, and besides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought vnder our charge, vpon our well vsing & intreating of them, would at times as vpon Saturdays when they had left worke, labour for vs, and blow as much siluer as should be worth vnto vs 3 markes or thereabouts, euery marke being worth 6 Pezos, and a halfe of their money, which 12 Pezos & a halfe, is worth 4 li. 10 s. of our money. Sundry weekes we did gaine so much by this meanes besides our wages, that many of vs became very rich, and were woorth three thousand or foure thousand Pezos, for we liued and gained thus in those Mines some three or foure yeeres. As concerning those Gentlemen which were deliuered as hostages, and that were kept in prison, in the Viceroy his house, after that we were gone from out the garden to serue sundry gentlemen as aforesaid, they remained prisoners in the said house for the space of 4 moneths after their coming thither, at the end whereof the fleet being readie to depart from S. Iohn de Villua, to goe for Spaine, the said Gentlemen were sent away into Spaine with the fleet, where as I haue heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquisition house, as those which haue bene deliuered home after they had suffered the persecution of that house can moze perfectly declare. Robert Barret also master of the Iesus, was sent away with the fleet into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he suffered persecution in the Inquisition, and at the last was condemned to be burnt, and with him one moze of our men whose name was Iohn Gilbett.

Now after that five yeeres were fully expired since our first coming into the Indies, in which time we had bene imprisoned and serued in the said countreys as is before truly declared, In the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie foure, the Inquisition began to be established in the Indies, very much against the mindes of many of the Spaniards themselves: for neither vntill this time since their first conquering and planting in the Indies, were they subiect to that bloodie and cruell Inquisition. The chiefe Inquisitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreras, and Iohn de Bouilla his companion, and Iohn Sanchez the Fischall, and Pedro de los Rios, the Secretary: they being come and settled, and placed in a very faire house neere vnto the white Friers, considering with themselves that they must make an entrance and beginning of that their most detestable Inquisition here in Mexico, to the terror of the whole countrey, thought it best to call vs that were Englishmen first in question, and so much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence, that many of vs were become very rich, as hath bene already declared, and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the Inquisitors: so that no w againe began our sorowes a fresh, for we were sent for, and sought out in all places of the countrey, and proclamation made vpon paine of loosing of goods and excommunication, that no man should hide or keepe secret any Englishmen or any part of their goods. By means whereof we were all soone apprehended in all places, and all our goods seized and taken for the Inquisitors vse, and so from all parts of the countrey we were conueied and sent as prisoners to the citie of Mexico, and there committed to prison in sundry darke dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light, & were neuer past two together in one place, so that we saw not one another, neither could one of vs tell what was become of another. Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a yeere and a halfe

halfe, and others for some lesse time, for they came to prison euer as they were apprehended. During which time of our imprisonment, at the first beginning we were often called befoze the Inquisitors alone, and there seuerely examined of our faith, and commanded to say the Pater noster, the Aue Maria, & the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of vs could not say, otherwise then in the English tongue. And hauing the said Robert Sweeting who was our friend at Tescuco alwayes present with the for an interpreter, he made repozt for vs, y in our own countrey speech we could say them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceede to demand of vs vpon our othes what we did beleue of the Sacrament, & whether there did remaine any bread or wine after the words of consecration, yea or no, and whether we did not beleue that the host of bread which the priest did hold vpon his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body & blood of our Saviour Christ, yea or no: To which if we answered not yea, then was there no way but death. Then they would demand of vs what we did remember of our selues, what opinions we had held, or had bin taught to hold contrary to the same whiles we were in England: to which we for the safety of our liues were constrained to say, that we neuer did beleue, nor had bene taught otherwise then as befoze we had sayd. Then would they charge vs that we did not tell them the truth, that they knew the contrary, and therefore we should cal our selues to remembrance, & make them a better answer at the next time, or els we should be rackt, and made to confesse the truth whether we would or no. And so comming againe befoze them the next time, we were still demanded of our beleue whiles we were in England, and how we had bin taught, & also what we thought or did know of such of our owne company as they did name vnto vs, so that we could neuer be free from such demands, and at other times they would promise vs, that if we would tell them truth, then should we haue fauour & be set at libertie, although we very wel knew their faire speeches were but means to intrap vs, to the hazard and losse of our liues: howbeit God so mercifully wrought for vs by a secret meanes that we had, that we kept vs still to our first answer, & would still say that we had told the truth vnto them, and knew no more by our selues nor any other of our fellows then as we had declared, and that for our sinnes and offences in England against God and our Lady, or any of his blessed Saints, we were heartily sorry for the same, and did cry God mercy, and besought the Inquisitors for Gods sake, considering that we came into those countreys by force of weather, & against our wils, and that neuer in all our liues we had either spoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, that therefore they would haue mercy vpon vs. Yet all this would not serue: for still from time to time we were called vpon to confesse, and about the space of 3 moneths befoze they proceeded to their seuerer iudgement, we were al rackt, and some enforced to utter that against themselves, which after wards cost them their liues. And thus hauing gotten from our owne mouths matter sufficient for them to proceed in iudgement against vs, they caused a large scaffold to be made in the middelt of the market place in Mexico right ouer against the head church, & 14 or 15 daies befoze the day of their iudgement, with the sound of a trumpet, and the noise of their Atabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did assemble the people in all parts of the citie: befoze whom it was then solemnely proclaimed, that whosoever would vpon such a day repaire to the market place, they should heare the sentence of the holy Inquisition against the English heretikes, Lutherans, and also see the same put in execution. Which being done, and the time appoaching of this cruell iudgement, the night befoze they came to the prison where we were, with certaine officers of that holy hellish house, bringing with the certaine fooles coats which they had prepared for vs, being called in their language S. Beoritos, which coats were made of yellow cotten & red crosses vpon them, both befoze & behind: they were so busied in putting on their coats about vs, and in bringing vs out into a large yard, and placing and pointing vs in what order we should go to the scaffold or place of iudgement vpon the morrow, that they did not once suffer vs to sleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was giuen to euery one of vs for our breakfast a cup of wine, and a slice of bread fried in honie, and so about eight of the clocke in the morning, we set forth of the prison, euery man alone in his yellow coat, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Ware candle in his hand vnsighted, hauing a Spaniard appoointed to goe vpon either side of euery one of vs: and so marching in this order and maner toward the scaffold in the market place, which was a bow shoot distant or thereabouts, we found a great assembly of people all the way, and such a throng, that certaine of the Inquisitors officers on horseback were constrained to make way, and so comming to the scaffold, we went by by a paire of stappes, and found seates readie made and prepared for vs to sit downe on, euery man in order as he should be called to receiue his iudgement. We being thus set downe as we were appoointed, presently the Inquisitors came by another paire of staires, and the Viceroy and all the chiefe Iustices with them. When they were set downe and placed

Our men are
cruelly rackt.

under

under the cloth of estate agreeing to their degrees and calling, then came vp also a great number of Friers, white, blacke and gray, about the number of 300 persons, they being set in the places for them appointed. Then was there a solemne Oyes made, and silence commanded, and then presently beganne their seuer and cruell iudgement.

The first man that was called was one Roger the chiefe Armourer of the Iesus, and hee had iudgement to haue thre hundred stripes on his backe, and after condemned to the gallies as a slave for 10 yeeres.

After him were called Iohn Gray, Iohn Browne, Iohn Rider, Iohn Moone, James Collier, and one Thomas Browne: these were adiudged to haue 200 stripes on his backe, and after to be committed to the gallies for the space of 8 yeeres.

Then was called Iohn Keyes, and was adiudged to haue 100 stripes on his backe, and condemned to serue in the gallies for the space of 6 yeeres.

Then were seuerally called the number of 53 one after another, and euery man had his seuerall iudgement, some to haue 200 stripes on his backe, and some 100, and condemned for slaves to the gallies, some for 6 yeeres, some for 8 and some for 10.

And then was Miles Philips called, and was adiudged to serue in a monasterie for 5 yeeres, without any stripes, and to weare a fooles coat, of S. Benico, during all that time.

Then were called Iohn Storie, Richard Williams, David Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horswell and Thomas Hull: these six were condemned to serue in monasteries without stripes, some for 3 yeeres and some for foure, and to weare the S. Benico during all the said time. Which being done, and it now drawing toward night, George Riely, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius the Irishman, were called and had their iudgement to be burnt to ashes, and so were presently sent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the scaffold, where they were quickly burnt and consumed. And as for vs that had receiued our iudgement, being 68 in number, we were caried backe that night to prison againe. And the next day in the morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575, we were all brought into a court of the Inquisitors pallace, where we found a horse in a readineesse for euery one of our men which were condemned to haue stripes, and to be committed to the gallies, which were in number 60 and so they being enforced to mount vpon his backe naked from the middle upward, were carried to be shewed as a spectacle for all the people to behold through out the chiefe and principall streetes of the citie, and had the number of stripes to euery one of them appointed most cruellly laid vpon their naked bodies with long whips by sundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof: and before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went: Behold these English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went there were some of the Inquisitors themselves, and of the familiars of that rakehell order, that cried to the executioners, Strike, lay on those English hereticks, Lutherans, Gods enemies: and so this horrible spectacle being shewed round about the citie, they returned to the Inquisitors house, with their backs all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps, and were then taken from their horses, & carried againe to prison, where they remained untill they were sent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receiue the rest of their martirdome: and I and the 6 other with me which had iudgement, and were condemned amongst the rest to serue an apprenticeship in the monastery, were taken presently and sent to certaine religious houses appointed for the purpose.

Chap. 6.

Wherein is shewed how we were vsed in the religious houses, and that when the time was expired, that we were adiudged to serue in them, there came newes to Mexico of M. Francis Drakes being in the South Sea, and what preparation was made to take him, and how I seeking to escape, was againe taken and put in prison at Vera Cruz, and how againe I made mine escape from thence.

Miles Philips and William Lowe were appointed to the blacke Friers, where I was appointed to be an ouerser of Indian workmen, who wrought there in building of a new church: amongst which Indians I learned their language or Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiarity with many of them, whom I found to be a courteous and louing kind of people, ingenious, and of great understanding, and they hate and abhorre the Spaniards with all their hearts, they haue vsed such horrible cruelties against them, and doe still keepe them in such subiection and seruitude, that they and the Negros also doe daily lie in waite to purchase their deliverance out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniards doe keepe them in.

Lowe

The cruell
iudgements of
the Spanish
Inquisitors
vpon our poore
countrymen.

How long

How long

How long

How long

How long

How long

Lowe he was appointed to serue the Cooke in the kitchen, Richard Williams and David Alexander were appointed to the gray Friers, Iohn Story and Robert Cooke to the white Friers: Paul Horfewel the Secretary tooke to be his seruant: Thomas Hull was sent to a Monastery of priests, where after ward he died. Thus we serued out the peeres that we were condemned for, with the vse of our fooles coates, and we must needs confesse that the Friers did vse vs very courteously: for euery one of vs had his chamber with bedding & diet, and all things cleane and neat: yea many of the Spaniards and Friers themselves do bitterly abhorre and mislike of that cruell Inquisition, and would as they durst bewaile our miseries, and comfort vs the best they could, although they stood in such feare of that diuelish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left haube know what the right doth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to serue in those religious houses, we were then brought againe before the chiefe Inquisitor, and had all our fooles coates pulled off and hanged vp in the head church, called Ecclesia Maior, and euery mans name and iudgement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. And there are also all their coates hanged vp, which were condemned to the gallies, with their names and iudgements, and vnderneath his coat, Heretike Lutheran reconciled. And also the coats and names of the three that were burned, wh. r. upon were written, An obstinate heretike Lutheran burnt. Then were we suffered to goe up and downe the countrey, and to place our selues as we could, and yet not so free, but that we very well knew that there was good espyall alwayes attending vs and all our actions, so that we durst not once speake or looke awry. David Alexander & Robert Cooke returned to serue the Inquisitor, who shortly after married them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams married a rich widow of Biskay with 4000 Pезos: Paul Horfewell is married to a Mestisa, as they name those whose fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paul Horfewell hath married, is sayd to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando Cortes the Conquerour, who had with her in marriage foure thousand Pезos, and a faire house: Iohn Story is married to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leaue and licence to goe into Spaine where he is now married: for mine owne part I could neuer thoroughly settle my selfe to marry in that countrey, although many faire offers were made vnto me of such as were of great abilitie and wealth, but I could haue no liking to liue in that place, where I must euery where see and know such horrible idolatrie committed, and durst not once for my life speake against it: and therefore I had alwayes a longing and desire to this my natiue countrey: and, to returne and serue againe in the Pines where I might haue gathered great riches and wealth, I very well saw that at one time or another I should fall againe into the danger of that diuelish Inquisition, and so be stript of all, with losse of life also, and therfore I made my choise rather to learne to weaue Grogranes and Taffaties, and so compounding with a Silke-weauer, I bound my selfe for three peeres to serue him, and gaue him an hundred and fiftie Pезos to teach me the science, or otherwise he would not haue taught mee vnder seuen peeres prentiship, and by this meanes I liued the more quiet, and free from suspicion. Nowbeit I should many times be charged by familiars of that diuelish house, that I had a meaning to runne awry into England, and to be an heretike Lutheran againe: To whom I would answer that they had no neede to suspect any such thing in mee, for that they knewe all very well that it was impossible for me to escape by any manner of meanes: yet notwithstanding I was called before the Inquisitor, and demaunded why I did not marrie: I answered that I had bound my selfe at an occupation. Well said the Inquisitor, I knowe thou meanest to runne away, and therefore I charge thee here vpon paine of burning as an heretike relapsed, that thou depart not out of this citie, nor come neere to the port of S. Iohn de Villua, nor to any other port: To the which I answered, that I would willingly obey. Yea said he, see thou doe so and thy fellows also, they shall haue the like charge.

So I remained at my science the full time, and learned the Art, at the end whereof there came newes to Mexico that there were certaine Englishmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, vpon the South sea, and that they were coming to Mexico to take the spoyle therof, which wrought a marvellous great feare amongst them, & many of those that were rich, began to shift for themselves, their wiues & children: vpon which hurle burlie the Viceroy caused a generall muster to be made of all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to be the number of 7000 and odde householders of Spaniards in the citie and suburbs, and of single men unmarried, the number of 3000 and of Mestizoes, which are counted to be the sonnes of Spaniards bozne of Indian women, twenty thousand persons, and then was Paul Horfewell & Miles Philips sent for before the Viceroy, and were examined if we did know an English man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we answered, that Captaine Hawkins had

had not any brother but one, which was a man of the age of threescore yeeres or thereabouts, and was now gouernour of Plimmouth in England. And then he demanded of vs if we knewe one Francis Drake, and we answered, no.

While these things were in doing, there came newes that all the Englishmen were gone, yet were there eight hundred men made out vnder the leading of seuerall Captains, wherof two hundred were sent to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, vpon the North Sea vnder the conduct of Don Luys Suares, two hundred were sent to Guatimala in the South sea, who had for their captaine Iohn Cortes, two hundred more were sent to Guatulco, a port of the South sea, ouer whom went for captaine Don Pedro de Robles, and two hundred more were sent to Acapulco, the port where it was said that Captaine Drake had bene. And they had for Captaine doctor Robles Alcalde de Corre, with whom I Miles Philips went as interpreter, hauing licence giuen by the Inquisitors. When we were come to Acapulco, we found that Captaine Drake was departed from thence, more then a moneth before we came thither. But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there presently embarked himselfe in a small ship of threescore tunne or thereabout, hauing also in companie with him two other small barkes, and not past two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ship, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, so that for certaine, if we had met with Captaine Drake, he might easily haue taken vs all: We being embarked kept our course and ranne Southward towards Panama, keeping still as nigh the shore as we could, and leauing the land vpon our left hand, and hauing coasted thus for the space of eighteene or twentie dayes, and being more to the South then Guatimala, we met at last with other ships which came from Panama, of whom we were certainly informed that he was cleane gone off the coast more then a moneth before: and so we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, because his men were very sore sea-sicke: All the while that I was at Sea with them, I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with master Drake, we should all be taken, so that then I should haue bene freed out of that danger and miserie wherein I liued, and should returne to mine owne countrey of England againe. But missing thereof, when I sawe there was no remedie but that we must needs come on land againe, little doeth any man knowe the sorow and grieve that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was constrained to make faire weather of it. And so being landed, y next morow after, we began our iourney to wardes Mexico, and past these townes of name in our way, as first the towne of Tuatpec, 50 leagues from Mexico, from thence to Washaca, 40 leagues from Mexico: from thence to Tepiaca 24 leagues from Mexico, and from thence to Pueblo de los Angeles, where is a high hill which casteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18 leagues in maner directly West from Mexico: from thence we went to Scapelapa, 8 leagues from Mexico, and there our captaine and most of his men tooke boat, and came to Mexico againe, hauing bene soorth about the space of seuen weekes or thereabouts. Our captaine made report to the Viceroy what he had done, and how farre he had trauelled, and that for certaine he was informed that captaine Drake was not to be heard of. To which the Viceroy replied and said, Surely we shall haue him shortly come into our hands giuen a land through necessitie in some one place or other, for he being now in these seas of Sur, it is not possible for him to get out of them againe, so that if he perith not at sea, yet hunger will force him to land. And then againe I was commanded by the Viceroy that I should not depart the citie of Mexico, but alwaies be at my masters house in a readinesse at an houres warning, when soeuer I should be called: for that notwithstanding within one moneth after certaine Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18 leagues from Mexico, to send away certaine hides and Cochinilla, that they had there at their Stancias or dairie houses, and my master hauing leaue of the Secretarie for me to go with them, I tooke my iourney with them being very well hoysed and appointed, and comming thither and passing the time there at Mecameca certaine dayes till we had perfect intelligence that the flete was ready to depart, I not being past 3 dayes iourney from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, thought it to be the meetest time for me to make an escape, and I was the boldest, presuming vpon my Spanish tongue, which I spake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with my selfe, that when I came to S. Iohn de Vllua, I would get to be entertained as a souldiour, and so go home into Spaine in the same flete, and therefore secretly one euening late, the moone shining faire, I conueyed my selfe away, and riding so for the space of two nights and two dayes, sometimes in, and sometimes out, resting very little all that time, vpon the second day at night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, where the ships rode, but only 5 leagues, and here purposing to rest my selfe a day or two, I was no sooner alighted, but within the space of one halfe houre after, I was by ill hap arrested, and brought before Iustices there, being taken and suspected to be a gentlemans sonne of Mexico, that was runne away

Tuatpec, Washaca, Tepiaca, Pueblo de los Angeles, Scapelapa.

The Spanish Viceroy promised, but false.

Vera Cruz distant 5 leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua.

from

from his father, who in trueth was the man they sought for: So I being arrested, and brought before the Iustices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter, euery man charging me that I was the sonne of such a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied, affirming that I knewe not the man, yet would they not beleue me, but urged still vpon me that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conueied away to prison. And as I was thus going to prison, to the further increase of my grieffe, it chanced that at that very instant there was a poore man in the presse that was come to towne to sell hennies, who told the Iustices that they did me wrong, and that in trueth he knew very well that I was an Englishman and no Spaniard. They then demanded of him how he knew that, and threatened him that he said so, for that he was my companion, and sought to conuey me away from my father, so that he also was threatened to be laid in prison with me: he for the discharge of himselfe stood stiffly in it, that I was an Englishman, & one of captaine Hawkins men, and that he had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the Blacke-friers at Mexico, for 3 or 4 whole yerres together: which when they heard, they forooke him, and began to examine me a new, whether that speech of his were true, yea or no, which when they perceiued that I could not denie, and perceiuing that I was run from Mexico, & came thither of purpose to conuey my selfe away with the fleete, I was presently committed to prison with a sorrowfull heart, often wishing my selfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off: howbeit he in sinceritie had compassion of my distressed estate, thinking by his speech, and knowing of me, to haue set me free from that present danger which he saw me in: howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, and to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedy but patience perforce. And I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that prison for the space of 3 weekes, where were also many other prisoners which were thither committed for sundry crimes, & condemned to the gallies. During which time of imprisonment there, I found amongst those my prison-fellowes some that had knowen me before in Mexico, and truly they had compassion of me, & would spare of their victuals and any thing els that they had to doe me good: amongst whom there was one of them that told me that he vnderstood by a secret friend of his which often came to the prison to him, that I should be shortly sent backe againe to Mexico by wagon, so soone as the fleete was gone from S. Iohn de Vllua, for Spaine. This poore man my prison-fellow of himselfe, & without any request made by me, caused his said friend which came often vnto him to the grate of the prison, to bring him wine and victuals, to buy for him 2 knives which had files in their backs, which files were so wel made that they would serue & suffice any prisoner to file off his irons, & of those knives or files he brought one to me, & told me that he had caused it to be made for me, and let me haue it at that very price it cost him, which was 2 Pezos, the value of 8, s. of our money: which knife when I had it, I was a ioyfull man, and conueied the same into the foote of my boot, vpon the inside of my left leg, and so within 3 or 4 dayes after that I had thus receiued my knife. I was suddenly called for, & brought before the head Iustice which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be stricken off and sent to a Smiths in the towne, where was a new paire of bolts made ready for me of another fashion, which had a broad iron barre comming betweene the shackles, and caused my hands to be made fast with a paire of manacles, and so was I presently laid into a wagon all alone, which was there readie to depart with sundry other wagons, to the number of 60, towarde Mexico, and they all were laden with sundry merchandise which came in the fleete out of Spaine.

The wagon that I was in was foremost in all the companie, and as we trauelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my hands out of the manacles, and as God would, although it were somewhat painefull for me, yet my handes were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and euer as we went, when the wagon made most noyse, and the men were busiest, I would be working to file off my bolts, & traueilling thus for the space of 8 leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to an high hill, at the entering vp of which (as God would) one of the wheelles of the wagon wherein I was, brake, so that by that meanes the other wagons went afoze, and the wagon-man that had charge of me set an Indian Carpenter a worke to mend the wheele: and here at this place they baited at an hostrie that a Negro-woman keepes: and at this place, for that the going vp of the hill is very steepe, for the space of two leagues and better, they doe alwaies accustome to take the moiles of 3 or 4 wagons, and to place them all together for the drawing vp of one wagon, and so to come downe againe, and fetch vp others in that order. All which came very well to passe: for as it drew towards night when most of the Wagons were gone to draw vp their wagons, in this sort I being alone had quickly filed off my bolts, and so espying my time in the darke of the evening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conueyed my selfe into the woods there adioynning, carryng my bolts and manacles with me, & a few biscuits,

Miles Philips his
last wonderfull
escape.

biscuits, and two small cheeses. And being come into the woods, I threw my prons into a thicke bush, and then couered them with mosse and other things, and then shifted for my selfe as I might all that night. And thus by the good prouidence of Almighty God, I was freed from mine prons all sauing the collar that was about my necke, and so got my libertie the second time.

Chap. 7.

Wherein is shewed how I escaped to *Guatimala*, vpon the South sea, and from thence to the port of *Canallos*, where I got passage to goe into *Spaine*, and of our arriuall at *Hauana*, and our comming to *Spaine*, where I was againe like to haue bene committed prisoner, and how through the great mercy of God I escaped, and came home in safetie into *England* in February 1582.

The next morning (day light being come) I perceiued by the Sunne rising what way to take to escape their hands, for when I fledde, I tooke the way into the woods vpon the left hand: and hauing left that way that went to Mexico vpon my right hand, I thought to keepe my course as the woods and mountaines lay, still direct South as neere as I could: by meanes whereof I was sure to conuey my selfe farre ynough from that way that went to Mexico. And as I was thus going in the woods, I saw many great fires made to the North not past a league from the mountaine where I was, and traouailing thus in my bootes with mine prons collar about my necke, and my bread and cheese, the very same forenoone I mette with a company of Indians which were hunting of Deere for their sustenance: to whom I spake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had of a long time bin kept in prison by the cruel Spanyards, and did desire them to helpe me fild to off mine prons collar, which they willingly did: reioycing greatly with me, that I was thus escaped out of the Spanyards hands. Then I desired that I might haue one of them to guide mee out of those desert mountaines towardes the South, which they also most willingly did: and so they brought mee to an Indian towne 8. leagues distant from thence, named *Shalapa*, where I stayed three dayes, for that I was somewhat sickely. At which towne (with the gold that I had quilled in my dublet) I bought me an horse of one of the Indians, which cost mee 6. pezos, and so traouailing South, within the space of 2. leagues I happened to ouertake a gray Friar, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whom then I knewe to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the crueltie vsed against vs by the Inquisitors, and truly hee used me very courteously: and I hauing confidence in him did inueade tel him, that I was minded to aduenture to see if I could get out of the sayd countrey if I could finde shipping, and did therefore pray him of his ayde, direction, and aduise herein, which he faithfully did, not onely in directing me which was my safest way to trauaile, but he also of himselfe kept me company for the space of three dayes, and euer as we came to the Indians houses (who vsed and intertaind vs well) hee gathered among them in money to the value of 20. pezos, which at my departure from him hee freely gaue vnto mee. So came I to the citie of *Guatimala* vpon the South sea, which is distant from Mexico about 250. leagues, where I stayed 6. dayes, for that my horse was weake. And from thence I trauailed still South and by East seuen dayes iourney, passing by certayne Indian townes, vntill I came to an Indian towne distant from Mexico, direct South 309. leagues. And here at this towne enquiring to go to the Port de *Cauillos* in the North east sea, it was answered that in traouailing thither I should not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes iourney: so heere I hired two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hennes, and bread to serue vs so long time, and tooke with vs things to kinde fire euerie night, because of wilde beastes, and to dresse our meate: and euerie night when we rested, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our selues, and my horse. And in the night time we should heare the Lions roare, with Tygres, Dunces, and other beastes, and some of them we should see in the night, which had eyes shining like fire. And traouailing thus for the space of twelue dayes, wee came at last to the port of *Cauillos* vpon the East sea, distant from *Guatimala* South and by East, two hundred leagues, and from Mexico 450. or thereabouts. This is a good harborough for shippes, and is without either caille or bulwarke. I hauing dispatched away my guides, went downe to the *Wauen*, where I saw certayne ships laden chiefly with *Canary* winies, where I spake with one of the Masters, who asked me what Countrey man I was, and I told him that I was borne in *Granado*, he said, that then I was his countreyman: I required him that I might passe home with him in his ship, paying for my passage: and he said yea, so that I had a safe conduct, or letter testimonial to shew, that he might incurre no danger: for said he, it may be that you haue killed some man, or be indebted, and would therefore run away. To that I answered, that there was not any such cause.

Guatimala on the South sea.

Puerto de Cauillos.

¶ Wel, in the end we grew to a price, that for 60. pezos he would carry me into Spaine: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly solde my horse, and made my provision of hennes and bread to serue me in my passage; And thus within 2. dayes after we set saile, and neuer stayed untill we came to Hauana, which is distant from puerto de Cauillos by sea 500. leagues: where we found the whole fleete of Spaine, which was bound home from the Indies. And heere I was hired for a souldier to serue in the Admiral ship of the same fleete, wherein the General himself went. There landed while I was here 4. ships out of Spaine, being all full of souldiers and ordnance, of which number there were 200. men landed here, & 4. great brasse pieces of ordnance, although the castle were before sufficiently provided: 200. men more were sent to Campeche, & certaine ordnance: 200. to Florida with ordnance: and 100. lastly to S. John de Villua. As for ordnance there they haue sufficient, and of the very same which was ours, which we had in the Iesus, and those others which we had planted in the place, where the Vice-roy betrayed M. Hawkins our general, as hath bene declared. The sending of those souldiers to euery of those Ports, and the strengthening of them, was done by commandement from the king of Spaine, who wrote also by them to the general of his fleete, giuing him in charge so to doe, as also directing him what course he should keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him in any hand not to come nigh to the ples of Agores, but to keepe his course more to the Northward, aduertising him withal, what number and power of French ships of warre, and other, Don Antonio had at that time at Tercera, & the ples aforesaid: which the general of the fleete wel considering, and what great store of riches he had to bring home with him into Spaine, did in all very duefully obserue and obey: for in truely he had in his said fleete 37. saile of ships, and in euery of them there was as good as 30. pipes of siluer one with another, besides great store of gold, Cochinilla, sugars, hides, and Cana Fistula, with other Apothecary drugs. This our general, who was called Don Pedro de Guzman, did providently take order for, for their most strength and defence, if neede should be, to the uttermost of his power, and commanded vpon paine of death, that neither passenger nor souldier should come aboard without his sword and harquebush, with shot and powder, to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleete of Don Antonio, if they should hap to meete with them, or any of them: and euer as the weather was faire, the said general would himself go aboard from one ship to another, to see that euery man had his full provision according to the commandement giuen. Yet to speake truely what I thinke, two good tall ships of warre would haue made a foule spoile amongst them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were strong and warlike appointed, sauing only the Admiral, and Vice-admiral: And againe ouer and besides the weakenesse and the ill furnishing of the rest, they were all so deeply laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to haue held out any long fight. ¶ Wel, thus we set saile, & had a very ill passage home, the weather was so contrary. We kept our course in maner North-east, and brought our selues to the height of 42. degrees of latitude, to be sure not to meete with Don Antonio his fleete, and were vpon our voyage from the 4. of Iune, vntill the 10. of September, and neuer saw land till we fell with the Arenas Gordas hard by S. Lucar. And there was an order taken that none should goe on shoare vntill he had licence: as for me, I was knowen by one in the ship, who told the Master that I was an Englishman, which (as God would) it was my good hap to heare: for if I had not heard it, it had cost me my life. Notwithstanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and seemed to be mery & pleasant, that we were all come so wel in safety. Presently after, licence came that we should go on shoare, and I pressed to be gone with the first: howbeit, the Master came vnto me, & said, Sirra, you must goe with me to Siuil by water: I knew his meaning well enough, & that he meant there to offer me vp as a sacrifice to the Holy house. For the ignorant zeale of a number of these superstitious Spaniards is such, that they thinke that they haue done God good seruice, when they haue brought a Lutheran heretike to the fire to be burnt: for so do they account of vs. ¶ Wel, I perceiuing all this, tooke vpon me not to suspect any thing, but was still iocund & mery: howbeit, I knew it stood me vpon to shift for my selfe. And so wayting my time when the Master was in his cabbin asleepe, I conueyed my selfe secretly downe by the throwds into the ship boate, and made no stay but cut the rope wherewithal she was moored, and so by the cable haled on shoare, where I leapt on land, & let the boate goe whither it would. Thus by the helpe of God I escaped that day, & then neuer stayed at S. Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had seene other take toward Siuil: so that the next morning I came to Siuil, and sought me out a workemaster, that I might fall to my science, which was weauing of cassataes; and being intertained I set my selfe close to my worke, and durst not for my life once to stirre abroad for feare of being knowen: and being thus at my worke, within 4. dayes after I heard one of my fellowes say, that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Englishman that came home in the fleete: what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would

Don Pedro de
Guzman.

to God I might knowe him, surely I would present him to the Holy house. And thus I kept still within doores at my worke, and fained my selfe not well at ease, & that I would labour as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the space of 3. moneths I called for my wages, and bought me all things new, different from the apparell that I did weare at sea, and yet durst not be overbold to walke abroad: and after vnderstanding that there were certaine English ships at S. Lucar bound for England, I tooke a boat and went aboard one of them, and desired the Master that I might haue passage with him to goe into England, and told him secretly that I was one of those which Captaine Hawkins did set on shore in the Indies: he very courteously prayed me to haue him excused, for he durst not meddle with me, & prayed me therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceiued, with a sorrowful heart, God knoweth, I tooke my leaue of him, not without watry cheekes. And then I went to S. Mary port, which is 3. leagues from S. Lucar, where I put my selfe to be a souldier to goe in the king of Spaines Gallies, which were bound for Maiorca, and comming thither in the end of the Christmas holidaies, I found there two English ships, the one of London, and the other of the West countrey, which were ready freighted and stayed but for a faire wind. To the Master of the one, which was of the West countrey went I, and told him that I had bene 2. yeeres in Spaine to learne the language, and that I was now desirous to goe home and see my friends, for that I lacked maintenance: and so having agreed with him for my passage, I tooke shipping. And thus through the prouidence of Almighty God, after 16. yeeres absence, hauing sustained many and sundry great troubles and miseries, as by this discourse appeareth, I came home to this my natie countrey of England in the yeere 1582. in the moneth of February, in the ship called the Landret, and arrived at Poole.

He commeth home in an English ship from Maiorca.

The trauailes of Job Hortop, which Sir Iohn Hawkins set on land within the Bay of Mexico, after his departure from the Hauen of S. Iohn de Vllna in Nuova España, the 8. of October 1568.



Of vntreuely nor without cause said Job the faithfull seruant of God (whom the sacred Scriptures tell vs, to haue dwelt in the land of Hus) that man being borne of a woman, liuing a short time, is replenished with many miseries: which some know by reading of histories, many by the view of others calamities, and I by experience in my selfe, as this present Treatise insuing shall shew.

It is not vnknewen vnto many, that I Job Hortop powder-maker was borne at Bourne, a towne in Lincolnshire, from my age of twelue yeeres brought vp in Redriffe neere London, with M. Francis Lee, who was the Queenes Maiesties powder-maker, whom I serued, vntill I was pressed to go on the 3. voyage to the West Indies, with the right worshipful Sir Iohn Hawkins, who appointed me to be one of the Gunners in her Maiesties ship called the Iesus of Lubeck, who set saile from Plymouth in the moneth of October 1567. hauing with him another ship of her Maiesties, called the Minion, and foure ships of his owne, namely the Angel, the Swallow, the Iudith, and the William and Iohn. We directed his Vice-admirall, that if foule weather did separate them, to meete at the Island of Tenerif. After which by the space of seuen dayes and seuen nights, we had such stormes at sea, that we lost our long boats and a pinnelle, with some men: comming to the Ile of Tenerif, there our Generall heard that his Vice-admirall with the Swallow, and the William and Iohn were at the Island called Gomera, where finding his Vice-admirall, he anchored, tooke in fresh water, and set saile for Cape Blank, where in the way wee tooke a Portugal carauel, laden with fish called Bullets: from thence we sailed to Cape Verde. In our course thither we met a Frenchman of Rochel called captaine Bland, who had taken a Portugal carauel, whom our viceadmirall chased and tooke. Captaine Drake, now Sir Francis Drake was made master & captaine of the Carauel, and so we kept our way till we came to Cape Verde, and there we anchored, tooke out boates, & set souldiers on shore. Our Generall was the first that leapt on land, & with him Captaine Dudley: there we tooke certaine Negroes, but not without damage to our selues. For our Generall, Captaine Dudley, & 8. other of our company were hurt with poysoned arrowes: about nine dayes after, the 8. that were wounded died. Our general was taught by a Negro, to draw the poyson out of his wound with a cloue of garlike, whereby he was cured. From thence we went to Sierra leona, where be monstrous fishes called Sharkes, which will deuoure men. I amongst others was sent in the Angell with two pinnelles into the riuer called Caloufa, to seeke two Carauels that were there trading with the Negroes: wee tooke one of them with the Negroes, and brought them away.

A remedie against poysoned arrowes.

The riuer of Caloufa.

In this riuer in 8 night time we had one of our pinnelles bulged by a sea-horse, so that our men

swimming

Swimming about the riuer, were all taken into the other pinnelles, except two that tooke hold one of another, and were caried away by the sea-horse. This monster hath the iust proportion of a horse, sauing that his legs be short, his teeth very great, and a span in length: hee vseth in the night to goe on land into the woods, seeking at vnawares to deuoure the Negroes in their cabbins, whom they by their vigilancie pzeuent, and kill him in this maner. The Negroes keepe watch, and diligently attend their comming, and when they are gone into the woods, they forthwith lay a great tree ouerthwart the way, so that at their returne, for that their legs be so short, they cannot goe ouer it: then the Negroes let vpon them with their bowes, arrowes and darts, and so destroy them.

From thence we entred the riuer called the Casseroes, where there were other Carauels trading with the Negroes, and them we tooke. In this Island betwixt the riuer and the maine, trees grow with Differs vpon them. There grow Palmiro trees, which bee as high as a ships maine mast, and on their tops grow nuts, wine and oyle, which they call Palmiro wine and Palmiro oyle. The Plantan tree also groweth in that countrey; the tree is as bigge as a mans thigh, and as high as a firre pole, the leaues thereof be long and broad, and on the top grow the fruit which are called Plantanos: they are crooked, and a cubite long, and as bigge as a mans wrist, they growe on clusters: when they be ripe, they be very good and daintie to eate: Sugar is not moze delicate in taste then they be.

The riuer of
Taggarin.

500. Negroes
taken.

Rio grande.

From thence with the Angel, the Iudich, and the two pinnelles, we sailed to Sierra leona, where our Generall at that time was, who with the captaines and souldiers went by into the riuer called Taggarin, to take a towne of the Negroes, where he found three kings of that countrey with fiftie thousand Negroes besieging the same towne, which they could not take in many peeres before, when they had warred with it. Our General made a breach, entred, & valiantly tooke the towne, wherein were found five Portugals which yeelded themselves to his mercy, and hee saued their liues: we tooke & caried thence for traffique to the West Indies 500. Negroes. The three kings droue 7000. Negroes into y sea at low water, at the point of the land, where they were all drowned in the Dze, for that they could not take their canoas to saue themselves. Wee returned backe againe in our pinnelles to the ships, and there tooke in fresh water, and made ready sayle towards Rio grande. At our comming thither we entred with the Angel, the Iudich, and the 2. pinnelles, and found there seuen Portugal Caruels, which made great fight with vs. In the ende by Gods helpe wee wonne the victorie, and droue them to the shore, from whence with the Negroes they fled, and we fetcht the caruels from the shore into the riuer. The next morning M. Francis Drake with his caruel, the Swallow, and the William and Iohn came into the riuer, with captaine Dudley and his souldiers, who landed being but a hundred souldiers, and fought with seuen thousand Negroes, burned the towne, and returned to our Generall with the losse of one man.

In that place there be many muske-cats, which breed in hollow trees: the Negroes take the in a net, & put them in a cage, & nourish them very daintily, & take the muske from them with a spoone.

Now we directed our course from Guinea towards the West Indies.

And by the way died Captaine Dudley.

Dominica.

Margarita.

In sayling towards the Indies, the first land that we espyed, was the Island called Dominica, where at our comming we anchored, & tooke in fresh water and wood for our prouision: which done, we sayled towards the Island called Margarita, where our Generall in despite of the Spaniards anchored, landed, & tooke in fresh victuals. A mile off the Island there is a rocke in the sea, where in doe breed many fowles like vnto Barnacles: in the night we went out in our boates, and with cutgels we killed many of them, and brought them with many of their eggs aboard with vs: their eggges be as bigge as Turkies eggges, and speckled like them. We did eate them, and found them very good meate.

Burboroota.

Placencia in the
maine.

From thence wee sayled to Burboroota, which is in the maine land of the West Indies: there we came in, mozed our ships, and caried two moneths trimming and dyelling our ships, and in the meane time traded with certaine Spaniards of that countrey. There our Generall sent vs vnto a towne called Placencia, (which stood on a high hil) to haue intreated a Bishop that dwelt there for his fauour & friendship in their lawes, who hearing of our comming, for feare forsooke y towne.

In our way by the hil to Placencia, wee found a monstrous venemous womne with two heads: his body was as bigge as a mans arme, and a yard long: our master Robert Barret did cut him in sunder with his sword, and it made it as blacke as if it were coloured with ynke.

Deere be many Tygers, monstrous and furious beastes, which by subtiltie deuoure and destroy many men: they vse the traded wayes, & wil shew themselves twise or thise to the trauellers, and so depart secretly, lurking till they be past, then suddenly & at vnawares they leape vpon them and deuoure

denoure them: they had so used two of our company, had not one of them looked behind. Our Generall sent three ships vnto the Island called Coracao, to make prouision for the rest, where they remayned vntill his comming. Wee sent from thence the Angel and the Iudith to Rio de Hacha, where we anchored before the towne. The Spaniards shot three pieces at vs from the shore, whom we requited with two of ours, and shotte through the Gouernours house: we wayed anchor, & anchored againe without shot of the towne, where wee rid five dayes in despite of the Spaniards, and their shot. In the meane space there came a Caruel of aduise from S. Domingo, whom with the Angel, and the Iudith wee chased and drove to the shore: we fetcht him from thence in spite of 200. Spaniards hargubush shot, and anchored againe before the towne, and rid there with them, till our Generalls comming, who anchored, landed his men, and valiantly tooke the Towne, with the losse of one man, whose name was Thomas Surgeon: wee landed and planted on the shore for our safeties, our field ordinance: we drove the Spaniards by into the country aboue two leagues, whereby they were enforced to trade with our General, to whom he sold most part of his Negroes.

Rio de la Hacha taken.

In this riuer we killed a monstrous Lagarto or Crocodile in this port at sunne set: seuen of vs went in the pinnesse by into the Riuer, carying with vs a dogge, vnto whom with rope-yarne we bound a great hooke of Steele, with a chaine that had a swivel, which we put vnder the dogs belly, the point of the hooke comming ouer his back fast bound, as afore said: we put him ouer boord, and vered out our rope by little and little, rowing away with our boate: the Lagarto came & presently swallowed by the dogge, then did we rowe hard, till we had choked him: he plunged and made a wonderful stirre in the water: we leapt on shore, and haled him on land: he was 23. foote by the rule, headed like a hogge, in body like a serpent, full of scales as broad as a sawcer: his taile long and full of knots as bigge as a sawcon shotte: he hath foure legs, his feete haue long nailes like vnto a dragon: we opened him, tooke out his guts, flayed him, dried his skinne, and stuffed it with straw, meaning to haue brought it home, had not the ship bin cast away. This monster will cary away and deuoure both man and horse.

From hence we shaped our course to Santa Martha, where we landed, traded, and sold certaine Negroes: there two of our company killed a monstrous adder, going towards his caue with a Conie in his mouth: his body was as bigge as any mans thigh, and seuen foote long: vpon his tayle he had sixteene knottes, euery one as bigge as a great walnut, which they say, doe show his age: his colour was greene and yellow: they opened him, and found two conies in his belly.

Santa Martha.

From thence wee sailed to Cartagena, where we went in, moored our Shippes, and would haue traded with them, but they durst not for feare of the King: wee brought up the Minion against the Castle, and shotte at the Castle and Towne: then we landed in an Island, where were many gardens: there in a caue we found certaine Botijos of wine, which wee brought away with vs, in recompence whereof, our Generall commanded to be set on shore woollen and linnen cloth, to the value thereof. From hence by foule weather wee were forced to seeke the Port of Saint Iohn de Villua. In our way thwart of Campeche we met with a Spaniard, a small ship,

Cartagena.

Campeche.

who was bound for Santo Domingo: he had in him a Spaniard called Augustin de villa nueva, who was the man that betrayed all the Noble men in the Indies, and caused them to be beheaded, wherefore he with two Friers fled to S. Domingo: them we tooke and brought with vs into the Port of S. Iohn de Villua. Our Generall made great account of him, and vled him like a Noble man: howbeit in the ende he was one of them that betrayed vs. When wee had moored our ships, and landed, wee mounted the Ordinance that wee found there in the Islande, and for our safeties kept watch and warde. The next day after wee discovered the Spanish fleete, whereof Lugo a Spaniard was Generall: with him came a Spaniard called Don Martin Henriquez, whom the king of Spaine sent to be his Vice-roy of the Indies. We sent a Pinnesse with a flagge of cruce vnto our Generall, to knowe of what Countrey those Shippes were that rode there in the King of Spaines Port: who sayd, they were the Queene of Englands ships, which came in there for victuals for their money: wherefore if your Generall will come in here, he shall giue me victuals and all other necessaries, and I will goe out on the one side of the Port, and he shall come in on the other side. The Spaniard returned for answer, that he was a Vice-roy, and had a thousand men, & therefore he would come in. Our Generall sayd, If he be a Vice-roy, I represent my Queenes person, & I am a Vice-roy as well as he: and if he haue a thousand men, my powder and shot will take the better place. Then the Vice-roy after counsell among themselves, peeled to our Generalls demaund, swearing by his King and his Crowne, by his commission and authoritie that he had from his King, that hee would performe it, and thereupon pledges were giuen on both parts. Our Generall hearing a godly and Christian minde, voyde of fraude and deceit, iudged the Spaniards to haue done the like, deliuered to them five gentlemen, not doubting to haue

Don Martin de Henriquez the trecherous Vice-roy.

received the like from them: but the faithlesse Spanyards, in costly apparell gaue of the basest of their company, as afterwarde it was well known. These things finished, proclamation was made on both sides, that on payne of death no occasion should be giuen, whereby any quarel should grow to the breach of the league, and then they peaceably entred the port, with great triumph on both sides.

Augustine de villa noua a most thankesleffe traitour.

The Spanishe vice-admirall fiered.

One of those three was Job Hortop the reporter herof. Foure Spanishe ships sunke.

The Spaniards presently brought a great Hulke, a ship of five hundred, and moored her by the side of the Minion, and they cut out ports in their other ships, planting their ordinance towards vs, in the night they filled the Hulke with men, to lay the Minion aboard, as the sequel did shew, which made our General doubtful of their dealings: wherefore, for that he could speake the Spanishe tongue, he sent Robert Barrer aboard the Vice-roy, to knowe his meaning in those dealings, who willed him with his company to come in to him, whom he commanded presently to be set in the bilbowes, and forthwith a Coorie (for a watchword among the false Spaniards) was sounded for the enterprising of their pretended treason against our General, whom Augustine de villa noua sitting at dinner with him, should then presently haue killed with a poynado which hee had priuily in his sleue, which was espyed and prevented by one Iohn Chamberlayne, who tooke the poynado out of his sleue. Our General hastily rose vp, and commanded him to be put prisoner in the Stewards roome, & to be kept with two men. The faithlesse Spanyards, thinking all things to their desire had bene finished, suddenly sounded a Trumpet, and therewith three hundred Spaniards entred the Minion, whereat our General with a loude and fierce voyce called vnto vs, saying, God and Saint George, vpon those traitorous villaines, and rescue the Minion, I trust in God the day shall be ours: and with that the Mariners & souldiers leapt out of the Iesus of Lubeck into the Minion, and beat out the Spanyards, and with a shot out of her fiered the Spaniards Vice-admirall, where the most part of 300. Spanyards were spoyled, and blowen ouer boord with powder. Their Admirall also was on fire halfe an houre: we cut our cables, wound off our ships, and presently fought with them: they came vpon vs on euery side, and continued the fight from ten of the clocke vntil it was night: they killed all our men that were on shore in the Island, sauing three, which by swimming got aboard the Iesus of Lubeck. They sunke the Generals ship called the Angel, and tooke the Swallow: the Spaniards Admirall had aboute threescore shot through her: many of his men were spoyled: foure other of their ships were sunke. There were in that fleete, and that came from the shore to rescue them, fifteene hundred: we slew of them five hundred and fourtie, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico. In this fight the Iesus of Lubeck had five shotte through her mayne Mast: her fore-mast was strooke in sunder vnder the hounds with a chayne shotte, and her hull was wonderfully pearced with shotte, therefore it was impossible to bring her away. They set two of their owne Shippes on fire, intending therewith to haue burnt the Iesus of Lubeck, which we prevented by cutting our cables in the halfe, and winding off by our sternefast.

The Minion was forced to set saile and stand off from vs, and come to an anker without shot of the Island. Our General courageously cheered by his souldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of Beere, who brought it him in a siluer cup, and hee drinkeing to all men willed the gunners to stand by their Ordinance lustily like men. He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand, but a demy Culuerin shot stroke away the cup and a Coopers plane that stood by the maine mast, and ranne out on the other side of the ship: which nothing dismayd our General, for he ceased not to incourage vs, saying, feare nothing, for God, who hath preserved me from this shot, will also deliuer vs from these traitours and villaines. Then Captaine Bland meaning to haue turned out of the port, had his maine mast stroke ouer boord with a chaineshot that came from the shore, wherefore he ankered, fired his ship, tooke his pinnelle with all his men, and came aboard the Iesus of Lubeck to our General, who said vnto him, that he thought he would not haue runne away from him: he answered, that he was not minded to haue run away from him, but his intent was to haue turned vp, and to haue laid the weathermost ship of the Spanishe fleete aboard, and fired his ship in hope therewith to haue set on fire the Spanishe fleete, hee said if he had done so he had done well. With this, night came on. Our General commanded the Minion, for safegard of her masts to be brought vnder the Iesus of Lubecks lee: he willed M. Francis Drake to come in with the Iudich, and to lay the Minion aboard, to take in men and other things needefull, and to goe out, and so he did.

At night when the wind came off the shore, wee set saile, and went out in despite of the Spaniards and their shot, where wee ankered, with two ankers vnder the Island, the wind being Northerly, which was wonderfull dangerous, and wee feared euery houre to be driuen with the lee shore. In the end when the wind came larger, we waied anker, and set saile, seeking the riuer

of Panuco for water, whereof we had very little, and victuals were so scarce, that we were driven to eat hides, cats, rats, parrats, minkies, and dogges: wherefore our Generall was forced to divide his company into two parts, for there was a mutinie among them for want of victuals: and some said that they had rather be on the shore to shift for themselves among the enemies, then to sterue on ship-boord. He asked them who would go on shore, and who would carry on ship-boord, those that would goe on shore, he willed to goe on foremast, and those that would carrie, on back mast: fourescore and sixteene of vs were willing to depart. Our Generall gaue vnto euery one of vs five yards of Roane cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed, he came vnto vs, where friendly imbracing euery one of vs, he was greatly grieved that he was forced to leaue vs behind him, he counselled vs to serue God, and to loue one another, and thus courteously he gaue vs a sorrowful fare well, and promised if God sent him safe home, he would do what he could, that so many of vs as liued should by some means be brought into England, & so he did.

About an hundred English men landed.

Since my returne into England I haue heard that many misliked that he left vs so behind him, and brought away Negroes: but the reason is this, for them he might haue had victuals, or any other thing needfull, if by foule weather hee had bene driven vpon the Islands, which for gold no silver he could not haue had.

And thus our Generall departed to his ship, and we remained on land, where for our safeties, fearing the wild Indians that were about vs, we kept watch all night, and at Sunne rising wee marched on our way, three and three in a ranke, vntill that we came into a fielde vnder a groue, where the Indians came vpon vs, asking vs what people we were, and how we came there. Two of our company, namely Anthony Goddard, and Iohn Cornish, for that they could speake the Spanish tongue, went to them, and said wee were Englishmen, that neuer came in that countrey before, and that we had fought with the Spaniards, and for that we lacked victuals, our Generall set vs on shore: they asked vs whither we intended to goe, we said to Panuco. The Captaine of the Indians willed vs to giue vnto them some of our clothes & shirts, which we did: then he had vs giue them all, but we would not so doe, whereupon Iohn Cornish was then slaine with an arrow, which an Indian boy that stood by the Captaine shot at him, wherefore hee strooke the boy on the necke with his bow, that he lay for dead, and willed vs to follow him, who brought vs into a great fielde, where we found fresh water: hee had vs sit downe about the pond and drinke, and he with his company would goe in the meane space to kill five or sixe Deere, and bring them vs. We tarried there till three of the clocke, but they came not: there one of our company whose name was Iohn Cooke, with foure other departed from vs into a groue to seeke reliefe, where presently they were taken by the Indians, and stript as naked as euer they were bozne, and so returned to vs.

Iohn Cornish slaine.

Then we diuided our selues into two parts, halfe to Anthony Goddard, and the rest to James Collier, and thus seuerally we sought for Panuco. Anthony Goddard with his company, bid vs farewell, they passed a riuer, where the Indians robbed many of them of their clothes, and so passing on their way, came to a stony hill, where they stayed. James Collier with his company that day passed the same riuer, and were also robbed, and one of them slaine by chance: wee came that night vnto the hill, where Anthony Goddard and his company rested, there we remained till morning, and then we marched altogether from thence, entring betweene two groues, where the Indians robbed vs of all our clothes, and left vs naked, they hurt many, and killed eight of vs. Three dayes after we came to another riuer, there the Indians shewed vs the way to Panuco, and so left vs: we passed the riuer into the wilderness, where we made wreaths of greene grasse, which we wound about our bodies, to keepe vs from the Sunne, and gnats of that Countrey. We trauelled there seuen dayes, and seuen nights, before wee came to Panuco, feeding on nothing but roots, and Guiauos, a fruit like figs. At our comming to the riuer of Panuco two Spanish horsemen came ouer vnto vs in a Canowe: they asked vs how long we had bene in the wilderness, and where our generall was, for they knewe vs to be of the company that had fought with their countymen: we told them seuen dayes and seuen nights, and for lacke of victuals our Generall set vs on shore, & he was gone away with his ships. They returned to their Gouernour, who sent them with five Canowes to bring vs all ouer. Which done, they set vs in aray, where a hundred horsemen with their lances, came forceably vpon vs, but did not hurt vs, they carried vs prisoners to Panuco, where we remained one night. In the riuer of Panuco there is a fish like a calfe, the Spaniards call it a Mallatin, hee hath a stone in his head, which the Indians vse for the disease of the Collicke, in the night he cometh on land, and eateth grasse. I haue eaten of it, and it eateth not much vnlike to bacon. From thence we were sent to Mexico, which is 90 leagues from Panuco. In our way thither, 20 leagues from the sea side, I did see white Crabs running by & downe the sands.

Anthony Goddard.

A riuer.

James Collier.

8. English men slaine. Another riuer.

Seuen dayes trauell to Panuco.

The manifest
Use of Maguies.

lands, I haue eaten of them, and they be very good meat. There groweth a fruit which the Spaniards call Auocottes, it is proportioned like an egge, and as blacke as a cole, hauing a stone in it, and it is an excellent good fruit. There also groweth a strange tree which they call Magueis, it serueth them to many vses, below by the root they make a hole, wherat they do take out of it twice every day a certaine kind of licour, which they seeth in a great kettle, till the third part be consumed, & that it waxe thick, it is as sweet as any hony, and they do eat it. Within 20. daies after that they haue taken all the licour from it, it withereth, & they cut it down, & vse it as we vse our hempe here in England, which done, they conuert it to many vses: of some part they make mantles, ropes, and threed: of the ends they make needles to sow their saddles, pannels, & other furniture for their hoxles: of the rest they make ryles to couer their houses, and they put it to many other purposes.

Mexico.

And thus we came to Mexico, which is seuen or eight miles about, seated in a great fen, inuironed with 4 hills, it hath but two wayes of entrance, and it is full of creeks, in the which in their Canowes they passe from place to place, & to the Islands there within. In the Indies ordinarily three times a peece bee wonderfull earthquakes, which put the people in great feare and danger: during the time of two peeres that I was in Mexico, I saw them sixe times: when they come they throw downe trees, houses, and Churches. There is a citie 25. leagues from Mexico, called Tlaxcalla, which is inhabited with a hundred thousand Indians, they goe in white shirts, linnen breeches, and long mantles, and the women weare about them a garment much like vnto a Spanneil petticoate. The kings pallace was the first place that wee were brought vnto in Mexico, where without we were willed to sit downe. Such people, men, women, and children came wondering about vs, many lamented our misery, & some of their clergie asked vs if we were Christians, we said, we praised God, we were as good Christians as they: they asked how they might know that, we said, by our confessions. From thence we were carried in a Canow to a Tanners house, which standeth a little from the citie: the next morning two fraters and two priests came thither to vs, and willed vs to blesse our selues, and say our prayers in the Latin tongue, that they might vnderstand vs, many of our company did so, whereupon they returned to the viceroy, and told him that we were good Christians, and that they liked vs well, and then they brought vs much reliefe, with clothes, our sicke men were sent to their Hospitals, where many were cured, and many died. From the Tanners house we were led to a gentlemans place, where vpon paine of death we were charged to abide, and not to come into the citie, thither we had all things necessary brought vs: on Sundayes and holy dayes much people came, and brought vs great reliefe.

The viceroy practised to hang vs, and caused a paire of new gallowes to be set vp, to haue executed vs, wherunto the noblemen of that countrey would not consent, but prayed him to stay vntill the ship of aduise brought newes from the king of Spaine, what should be done with vs, for they said they could not find any thing by vs, where by they might lawfully put vs to death.

The viceroy then commanded vs to be sent to an Island there by, and he sent for the Bishop of Mexico, who sent foure priests to the Island, to examine and confesse vs, who said, that the viceroy would burne vs, when wee were examined and confessed according to the lawes of the countrey. They returned to the Bishop, and told him that we were very good Christians. The Bishop certified the viceroy of our examinations and confessions, and said that wee were good Christians, therefore he would not meddle with vs. Then the viceroy sent for our master R. Barret, whom he kept prisoner in his pallace, vntill the flecte was departed for Spayne. The rest of vs he sent to a towne seuen leagues from Mexico called Tescuco, to card wooll among the Indian slaues, which drudgery we disdained, and concluded to beat our masters, and so wee did: wherefore they sent to the viceroy, desiring him for Gods sake and our Ladies, to send for vs, for they would not keepe vs any longer, they said that we were deuils and no men.

The viceroy sent for vs, and imprisoned vs in a house in Mexico, from thence he sent Anethony Goddard, & some other of our company with him into Spaine, with Lucon, the General that tooke vs: the rest of vs staid in Mexico two yeres after, and then were sent prisoners into Spaine, with Don Iuan de Velasco de Varre, admittall and generall of the Spanish flect, who caried with him in his ship, to be presented to the K. of Spaine, the anatomie of a giant, which was sent from China to Mexico, to the viceroy Don Martin Henriquez, to bee sent to the king of Spaine for a great wonder. It did appeare by the anatomie, that he was of a monstrous size, the skull of his head was neere as bigge as halfe a bushel, his necke-bones, shoulde-plates, arme-bones, and all other lineaments of his other partes, were huge and monstrous to behold, the thanke of his legges from the ankle to the knee was as long as from any mans ankle vp to his waist, and of bignesse accordingly.

At this time, and in this ship, were also sent to be presented to the king of Spaine, two chests full of earth with ginger growing in them, which were also sent from China, to be sent to the king of

of Spaine. The ginger runneth in the ground like to liccoras, the blades grow out of it in length and proportion like vnto the blades of wild garlicke, which they cut euery fifteene dayes, they vse to water them twice a day, as we doe our herbes here in England, they put the blades in their potage, and vse them in their other meates, whose excellent sauour and cast is very delighfull, and procureth a good appetite.

When we were shipped in the Port of S. Iohn de Villua, the Generall called our master Robert Barret and vs with him into his cabbin, & asked vs if wee would fight against Englishmen, if we met them at the sea, we said that we would not fight against our Crowne, but if we met with any other, we would do what we were able. He said if we had said otherwise, he would not haue beleued vs, and for that we should be the better vled, and haue allowance as other men had: and he gaue a charge to euery one of vs, according vnto our knowledge. Robert Barret was placed with the pilote, I was put in the gunners roome, William Cawse with the boat-swaine, Iohn Beare with the quarter-masters, Edward Rider, & Geoffrey Giles, with the ordinary mariners, Richard the masters boy attended on him and the pilote: shortly after we departed from the port of S. Iohn de Villua with all the flecte of Spaine, for the port called Hauana: wee were 26. dayes sayling thither. There wee came in, ankered, tooke in fresh water, and stayed 16. dayes for the flecte of Nombre de Dios, which is the fleet that brings the treasure from Peru.

The Generall of that fleet was called Diego Flores de Valdes. After his comming, when he had watred his ships, both the flectes ioyned in one, and Don Iuan de Velasco de Varre was the first fifteene daies Generall of both the flectes, who turning through the chanell of Bahama, his pilote had like to haue cast away all the fleet vpon the Cape called Cannaueral, which was preuented by me Iohn Hortop, & our master Robert Barret: for I being in the second watch escried land, and called to Robert Barret, bidding him looke ouer boord, for I saw land vnder the lee-bow of the ship: he called to the boat-swaine, & bid him let flie the fore saile sheat, and lay the helm vpon the lee, and cast the ship about. When we were cast about, we were but in seuen fathome water: we shot off a peece, giuing aduice to the fleet to cast about, and so they did. For this we were beloued of the Generall, and all the fleet. The Generall was in a great rage, and swore by the king, that he would hang his pilote: for he said, that twice before he had almost cast away the Admirall. When it was day, he commanded a peece to be shot off, to call to counsell: the other Admirall in his ship came by to him, and asked what the matter was, he said, that his pilote had cast away his ship and all the fleet, had it not bene for two of the Englishmen, and therefore he would hang him. The other Admirall with many faire words perswaded him to the contrary.

When we came in the height of Bermuda, we discovered a monster in the sea, who shewed himselfe three times vnto vs from the middle vpwads, in which parts hee was proportioned like a man, of the complexion of a Mulato or tawny Indian. The Generall did command one of his clearks to put it in writing, and hee certified the King and his Nobles thereof. Presently after this, for the space of fifteene dayes we had wonderful foule weather, and then God sent vs a faire wind, vntill such time as we discovered the Iland called Faial.

On S. Iames day we made rackets, wheelles, and other fire-wozkes, to make pastime that night, as it is the order of the Spanyards. When we came neere the land, our master R. Barret conferred with vs, to take the pinnesse one night, when we came on the Iland called Terçera, to free our selues from the danger and bondage that we were going into, whereunto we agreed: none had any pinnesse afterne then but our ship, which gaue great courage to our enterpryse: we prepared a bagge of bread, and a Botijo of water, which would haue serued vs nine dayes, and prouided our selues to goe: our Master borrowed a small compasse of the Master gunner of the ship, who lent it him, but suspected his intent, and closely made the Generall priuy to it, who for a time dissembled the matter. In the ende seeing our pretense, he called R. Barret, commanding his head to be put in the stocks, and a great payre of ypon bolts on his legs, & the rest of vs to be set in the stocks by the legs. Then he willed a peece to be shot off, and hee sent the pinnesse for the other Admirall, and all the captaines, masters and pilotes of both flectes to come aboord of him. He commanded the mayne-yard to be strooke downe, and to put 2. pullies, on euery yard-arne one; the hangman was called, and we were willed to confesse our selues, for he swore by the king that he would hang vs.

When the other Admirall, and the rest were come aboord, he called them into his counsel-chamber, and told them that he would hang the master of the Englishmen, and all his company. The Admirall, whose name was Diego Flores de Valdes, asked him wherefore: he sayd, that we had determined to rise in the night with the pinnesse, and with a ball of fire-wozke to set the ship on fire, and goe our wayes: therefore, sayd he, I will haue you the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes, to set your hands vnto that, for I sweare by the king that I will hang them, Diego Flores de Valdes answered

A description
of ginger.

1570

Hauana.

A sea-monster
in the shape of
a man.

answered, I nor the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes wil not set our hands to that, for hee said, if he had bin prisoner as we were, he would haue done the like himselfe. He counselled him to keepe vs fast in prison, till he came into Spaine; & then send vs to the Contratacion house in Siuill, where, if we had deserved death the law would passe on vs, for hee would not haue it said that in such a fleet as that was, five men and a boy should take the pinnesse, and goe away, and so he returned to his ship againe.

When he was gone, the Generall came to the maine mast to vs, and swore by the king, that we should not come out of the stocks till we came into Spaine: within 16. dayes after we came ouer the Bar of S. Lucar, and came by to the Hurcados, then he put vs into a pinnesse in the stocks, and sent vs prisoners to the Contratacion house in Siuill. From thence after one yere we brake prison, on S. Steuens day at night, 7. of our company escaped, Robert Barret, Iob Hortop, Iohn Emeric, Humphrey Roberts, and Iohn Gilbert were taken, and brought backe to the contratacion house, where we remained in the stocks till twelue tide was past. Then our keeper put by a petition to the Iudge of the contratacion house, that we might be sent to the great prison house in Siuill, for that we brake prison, whereupon we were presently led thither, where we remained one moneth, and then from thence, to the castell of the Inquisition house in Triana, where wee continued one yere: which expired, they brought vs out in procession, euery one of vs hauing a candle in his hand, and the coate with S. Andrewes crosse on our backs: they brought vs by on an high scaffold, that was set by in the place of S. Francis, which is in the chiefe street of Siuill: there they set vs downe upon benches, euery one in his degree, and against vs on another scaffold sate all the Iudges, and the Clergy on their benches: the people wondered, and gazed on vs, some pittying our cases, other said, burne those heretikes. When we had sit there two houres, we had a sermon made to vs: after which one called Bresinia, secretarie to the Inquisition, went by into the pulpit with the processe, and called Robert Barret and Iohn Gilbert, whom two familiars of the Inquisition brought from the scaffold befoze the Iudges, where the secretarie read the sentence, which was that they should be burnt, and so they returned to the scaffold, and were burnt.

Robert Barret
and Iohn Gil-
bert burned.

Iob Hortop his
condemna-
tion.

Then Iob Hortop, and Iohn Bone were called, and brought to the place, as befoze, where we heard our sentence, which was, that we should go to the Gallies, and there row at the oares ende ten yeeres, and then to be brought backe to the Inquisition house, to haue the coate with S. Andrewes crosse put on our backs, and from thence to goe to the eueralasting prison remedileffe, and so we were returned from the scaffold from whence we came. Thomas Marks, & Thomas Ellis were called, and had sentence to serue in the Gallies eight yeeres, and Humphrey Roberts, and Iohn Emery to serue five yeeres, & so were returned to the benches on the scaffold, where we sate till foure of clocke in the afternoone. Then we were led againe to the Inquisition house, from whence we were brought. The next day in the morning Bresinia the treasurer came thither to vs, and deliuered to euery one of vs his sentence in witing. I with the rest were sent to the Gallies, where we were chained foure and foure together: euery mans daily allowance was 26. ounces of course blacke bisket and water, our clothing for the whole yeere two shirts, two paire of breeches of course canuas, a red coat of course cloth, soone on, and soone off, and a gowne of haire with a friers hood: our lodging was on the bare boords, and banks of the Gallies, our heads and beards were shauen euery month, hunger, thirst, cold, and stripes we lacked none, til our seuerall times expired. And after the time of 12. yeeres, for I serued two yeeres aboue my sentence, I was sent backe to the Inquisition house in Siuill, and there hauing put on the coat with S. Andrewes crosse, I was sent to the eueralasting prison remedileffe, where I wore the coat 4. yeeres, & then upon great suit, I had it taken off for 50. duckets, which Hernando de Soria treasurer of the kings mine lent me, whom I serued for it as a vudge 7. yeeres, and vntill the moneth of October last, 1590. and then I came from Siuill to S. Lucar, where I made meanes to come away in a flie-boat, that was laden with wines and salt, which were Flemings goods, the king of Spaines subiects, dwelling in Siuill, married to Spanish women, and sworn to their king. In this moneth of October last, departing from S. Lucar, at sea, off the southernmost Cape, we met an English ship, called the Galeon Dudley, who took the Flemming, & me out of him, & brought me to Portsmouth, where they set me on land, the 2. day of December last past, 1590. From thence I was sent by M. Muns the lieutenant of Portsmouth, with letters to the R. honorable the Earle of Suffex, who commanded his secretary to take my name and examination, how long I had bene out of England, and with whom I went, which he did. And on Christmas euen I took my leaue of his honor, and came to Redriffe.

1590

1590

The Computation of my imprisonment.

I suffered imprisonment in Mexico two yeeres.
In the Contratacion house in Siuill one yeere.

In the Inquisition house in Triana one yeere.

I was in the Gallies twelve yeeres.

In the euerlasting prison remediles, with the coat with S. Andrews crosse on my back 4. yeeres.

And at libertie I serued as a Iudge Hernando de Soria 3. yeeres, which is the full complement of 23. yeeres.

Since my departure from England, vntill this time of my returne, I was fūe times in great danger of death, besides the many perils I was in, in the Gallies.

First in the Port of S. Iohn de Villua, where being on shore, with many other of our company, which were all slaine sauing I, and two other that by swimming got aboord the Iesus of Lubek.

Secondly, when we were robbed by the wild Indians.

Thirdly, after we came to Mexico, the viceroy would haue hanged vs.

Fourthly, because he could not haue his mind to hang vs, he would haue burnt vs.

Fifthly, the Generall that brought vs into Spaine, would haue hanged vs at sea.

Thus hauing cruelly set downe vnto you my trauels, misery and dangers, endured the space of 23. yeeres, I ende.

A relation of the Hauen of Tecuanapa, a most conuenient place for building of ships, situate vpon the South sea not farre from Nicaragua, which was sent vnto the viceroy of Mexico or to the king of Spaine: wherein are described the riuers of Ometepec, Tlacamama, and Tlacolula falling into the said Hauen, with the townes, people, and mountaines adioyning to the said riuers, and other things fit for the building and victualling of ships.

The Port and small harbour of Tecuanapa hath in the driest time of Sommer in the chanell little lesse then one fathome at low water, and at full sea one fathome and an halfe: in the time of raine, with the increasing of the land-water it hath three fathoms and more. It lyeth toward the West, and there the Bishopricks of Guaxacan and Tlarcali are separated. From hence toward the point called Punta de Incha and Dordaci there is a Bay 2. leagues distant, which though it be no special harbour, yet vpon an extremity ships may come and ride there, as in times past they haue done. This Bay on the right hand toward the North maketh a lake somewhat large towards the midst of the chanell, and in some parts deepe, but specially on the side of Cuahintla, but on either side it is but shallow. As you passe betweene the sea & certaine great and large woods of orange trees, and trees of other nature which grow along the sea coast, which are of no great breedth, al the countrey appeareth very open: howbeit on the side of Cuahintla the mountaines haue many creeks and a small lake called Tulaningo, and the countrey cannot be trauelled, except you take the way betweene the sea and the end of this lake, which may be about two leagues of landy way. And on the North side there is another small creeke. And going by the sands side one quarter of a league, you come to the way that leadeth vnto Quacapotla a mansion of Incha.

The riuier of Ometepec being the principal riuier which commeth to this hauen hath his head in the mountaines of Xicayan de Touer about 24. leagues frō this hauen, from diuers brooks which come out of the mountaines of Cacatepec, and beneath a towne called Suchistlahuaca a little more then 3. leagues all the brooks ioyn together: and from that place you may passe downe to the sea with Candas and Lighters; and you might come farther but for the fall of a furious streame or current which runneth between two great rocks, passing from Cocahulapa a mansion of Ometepec vnto Yanguile a mansion of the said Ometepec. These inconueniences being past (which in my iudgement may be about one league) the riuier is more nauigable, so that you may sayle in the same about 12. leagues. During the space of which 12. leagues, about a league and a halfe distance from the waters side, and in many other parts of the same riuier it hath great quantitie of woods which vse to grow in hot soiles, fit for ship-timber, as Huber trees, & Suchicuhitil, whereof they of Nicaragua make great profit. Also there be white okes and Tehegurtes in great quantitie, and many other kinds of timber: and in the mountaines there be firre-trees, okes, and cork-trees, which easily may bee caried downe the riuier, because they may be cut some 2, 3, 4, and 5. leagues from the riuier, and may be brought downe to the waters side with the seruice and helpe of those that dwell in the townes thereabout.

At the head of these brooks where the riuier beginneth is the towne which is called Xicaian, belonging to the heires of Francis de Touer y de Guillen, containing about 350. Indians of rude speech and of little policie, being 24. leagues from the sea, little more or lesse. The place it selfe is hot, although the mountaines round about be cold.

The Port of Tecuanapa.

The Bishopricks of Guaxacan, & Tlarcali.

Cuahintla.

Tulaningo a small lake.

Quacapotla.

The riuier of Ometepec.

Nicaragua.

Xicaian.

A little

- Aioanapa.** A little from this is the towne of Aioanapa possessed by the heires of Perez Gomez, hauing in it about 300. Indians of the selfe same speech and qualitie. The countrey is more subiect to heate then cold; yet hath it neere it cold countreys and mountaines. It is distant from Xicaian de Touer 4. leagues; and from the sea 20. leagues.
- Suchistlahuaca.** Sire leagues downeward toward the South is the towne of Suchistlahuaca on the said riuer, and the inhabitants are of the same speech and qualities. The countrey is more subiect to heate then cold. It is in the charge of Gonzaluo Fernandez a citizen of Mexico, and hath about 150. Indians, and is 15. leagues distant from the sea.
- Ometepec.** From this towne vnto the towne of Ometepec are 6. leagues. The place is very hot, and in the same gouernment, and is situate betwene certaine hils one league from the riuer: he and his followers haue vnder them about 700. Indians, which speake the Ayacastecan, Amusgan, and Niciecan tongues, and this place is from the sea nine leagues.
- Ihualapa.** From this towne vnto Ihualapa are two great leagues: it is in the gouernment of the heires of Laurence de Castro, of the fore said temperature, and the people vse the said language, and are of the like stature: and it standeth three leagues from the riuer, and from the sea ten leagues.
- Niciecan.** These are the best townes, and of the best traffique that are vpon all this coast. The Indians are rich in Cacao and victuals, and in these townes doe the Indians of Niciecan principally trade. And in the towne of Ihualapa the thiefe Alguazil of the prouince is resident for the most part of the yeere.
- Pio a frontier towne against the Pericans.** More lowe beneath the riuer of Tlacolula, about a league or a league and an halfe from the towne of Ometepec is the towne called Pio, which was wont to be a towne of Tlacolula, and was a frontier towne against the Pericans. There be in it about 50. Indians of the ancient inhabitants: one Grauiel de Chiauex a citizen of Mexico hath the gouernement thereof: it is 4. leagues from Ihualapa, and 6. from the sea.
- Huehuatlan.** A little below this is the towne of Huehuatlan in the selfe same gouernment standing one league from the riuer on certaine high hils: it hath 10. Indians, and is from the sea 5. leagues.
- Cuahucapotla.** And one league from this towne stands the towne of Cuahucapotla a mansion of Antla or Inla: it hath to the number of 15. Indians; it standeth one league and a halfe from the riuer, and 4. leagues from the mouth thereof.
- Cacatepec.** At the fountaines or heads of the rest of the brooks is the towne of Cacatepec being in the gouernment of Raphael de Treyo: he and his tenants haue vnder them some 700. Indians of Niciecan: it is from the sea some 22. leagues.
- The riuer of Tlacamama.** The riuer which is called Tlacamama cometh from the mountains of Atoyaque and Amusgos, which are some 17. leagues from the sea. There it maketh a formed riuer, so big, that it is nauigable to the sea with canoas and lighters: I say from a litle below Tolistlahuaca a mansion of Xicaian. It is nauigable 8. moneths in the yeere, and the other 4. not, because that the sands of the plaines do soke and drink vpon the water in such wise, that there remaineth so litle, that there is no passage: howbeit in small lighters timber may bee brought downe this riuer one league from the place where it is cut, vnto the place that I haue spoken of; whereas bigger vessels may bee made; for nigh vnto that place other brooks and running waters doe ioyne and meet, which make it a maine riuer. It hath nigh vnto it in the mountaines of Atoyaque, Cacatepec, and Amusgos many woods of pine-trees, cork-trees, and oaks of great bignesse: and beneath those mountaines in the warme countrey, neere vnto the riuers there is much timber of those sorts which I mentioned before to be about the riuer of Ometepec, which may easily be cut and carried downe vnto Tecuanapa in the time before specified.
- Atoyaque.** This riuer hath likewise townes adioyning to it; the first at the foote of the mountaines is the town of Atoyaque belonging to the king, & to the heires of Pronetto: their language is Niciecan, the countrey hot, the people politique, & it is from the sea 15. leagues. It hath about 200. Indians.
- Xicaian.** One league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is the towne of Xicaian belonging likewise to the king, and to the heires of Pronetto. They are Niciecan people and very comely, and in a hot countrey. It hath by account 300. Indians. There are resident in it the Vicar and Justice; it is from the riuer a league and a halfe.
- Pinotepan.** A league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is situate the mansion of Pinotepan subiect to Tututepec, which hath with the manors subiect vnto it 500. Indians.
- The towne of Tlacamama.** Two leagues from the towne, and one from Xicayan, and 13. from Tecuanapa, and 3. from the riuer is the towne of Tlacamama: the people are very comely and politique. It containeth some 100. Indians, and belongeth to the king.
- More toward the South 5. leagues from the riuer, and two from this towne, and 14. from the sea

sea is the towne called Pinotepan del Rey. They are handsome people, but of slow speech: this towne containeth about 100. Indians like unto the former. They be wealthie, because they make great quantitie of salte; for they haue a lake in which salte groweth vnder the water, (a thing repugnant to nature, that two contraries doe grow and are conserued together) whereout they take it in breaking it with stones vpon the ground vnder the water.

A lake having
hard salte grow-
ing vnder the
water.

It hath also the towne of Amulgos, which is in the gouernment of Fernando de Auila, which may be from Tecuanapa 18. leagues. They speake the Amulgan tongue. The countrey is hotter: it standeth on the high way from Nicieca: it hath 400. Indians, few more or lesse.

These are all the townes of account situate neere this riuer.

Neere vpon this riuer are two farmes, the one belonging to Pedro Brauo, and the other to him that maketh this relation vnto your Excellencie, which may be from the sea some 8. or 9. leagues all plaine ground. And in this territorie there is but one towne called Quesala situate vpon the ri-
uer, and 6. leagues from the sea; which in times past hath bene a great towne, and nowe hath but three Indians onely, and it is from the farmes 3. leagues.

Quesala.

The mansion house of Don Mattheo is more toward the South, standing in a large mountai-
nous and waste countrey, which aboundeth with cattell, being 3. leagues from the riuer; and as farre from Tecuanapa, as from the place where all the cattell is; and the sea that way is from it but one league.

A little below this mansion about 4. leagues, and 7. leagues from the sea, is a garden of Alon-
so Pedraza which beareth Cacao.

And 2. leagues from this garden, and 6. leagues from the sea standeth the towne of Cuahint-
lan belonging to the king, a towne of 19. households, but very rich, for they gather much Cacao and the best in that countrey. They speake the Tlapanecan tongue. This towne hath the sea that way within halfe a league.

Cuahintlan del
Rey.

And this coast from Cuahintlan to Tecuanapa, and the coast which runneth to Huatulco is a
coast of much pearle, for in olde time the Indians gathered much pearle there.

Huatulco or
Guatulco in 15.
deg. and 50.
minutes.

And 2. leagues from Cuahintlan and 4. from Tecuanapa is the garden of Cacao in the landes
of Francisco Maldonado, which is called Cacahu- Atoyaque.

These are the things worthy of relation from the head-springs of this riuer of Tlacamama vnto
the sea: and this foresaid riuer entreth into the riuer of Ometepepec 5. leagues from Tecuanapa.

The riuer of Tlacolula springeth within the boundes of Chiliztlahuaca subiect to Comas-
tlahuaca a towne of Suchitlahuaca, neere which are many mountaines. This riuer is naviga-
ble little more then 2. leagues before it entreth into the riuer of Ometepepec, where it is 5. leagues
from the sea.

The riuer of
Tlacolula.

Near by it is the towne of Tlacolula abouenamed; and 3. leagues from it is the towne of A-
zoyoque an olde manour of Tlapa. The towne of Chiliztlahuaca hath but 3. Indians; and the
towne of Azoyoque hath more then 300. Indians. But because in this haven must bee the buil-
ding of ships the prouinces of Tlapa and Tututepec may stand them in great stead; the prouince of
Tututepec being neighbour to the riuer of Tlacamama, and the prouince of Tlapa to the riuer of
Tlacolula. For they may, as I haue sayd, carrie the timber in lighters or rafts downe the riuers,
and may vse the Indians in the townes thereabout to sell, and draw the same out of the cold moun-
taines; for in the warme countreyes the most is plaine ground, whereas with very fewe men and
open it may be brought vnto the place where it should be imbarqued.

Azoyoque.

The prouin-
ces of Tutute-
pec and Tlapa.

There may come flat bottomes, and canoas vnto the townes threabout, and lade themselves
with victuals: For they haue already come by that riuer to the rode of Ometepepec, & made there
prouision at the mansion of Don Mattheo, and at the farmes, at that time when his Maiestie did
people the plaines which are betweene these riuers, containing a large and voyde countrey suffici-
ent for the erecting of 20. manours, being a countrey well furnished with water and pasture with-
out any danger or perill, according to the description hereunto annexed.

This small harbour of Tecuanapa being scene and viewed, seemeth very commodious for to
build shippes in, by reason of the great abundance of mountaines full of good timber for that pur-
pose, with the commodities of riuers, and with the seruice and victuals from the townes thre-
about, which be very good for coast townes.

Tecuanapa a
most fit harbo-
rough to build
ships for the
South sea.

The desire of him that made this relation, hath bene with zeale to serue your excellencie; who
therewithall desireth the Lord God to giue the successe.

THE PRINCIPAL VOYAGES OF
the English Nation to the Isles of *Trinidad, Margarita, Dominica, Deseada, Monserrate, Guadalupe, Martinino*, and all the rest of the *Antilles*; As likewise to *S. Iuan de Puerto rico*, to *Hispaniola, Iamaica* and *Cuba*: and also to *Tierra firma*, and all along the coast and Islands therof, euen from *Cumana* and the *Caracos* to the neckland of *Dariene*, and ouer it to the Gulfe of *S. Michael* and the Isle of *Perles* in the South sea: and further to *Cabeça Catina, Nombre de dios*, and *Venta de cruces*, to *Puerto Belo, Rio de Chagre*, and the Isle of *Escudo*, along the maine of *Beragua*, to the Cape and Gulfe of the *Honduras*, to *Truxillo, Puerto de canillos*, and all other the principall Townes, Islands and harbours of accompt within the said Gulfe, and vp *Rio dulce* falling into this Gulfe, about 30. leagues: As also to the Isle of *Cocumel*, and to *Cape Cotoche*, the towne of *Campeche*, and other places vpon the land of *Iucatan*; and lower downe to *S. Iuan de Vllua, Vera Cruz, Rio de Panuco, Rio de Palmas*, &c. within the bay of *Mexico*: and from thence to the Isles of the *Tortugas*, the port of *Hanana*, the Cape of *Florida*, and the Gulfe of *Bahama* homewards.

With the taking, sacking, ransoming, or burning of most of the principall Cities and townes vpon the coasts of *Tierra firma, Nueua Espanna*, and all the foresaid Islands; since the most traitorous burning of her Maiesties ship the *Iesus of Lubec* and murdering of her Subiects in the port of *S. Iuan de Vllua*, and the last generall arrest of her Highnesse people, with their ships and goods throughout all the dominions of the King of *Spaine* in the moneth of Iune 1585. Besides the manifold and tyrannicall oppressions of the Inquisition inflicted on our nation vpon most light and friuolous occasions.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Pert, and Sebastian Cabot, about the eight yeere of King Henry the eight, which was the yere 1516. to *Brasil, Santo Domingo*, and *S. Iuan de Puerto rico*.



That learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine Epistle of his to the duke of Northumberland, before a worke which he translated out of Munster in the yeere 1553, called A treatise of new India, maketh mention of a voyage of discouerie undertaken out of England by sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabota, about the 8. yere of King Henry the eight of famous memorie, imputing the ouerthrow thereof vnto the colwardise and want of stomach of the said Sir Thomas Pert, in maner following. If manly courage, saith he, (like vnto that which hath bene seene & proued in your Grace, as well in forreine realmes, as also in this our countrey) had not bene wanting in other in these our dayes, at such time as our soueraigne lord of famous memorie king Henry the 8. about the same yeere of his raigne, furnished and sent out certaine shippes vnder the gouernance of Sebastian Cabot yet living and one sir Thomas Pert, whose faint heart was the cause that the voyage tooke none effect; if, I say, such manly courage, whereof wee haue spoken, had not at that time bene wanting, it might happily haue come to passe, that that rich treasure called *Perularia*, (which is now in *Spaine* in the cite of *Smill*, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the newfound land of *Pernu*) might long since haue bene in the tower of *London*, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme. Hereunto that also is to bee referred which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the sayde king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527. by doctor Leigh his ambassadour sent into *Spaine* to the Emperour Charles the first, whose wordes bee these. Now rest to be discovered the North parts, the which it seemeth vnto me, is onely your highnes charge and durie, because the situation of this your realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also, for that already you haue taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will

This Sir Thomas Pert was Vice-admirall of England, and dwelt in Poplar at Black-wall.

will not seeme well to leaue so great and profitable an enterprife, seeing it may so easily and with so litle cost, labour and danger be followed and obtained. Though hitherto your grace haue made thereof a prooffe, & found not the commoditie thereby as you trusted, at this time it shalbe none impediment: for there may be now provided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that then were cause your graces desire tooke no full effect: which is, the courses to be changed, and to follow the aforesayd new courses. And concerning the mariners, ships, and prouision, an order may be deuised and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto: by reason whereof, & by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. And whereas in the aforesayd wordes M. Robert Thorne sayth, that he would haue the old courses to bee changed, and the newe courses (to the North) to be followed: It may plainly be gathered, that the former voyage, whereof twise or thise he maketh mention, wherein it is like that sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot were set forth by the king, was made toward Brasil and the South parts. Moreover it seemeth that Gonsaluo de Ouiedo, a famous Spanish wyter, alludeth vnto the sayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural historie of the West Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foresaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are these, as I finde them translated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptista Ramusius, *Nel 1517. Vn Corsaro Inglese, sotto colore di venire a discoprire se ne venne con una gran naue alla volta del Brasil nella costiera di Terra ferma, & indi attrauerse a questa isola Spagnuola, & giunse presso la bocca del porto di questa città di S. Domenico, & mandò in terra il suo battello pieno di gente, & chiese licentia di potere qui entrare, dicendo che venia con mercantie a negoziare. Ma in quello instante il castellano Francesco di Tapia fece tirare alla naue vn tiro d' artiglieria da questo castello; perche ella se ne venina diritta al porto. Quando gli Inglesi videro questo si ritirarono fuori, & quelli del battello tosto si raccolsero in naue. Et nel vero il Castellan fece errore: perche se ben fosse naua entrata nel porto, non sarebbono le genti potuto smontare a terra senza volontà & della città & del castello. La naue adunque veggendo come vi era riceuuta, tirò la volta dell' isola di San Giouanni, & entrata nel porto di San Germano parlarono gli Inglesi con quelli della terra, & dimandarono vettonaglie & fornimenti per la naue, & si lamentarono di quelli di questa città, dicendo che essi non venivano per fare dispiacere, ma per contrattare, & negoziare con suoi danari & mercantie. Hora quiui hebbero alcune vettonaglie, & in compensa essi diedero & pagarono in certi stagni lauorati & altre cose. Et poi si partirono alla volta d' Europa, done si crede, che non gungessero, perche non se ne seppe piu noua mai.* This extract importeth thus much in English, to wit: That in the yeere 1517. an English Rouer under the colour of traouelling to discouer, came with a great shippe vnto the parts of Brasil on the coast of the firme land, and from thence he crossed ouer vnto this Island of Hispaniola, and arriued neere vnto the mouth of the hauen of this citie of S. Domingo, and sent his shipboate full of men on shoare, and demanded leaue to enter into this hauen, saying that hee came with marchandise to traffique. But at that very instant the gouernour of the castle Francis de Tapia caused a tire of ordinance to be shot from the castle at the ship, for she bare in directly with the hauen. When the Englishmen sawe this, they withdrew themselves out, and those that were in the shipboate, got themselves with all speede on shipboord. And in trueth the warden of the castle committed an ouersight: for if the shippe had entred into the hauen, the men thereof could not haue come on lande without leaue both of the citie and of the castle. Therefore the people of the ship seeing how they were receiued, sayled toward the Island of S. Iohn, and entering into the port of S. Germaine, the English men parled with those of the towne, requiring victuals and things needefull to furnish their ship, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of S. Domingo, saying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandise. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompence they gaue and paid them with certain vessell of wrought time and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arriued not: for wee neuer heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonsaluo de Ouiedo, who though it please him to call the captain of this great English ship a rouer, yet it appeareth by the Englishmens owne wordes, that they came to discouer, and by their traffique for pewter vessell and other wares at the towne of S. Germaine in the Island of S. Iohn de puerto rico, it cannot bee denied but that they were furnished with wares for honest traffique and exchange. But whosoever is conuersant in reading the Portugall and Spanish writers of the East and West Indies, shall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rouers and theeuers, which visite any heathen coast that they haue once sayled by or looked on. Nowbeit their passionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to bee preiudiciall to other mens chargeable and painefull enterprises and honourable trauels in discouerie.

An English
great shippe
at Brasil 1517.

San Iuan de
puerto Rico.

A brieft note concerning a voyage of one *Thomas Tison* an English man, made before the yeere 1526 to the *West Indies*, & of his abode there in maner of a secret factor for some English marchants, which vnder hand had trade thither in those dayes: taken out of an olde ligier-booke of *M. Nicolas Thorne* the elder, a worshipfull marchant of *Bristol*.

It appeareth out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custodie of mee *Richard Hakluyt*, written 1526, by master *Nicolas Thorne* the elder, a principall marchant of *Bristol*, unto his friend and factour *Thomas Midnall*, and his seruant *William Ballard* at that time remaining at *S. Lucar* in *Andaluzia*: that before the sayd yeere one *Thomas Tison* an Englishman had found the way to the *West Indies*, and was there resident: unto whom the aforesayd *M. Nicolas Thorne* sent armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd. This *Thomas Tison* (so farre as I can coniecture) may seeme to haue bene some secret factour for *M. Thorne* and other English marchants in those remote partes; wherevnto it is probable that some of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the *West Indies* euen in those ancient times and before also: neither doe I see any reason why the *Spaniards* should debarre vs from it at this present.

The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight
sir *Iohn Hawkins*, sometimes treasurer of her Maiesties nauie Roial, made
to the *West Indies* 1562.



After *Iohn Hawkins* hauing made diuers voyages to the *Iles* of the *Canaries*, and there by his good and upright dealing being grown in loue and fauour with the people, informed himselfe amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the *West India*, whereof hee had receiued some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the aduertisements and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured, that *Negros* were very good marchandise in *Hispaniola*, and that store of *Negros* might easily bee had vpon the coast of *Guinea*, resolved with himselfe to make triall thereof, and communicated that deuise with his worshipfull friendes of *London*: namely with *Sir Lionell Duckett*, *sir Thomas Lodge*, *M. Gunson* his father in law, *sir William Winter*, *M. Bromfield*, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberall contributors and aduenturers in the action. For which purpose there were three good ships immediatly provided: The one called the *Salomon* of the burthen of 120. tunnes, wherein *M. Hawkins* himselfe went as Generall: The second the *Swallow* of 100. tunnes, wherein went for Captaine *M. Thomas Hampton*: and the third the *Jonas* a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Master sayd the Captaines roome: in which small fleete *M. Hawkins* tooke with him not aboue 100. men, for feare of sicknesse and other inconueniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subiect.

M. Thomas Hampton.

Sierra Leona
called *Tagarin*.

The *Iles* of
Caycos.

With this companie he put off and departed from the coast of *England* in the moneth of *October* 1562, and in his course touched first at *Teneriffe*, where hee receiued friendly intertainement. From thence he passed to *Sierra Leona*, vpon the coast of *Guinea*, which place by the people of the countrey is called *Tagarin*, where he staid some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sword, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300. *Negros* at the least, besides other merchandises which that countrey yeeldeth. With this praye hee sayled ouer the *Ocean sea* vnto the *Iland* of *Hispaniola*, and arrived first at the port of *Isabella*: and there hee had reasonable vtterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his *Negros*, trusting the *Spaniards* no further, then that by his owne strength he was able still to master them. From the port of *Isabella* he went to *Puerto de Plata*, where he made like sales, standing alwaies vpon his guard: from thence also hee sayled to *Monte Christi* another port on the North side of *Hispaniola*, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffique, and made vent of the whole number of his *Negros*: for which he receiued in those 3. places by way of exchange such quantitie of merchandise, that hee did not onely lade his owne 3. shippes with hides, ginger, sugars, and some quantitie of pearles, but he freighted also two other hulkes with hides and other like commodities, which hee sent into *Spaine*. And thus leauing the *Iland*, he returned and disembogued, passing out by the *Ilands* of the *Caycos*, without further entring into the bay of *Mexico*. In this his first voyage to the *West India*. And so with prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe and the aforesayd aduenturers, he came home, and arrived in the moneth of *September* 1563.

The

The voyage made by M. Iohn Hawkins Esquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the *Iesus of Lubek*, one of her Maiesties shippes, and Generall of the *Salomon*, and other two barkes going in his companie, to the coast of *Guinea*, and the *Indies* of *Noua Hispania*, begun in *An. Dom. 1564.*

M After Iohn Hawkins with the *Iesus of Lubek*, a shippe of 700. and the *Salomon* a shippe of 140. the *Tiger* a barke of 50. and the *Swallow* of 30. tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundredeth threescore and tenne, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of *Plymouth* the 18. day of *October*, in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marueilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the shippe, who by the pullic of the heate was slaine out of hand, being a sorrowfull beginning to them all. And after their letting out ten leagues to the sea, he met the same day with the *Minion* a ship of the *Queenes Maiestie*, whereof was Captaine *Dauid Carlet*, and also her consort the *Iohn Baptis* of *London*, being bounde to *Guinea* also, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioi of their meeting: which done, the *Minion* departed from him to seeke her other consort the *Merlin* of *London*, which was a sterne out of sight, leauing in M. Hawkins companie the *Iohn Baptis* her other consort.

October 18.

The Minion,
the Iohn Baptis,
and the
Merline bound
for Guirca.

Thus sayling forwarde on their way with a prosperous winde untill the 21. of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arole, the winde being at Northeast about nine a clocke in the night, and continued so 23. houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the companie of the *Iohn Baptis* aforesayd, and of his pinnesse called the *Swallow*, his other 3. shippes being sore beaten with a storme. The 23. day the *Swallow* to his no small reioycing, came to him againe in the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of *Cape Finister*, he hauing put roomer, not being able to double the *Cape*, in that there rose a contrary winde at South-west. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, hee put into a place in *Galicia*, called *Ferroll*, where hee remained fise dayes, and appointed all the Masters of his shippes an order for the keeping of good companie in this manner: The small shippes to bee alwayes ahead and aweather of the *Iesus*, and to speake twise a day with the *Iesus* at least: if in the day the Ensigne bee ouer the poope of the *Iesus*, or in the night two lights, then shall all the shippes speake with her: If there bee three lights aboord the *Iesus*, then doeth she call about: If the weather bee extreme, that the small shippes cannot keepe companie with the *Iesus*, then all to keepe companie with the *Salomon*, and forthwith to repaire to the *Island* of *Teneriffe*, to the Northward of the road of *Sirroes*; If any happen to any misfortune, then to shew two lights, and to shoote off a piece of ordinance. If any lose companie, and come in sight againe, to make three pawes, and strike the *Hylson* three times: Serue God daily, loue one another, preserve your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie.

Good orders
for a flecte in
a long voyagt.

The 26. day the *Minion* came in also where hee was, for the reioycing whereof hee gaue them certaine pieces of ordinance, after the courtesie of the sea for their welcome: but the *Minions* men had no mirth, because of their consort the *Merline*, whome at their departure from Master Hawkins vpon the coast of *England* they went to seeke, and hauing met with her, kept companie two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of their gunners) the powder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast strooke out her poope, and therewithall lost three men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the brigandine being at her sterne) and immediatly, to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight to the beholders, shee sunke before their eyes.

A dreadfull
mischance by
fire.

The 20. day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his consorts and companie of the *Minion*, hauing nowe both the brigandines at her sterne, wayed anker, and set saile on their voyage, hauing a prosperous winde thereunto.

The fourth of *November* they had sight of the *Island* of *Madera*, and the sixt day of *Teneriffe*, which they thought to haue bene the *Canarie*, in that they supposed themselves to haue bene to the Eastward of *Teneriffe*, and were not: but the *Minion* being three or foure leagues ahead of vs, kept on her course to *Teneriffe*, hauing better sight thereof then the other had, and by that meanes they parted companie. For M. Hawkins and his companie went more to the West, vpon which course hauing sayled a while, hee espied another *Island*, which hee thought to bee *Teneriffe*, and being not able by meanes of the fogge vpon the hills, to discern the same, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer untill the morning, being the seuenth of *November*, which as yet hee could not dis-

T 3

terne,

The Ile of
Palmes.
Gomera and
Teneriffe.

Santa Cruz.

A briefe de-
scription of the
commodities
of the Canarie
Ilands.

Fierro.

Trees drop-
ping water in
Guinie.

The pike of
Teneriffe.

cerne, but sayled along the coast the space of two houres, to perceiue some certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelihood thereof at all, accompting that to bee, as it was in deede, the Ile of Palmes: and so sayling forwards, espied another Iland called Gomera, and also Teneriffe, with the which hee made, and sayling all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of Adecia, where he found his pinnesse which had departed from him the first of the moneth, being in the weather of him, and espying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arriuall somewhat before hee came to anker, hee hoysed out his shippes pinnesse rowing a shoare, intending to haue sent one with a letter to Peter de ponte, one of the gouernours of the Iland, who dwelt a league from the shoare: but as hee pretended to haue landed, suddenly there appeared vpon the two points of the roade, men leuellling of bales and hargubuzes to them, with diuers others to the number of fourescore, with halberds, pikes, swordes and targets, which happened so contrary to his expectation, that it did greatly amaze him, and the more, because hee was nowe in their danger, not knowing well howe to auoyde it without some mischief. Wherefore hee determined to call to them for the better appeasing of the matter, declaring his name, and professing himselfe to bee an especiall friend to Peter de ponte, and that he had sundry things for him which he greatly desired. And in the meane time, while hee was thus talking with them, whereby hee made them to holde their hands, hee willed the mariners to rowe away, so that at last hee gat out of their danger: and then asking for Peter de ponte, one of his sonnes being Sennor Nicolas de Ponte, came forth, whom hee perceiuing, desired to put his men aside, and hee himselfe would leape a shoare, and commune with him, which they did: so that after communication had betweene them of sundry things, and of the feare they both had, master Hawkins desired to haue certaine necessaries provided for him. In the meane space, while these things were providing, hee trimmed the maine mast of the Iesus which in the storme aforesayd was sprung: here he sojourned 7. dayes, refreshing himselfe and his men. In the which time Peter de ponte dwelling at S. Cruz, a citie 20. leagues off, came to him, and gaue him as gentle intertainment as if he had bene his owne brother. To speake somewhat of these Ilands, being called in olde time Insula fortunata, by the meanes of the flourishing thereof, the fruitfulness of them doeth surely exceede farre all other that I haue heard of: for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they haue grapes of such bignesse, that they may bee compared to damsons, and in taste inferiour to none: for sugar, suckets, raisins of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance: for rosine & raw silke, there is great store, they want neither corne, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde foule: they haue many Camels also, which being young, are eaten of the people for victuals, and being olde, they are vled for caryage of necessaries: whose propertie is as hee is taught to kneele at the taking of his load, and vnlading againe: his nature is to ingender backward contrary to other beastes: of vnderstanding very good, but of shape very deformed, with a little bellie, long misshapen legges, and feete very broad of flesh, without a hooft, all whole, sauing the great toe, a backe bearing vp like a molehill, a large and thin necke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh, which nature hath giuen him in his breast to leane vpon. This beaust liueth hardly, and is contented with strawe and stubble, but of force strong, being well able to carrie 500. weight. In one of these Ilands called Fierro, there is by the reports of the inhabitants, a certaine tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof the inhabitants and cattell are satisfied with water, for other water haue they none in all the Iland. And it raineth in such abundance, that it were incredible vnto a man to beleue such a vertue to bee in a tree, but it is knowen to be a diuine matter, and a thing ordeined by God, at whose power therein wee ought not to maruell, seeing hee did by his prouidence as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Israel were going into the land of promise, feede them with Manna from heauen, for the space of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforesaid wee saw in Guinie many, being of great height, dropping continually, but not so abundantly as the other, because the leaues are narrower, and are like the leaues of a peare tree. About these Ilands are certaine flitting Ilands, which haue bene oftentimes seene, and when men approched neere them, they vanished: as the like hath bene of these Ilands nowe knowen by the report of the inhabitants, which were not found of long time one after the other: and therefore it should seeme hee is not yet bozne to whom God hath appoynted the finding of them. In this Iland of Teneriffe there is a hill called The Pike, because it is piked, which is in height by their reports twentie leagues, hauing both winter and summer abundance of snowe in the top of it: this Pike may bee seene in a cleere day fiftie leagues off, but it sheweth as though it were a blacke cloude a great height in the element. I haue heard of none to be compared with this in height, but in the Indias I haue seene many, and in my iudgment not inferiour to the Pike, and so the Spaniards write.

The 15. of Nouember at night we departed from Teneriffe, and the 20. of the same wee had sight

sight of ten Carauels, that were fishing at sea, with whome we would haue spoken, but they seeing vs, fled into a place of Barbarie, called Cape de las Barbas.

Cape de las Barbas.

The twentieth, the ships pinnesse with two men in her, sayling by the ship, was ouerthrowne by the ouersight of them that went in her, the winde being so great, that before they were espied, and the ship had cast about for them, she was driuen halfe a league to leeward of the pinnesse, and had lost sight of her, so that there was small hope of recouerie, had not Gods helpe and the Captaines diligence bene, who hauing wel marked which way the pinnesse was by the Sunne, appointed 24 of the lustiest rowers in the great boate, to rowe to the wind-wardes, and so recovered, contrary to all mens expectations, both the pinnesse and the men sitting upon the keele of her.

The 25 he came to Cape Blanco, which is vpon the coast of Africa, and a place where the Portugals do ride, that fish there in the moneth of Nouember especially, and is a very good place of fishing, for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogge fish. In this place the Portugals haue no holde for their defence, but haue rescue of the Barbarians, whom they entertaine as their souldiers, for the time of their being there and for their fishing vpon that coast of Africa, doe pay a certaine tribute to the king of the Moores. The people of that part of Africa are tawnie, hauing long haire without any apparell, sauing before their priue members. Their weapons in warres are bowes and arrowes.

Cape Blanco.

The 26 we departed from S. Auis Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreshed our selues with fish, and other necessaries: and the 29 wee came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14 degrees, and a halfe. These people are all blacke, and are called Negros, without any apparell, sauing before their priuities: of stature goodly men, and well liking by reason of their food, which passeth all other Guyneans for kine, goats, pullin, rise, fruits, and fish. Here wee tooke fishes with heades like conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a lolly thicknesse, but not past a foote long, and is not to be eaten without slaying or cutting off his head. To speake somewhat of the sundry sortes of these Guyneans: the people of Cape Verde are called Leophares, and counted the goodliest men of all other, sauing the Congoes, which do inhabite on this side the cape de Buena Esperança. These Leophares haue warres against the Ieloffes, which are borderers by them: their weapons are bowes and arrowes, targets, and short daggers, darts also, but varying from other Negros: for whereas the other vse a long dart to fight with in their hands, they carry five or sixe small ones a peece, which they cast with. These men also are more ciuill then any other, because of their dayly trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and louing: for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19 that going to Brasile, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60 tunnes, and being a sea boord of Cape Verde, 200 leagues, the planks of their Barke with a sea brake out vpon them so suddenly, that much a doe they had to saue themselves in their boats: but by Gods prouidence, the wind being Westerly, which is rarely scene there, they got to the shore, to the Isle Braua, and in great penurie gotte to Cape Verde, where they remained sixe weekes, and had meate and drinke of the same people. The said Frenchman hauing forsaken his fellows, which were three leagues off from the shore, and wandring with the Negros too and fro, fortun'd to come to the waters side: and communing with certaine of his countrey men, which were in our ship, by their perswasions came away with vs: but his entertainment amongst them was such, that he desired it not: but through the importunate request of his Countrey men, consented at the last. Here we stayed but one night, and part of the day: for the 7 of December wee came away, in that pretending to haue taken Negros there perforce, the Mynions men gaue them there to vnderstand of our coming, and our pretence, wherefore they did auoyde the snares we had layd for them.

Cape Verde
in 14 degrees.

Leophares.

Ieloffes.

The trafficke
of the French
men at Cape
Verde.

The 8 of December wee ankred by a small Island called Alcatrazas, wherein at our going a shore, we found nothing but sea-birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portugals, called Alcatrazes, who for that cause gaue the said Island the same name. Here in halfe of our boates were laden with yong and olde fowle, who not being vled to the sight of men, flew so about vs, that we stroke them downe with poles. In this place the two shippes riding, the two Barks, with their boates, went into an Island of the Sapies, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them, and there landed to the number of 80 in armour, and espying certaine made to them, but they fled in such order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow: so going on their way forward till they came to a riuer which they could not passe ouer, they espied on the other side two men, who with their bowes and arrowes shot terribly at them. Whereupon we discharged certaine harquebuzes to them againe, but the ignorant people wayed it not, because they knew not the danger thereof: but vled a marueilous crying in their sight, with leaping and turning their caples, that it was most strange to see, and gaue vs great pleasure to beholde them. At the last, one being hurt

Alcatrazes or
Ganets.

The Sapies.

with

Rio grande

The Idols

The Island
called Sambula
The Samboses.

Sapies

The Samboses
man-eatersThe Sapies burie
their dead
with golde.The Canoas
of AfricaThe forme of
their townes.The Consulta-
tion house or
towne-house.

with a harquebus vpon the thigh, looked vpon his wound and wist not howe it came, because hee could not see the pellet. Here Master Hawkins perceiuing no good to be done amongst them, because we could not finde their townes, and also not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilote, which was the very occasion of our conning thither: and finding so many shoales, feared with our great ships to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols.

The 10 of December, we had a Northeast winde, with raine and storme, which weather continuing two dayes together, was the occasion that the Salomon, and Tygre losse our company: for whereas the Iesus, and pinnesse ankered at one of the Islands called Sambula, the twelfth day, the Salomon and Tygre came not thither till the 14. In this Island we stayed certaine daies, going euery day on shore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their townes, who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. These Samboses had inhabited there three yeres before our conning thither, and in so short space haue so planted the ground, that they had great plentie of Mil, Rife, Rootes, Pomptions, Poullin, goates, of small frye dried, euery house full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods prouidence, as Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and sundry other in no place in all that Countrey so abundantly, whereby they liued more deliciously then other. These inhabitants haue diuerse of the Sapies, which they tooke in the warres as their slaues, whome onely they kept to till the ground, in that they neither haue the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themselves, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the maine. All the Samboses haue white teeth as we haue, farre vnlke to the Sapies which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a bzauerie, to set out themselves, and doe tagge their flesh, both legges, armes, and bodies, as workemanlike, as a Jerkinmaker with vs pinketh a ierkin. These Sapies be more ciuill then the Samboses: for whereas the Samboses liue most by the spoile of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them allo, The Sapies doe not eate mans flesh, vnlke in the warre they be driuen by necessitie thereunto, which they haue not vsed but by the example of the Samboses, but liue onely with fruites, and cattell, whereof they haue great store. This plentie is the occasion that the Sapies desire not warre, except they be therunto prouoked by the inuasions of the Samboses, whereas the Samboses for want of foode are enforced therunto, and therefore are not wont onely to take them that they kill, but also keepe those that they take, vntill such time as they want meate, and then they kill them. There is also another occasion that prouoketh the Samboses to warre against the Sapies, which is for couetousnes of their riches. For whereas the Sapies haue an order to burie their dead in certaine places appointed for that purpose, with their golde about them, the Samboses digge vp the ground, to haue the same treasure: for the Samboses haue not the like store of golde, that the Sapies haue. In this Island of Sambula we found about 50 boates called Almadyes, or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out like a trough, but of a good proportion, being about 8 yards long, and one in breadth, hauing a beak-head and a sterne very proportionably made, and on the out side artificially carued, and painted red and blew: they are able to cary twenty or thirty men, but they are about the coast able to cary threescore and vppward. In these canoas they rowe standing vpright, with an oare somewhat longer then a man, the ende whereof is made about the breadth and length of a mans hand, of the largest sort. They row very swift, and in some of them foure rowers and one to steere make as much way, as a paire of oares in the Thames of London.

Their Townes are prettily diuided with a maine streete at the entring in, that goeth thorough their Towne, and another ouerthwart street, which maketh their townes crosse wayes: their houses are built in in a ranke very orderly in the face of the street, and they are made round, like a douer cote, with stakes set full of Palmito leaues, in stead of a wall: they are not much more then a fathome large, and two of heighth, & thatched with Palmito leaues very close, other some with reede, and ouer the rooffe thereof, for the better garnishing of the same, there is a round bundle of reede, prettily contriued like a louer: in the inner part they make a loft of sticke, whereupon they lay all their prouision of victuals: a place they reserue at their enterance for the kitchen, and the place they lie in is deuided with certaine mattes artificially made with the rine of Palmito trees: their bedsteades are of small stauess layd along, and rayled a foote from the ground, vpon which is layde a matte, and another vpon them when they list: for other couering they haue none. In the middle of the towne there is a house larger and higher then the other, but in forme alike, adioyning vnto the which there is a place made of foure good stancions of woode, and a round rooffe ouer it, the ground also rayled round with clape a foote high, vpon the which floore were strawed many fine mats: this is the Consultation-house, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portugals affirme: in which place, when they sitte in Counsell the King or Captaine sitte in the midst,

and

and in the Elders upon the floore by him: (for they giue reuerence to their Elders) and the com-
mon sort sitte round about them. There they sitte to examine matters of theft, which if a man be
taken with, to steale but a Portugal cloth from another, hee is sold to the Portugals for a slave.
They consult also, and take order what time they shall goe to warres: and as it is certainly repor-
ted by the Portugals, they take order in gathering of the fruites in the season of the yeare, and also
of Palmito wine, which is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree, and a gourd set for the re-
ceiuing thereof, which falleth in by dropes, and yeeldeth fresh wine againe within a moneth, and
this deuided part and portion-like to euery man, by the iudgement of the Captaine and Elders,
euery man holdeth himselfe contented: and this surely I iudge to be a very good order: for ocher-
wise, whereas scarcitie of Palmito is, euery man would haue the same, which might breed great
strife: but of such things, as euery man doeth plant for himselfe, the sower thereof reapeth it
to his owne vse, so that nothing is common, but that which is vsed by mans hands. In their hou-
ses there is more common passage of Lizardes like Cuats, and other greater, of blacke and blew
colour, of neere a foote long, besides their tailes, then there is with vs of Pise in great houses. The
Sapies and Samboles also vse in their warres bowes, and arrowes made of reedes, with heads
of yron poysoned with the iuyce of a Cucumber, whereof I had many in my handes. In their
battels they haue target-men, with broad wicker targets, and darts with heades at both endes,
of yron, the one in forme of a two edged sworde, a foote and an halfe long, and at the other ende,
the yron long of the same length made to counterpease it, that in casting it might stie leuel, rather
then for any other purpose as I can iudge. And when they espie the enemye, the Captaine to
cheere his men, cryeth Hungry, and they answer Heygre, and with that euery man placeth
himselfe in order, for about euery target man three bowemen will couer themselves, and shoote
as they see aduantage: and when they giue the onlet, they make such terrible cries, that they may
bee heard two miles off. For their belife, I can heare of none that they haue, but in such as
they themselves imagine to see in their dreames, and so worshippe the pictures, whereof wee
sawe some like vnto deuils. In this Island atorelayde wee sojourned vnto the one and twentieth
of December, where hauing taken certaine Negros, and as much of their fruites, rise and mill,
as we could well carry away, (whereof there was such store, that wee might haue laden one of our
Barkes therewith) wee departed, and at our departure diuers of our men being desirous to goe
on shore, to fetch Pompons, which hauing procured, they found to bee very good, certaine of the
Tygres men went also, amongst the which there was a Carpenter, a yong man, who with his
fellowes hauing fet many, and carped them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart,
desired his fellow to tary while he might goe by to fetch a few which he had layed by for him selfe,
who being more licorous then circumspect, went by without weapon, and as he went by alone, pos-
sibly being marked of the Negros that were vpon the trees, espying him what hee did, perceai-
uing him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupped in binding
his Pompons together, came behinde him, ouerthrowing him and straight cutte his thyoate, as
hee afterwarde was found by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there found him
naked.

Palmito is a
wide date.

A benenious
Cucumber.

Idoles like
deuils.

The extreme
negligence of
one of the
company.

The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the Riuer, called Callowfa, with the two
Barkes, and the Iohns Pinnelle, and the Salomons boate, leauing at anker in the Riuers mouth
the two shippes, the Riuer being twenty leagues in, where the Portugals roade: hee came thither
the five and twentieth, and dispatched his businesse, and so returned with two Carauels, laden
with Negros.

The riuer
Callowfa.

The 27, the Captaine was aduertised by the Portugals of a towne of the Negros called
Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but al-
so that there were not aboue fortie men, and an hundred women and children in the Towne, so
that if hee would giue the aduenture vpon the same, hee might gette an hundred slaves:
with the which tydings hee being gladd, because the Portugals shoulde not thinke him to
bee of so base a courage, but that hee durst giue them that, and greater attempts: and
being thereunto also the more prouoked with the prosperous successe hee had in other Islands ad-
iacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate twentie together, determined to
stay before the Towne three or foure houres, to see what hee could doe: and thereupon prepared
his men in armour and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, hauing to
their guides certaine Portugals, in a boat, who brought some of them to their death: wee landing
boat after boat, and diuers of our men scattering themselves, contrary to the Captaines will, by
one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to finde golde in their houses, ransacking the
same, in the meane time the Negros came vpon them, and hurte many being thus scattered,

The Towne
of Bimba.

Portugals not
to be trusted.

Want of ris-
cumspect in
our

whereas

whereas if five or six had bene together, they had bene able, as their companions did, to giue the ouerthrow to 40 of them, and being driuen downe to take their boates, were followed so hardly by a route of Negroes, who by that tooke courage to pursue them to their boates, that not onely some of them, but others standing on shore, not looking for any such matter by meanes that the Negroes did flee at the first, and our companie remained in the towne, were suddenly so set vpon that some with great hurt recovered their boates; other some not able to recouer the same, tooke the water, and perished by meanes of the oaze. While this was doing, the Captaine who with a dosen men, went through the towne, returned, finding 200 Negroes at the waters side, shooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whole comming, they ranne all away: so he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the shore, they returned againe, and shot very fiercely and hurt diuers of them. Thus wee returned backe some what discomfited, although the Captaine in a singular wise maner caried himselfe, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though hee did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this ende, that the Portugals being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hinderance for the death of our men: hauing gotten by our going ten Negroes, and lost seuen of our best men, whereof M. Field Captaine of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt. In the same houre while this was doing, there happened at the same instant, a marueilous miracle to them in the shippes, who roade ten leagues to sea-ward, by many sharkes or Tiburons, who came about the shippes: among which, one was taken by the Iesus, and foure by the Salomon, and one very sore hurt escaped: and so it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Iesus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the fift hauing twentie wounds, was rescued, and scaped with much adoe.

M. Field Cap-
taine of the
Salomon slain.

The 28 they came to their shippes, the Iesus, and the Salomon, and the 30 departed from thence to Taggarin.

Taggarin,
The riuer of
Casserroes.

The first of January the two barkes, and both the boates forsooke the shippes, and went into a riuer called the Casserroes, and the 6 hauing dispatched their businesse, the two barkes returned, and came to Taggarin where the two shippes were at anker. Not two dayes after the comming of the two shippes thither, they put their water calke a shore, and filled it with water, to season the same, thinking to haue filled it with fresh water afterward: and while their men were some on shore, and some at their boates, the Negroes set vpon them in the boates, and hurt diuers of them, and came to the calkes, and cut of the hoopes of twelue butts, which lost vs 4 or 5 dayes time, besides great want we had of the same: so iourning at Taggarin, the Swallow went by the riuer about her trafficke, where they saw great townes of the Negroes, and Canoas, that had threescore men in a piece: there they vnderstood by the Portugals, of a great battell betweene them of Sierra Leona side, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared three hundred Canoas to inuade the other. The time was appointed not past sixe dayes after our departure from thence, which we would haue seene, to the intent we might haue taken some of them, had it not bene for the death and sickenesse of our men, which came by the contagiousnes of the place, which made vs to make hast away.

A new assault
by the Ne-
groes.
Great townes
Very great
Canoas.

The contagi-
on of the coun-
tre of Sierra
Leona.

The 18 of Januarie at night, wee departed from Taggarin, being bound for the West Indies, before which departure certaine of the Salomon men went on shore to fill water in the night, and as they came on shore with their boat being ready to leape on land, one of them espied an Negro in a white coate, standing vpon a rocke, being ready to haue receiued the when they came on shore, hauing in sight of his fellowes also eight or nine, some in one place leaping out, and some in another, but they hid themselves streight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and sought to haue taken them at more aduantage, as God would, departed to their shippes, not thinking there had bene such a mischief pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we vnderstood of a Portugall that came downe to vs, who had trafficked with the Negroes, by whom hee vnderstood, that the king of Sierra Leona had made all the power hee could, to take some of vs, partly for the desire he had to see what kinde of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I iudge also, vpon other occasions prouoked by the Tangomangos, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the euening wee saw such a monstrous fire, made by the waiting place, that before was not seene, which fire is the onely marke for the Tangomangos to know where their armie is alwayes. If these men had come downe in the euening, they had done vs great displeasure, for that wee were on shore filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not haue it so, and by him we escaped without danger, his name be prayesd for it.

Tangomangos.

The

The 29 of this same moneth we departed with all our shippes from Sierra Leona, towards the West Indies, and for the space of eightene dayes, we were becalmed, hauing nowe and then contrary windes, and some Ternados amongst the same calme, which happened to vs very ill, beeing but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negroes, and our selues, which pinched vs all, and that which was worst, put vs in such feare that many neuer thought to haue reached to the Indies, without great death of Negroes, and of themselves: but the Almighty God, who neuer suffereth his elect to perish, sent vs the sixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Bise, which is the North-west winde, which neuer left vs, till wee came to an Island of the Canyvals, called Dominica, where wee arrived the ninth of March, vpon a Saturday: and because it was the most desolate place in all the Island, we could see no Canyvals, but some of their houses where they dwelled, and as it should seeme forsooke the place for want of fresh water, for wee could finde none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hills, and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof wee filled for our Negroes. The Canyvals of that Island, and also others adiacent are the most desperate warriors that are in the Indies, by the Spaniards report, who are neuer able to conquer them, and they are molested by them not a little, when they are driuen to water there in any of those Islands: of very late, not two moneths past, in the said Island, a Carauel being driuen to water, was in the night sette vpon by the inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halter, whereby they were driuen a shore, and so taken by them, and eaten. The Greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bontemps, in Marche also, came to one of those Islands, called Granada, and being driuen to water, could not doe the same for the Canyvals, who fought with him very desperately two dayes. For our part also, if we had not lighted vpon the desertest place in all that Island, wee could not haue missed, but should haue bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reports, who make them deuils in respect of me.

Dominica
Island.

Canyvals ex-
ceeding cruell
and to be as-
uopbed.

The tenth day at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had sight of nine Islands, called the Testigos: and the sixteenth of an Island, called Margarita, where wee were entertained by the Alcalde, and had both Beecues and sheepe giuen vs, for the refreshing of our men: but the Gouvernour of the Island, would neither come to speake with our Captaine, neither yet giue him any licence to trafficke: and to displease vs the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilote to haue gone with vs, they would not onely not suffer him to goe with vs, but also sent word by a Carauel out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Vice-roy, who doeth represent the kings person, of our arriual in those partes, which had like to haue turned vs to great displeasure, by the meanes that the same Vice-roy did send word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them that by the vertue of his authoritie, and by the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man should trafficke with vs, but should resist vs with all the force they could. In this Island, notwithstanding that wee were not within foure leagues of the Towne, yet were they so afraid, that not onely the Gouvernour himselfe, but also all the inhabitants forsooke their Towne, assembling all the Indians to them and fled into the mountaines, as wee were partly certified, and also sawe the experience our selues, by some of the Indians comming to see vs who by three Spaniards a horsebacke passing hard by vs, went vnto the Indians, hauing euery one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conuersant with vs.

The Testigos
Island.
Margarita
Island.

Here perceiuing no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, we were driue to depart the twentieth day, and the 2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called Cumana, whither the Captaine going in his Pinnisse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him answer, they were but souldiers newly come thither, and were not able to by on Negro: whereupon hee asked for a watering place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fe, where we found marvellous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboard the shore twentie fathome water. Neere about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither, came down to vs, presenting mill and cakes of breade, which they had made of a kinde of corne called Patz, in bignesse of a pease, the eare whereof is much like to a teafell, but a spanne in length, hauing thereon a number of granes. Also they brought down to vs Henries, Potatoes and Pines, which we bought for beades, pewter whistles, glasses, knives, and other trifles.

Cumana
Santa Fe

These Potatoes be the most delicate rootes that may be eaten, and doe farre exceed our pappes or carets. Their pines be of the bignes of two fists the outside whereof is of the making of a pine-apple, but it is soft like the rinde of a Cucumber, and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is

more

The description
of the Indi-
ans of Terra
firma.

The use of
Soyrell.

Armour of
quilted canuas
two ynches
thicke.
The making
of their poison.

The maners
of the pong
women.

The Isle of
Tortuga.

The crueltie of
the Caribes.

more delicious then any sweet apple sugred. These Indians being of colour tawnie like an Oliue, hauing euery one of them both men and women, haire all blacke, and no other colour, the women wearing the same hanging downe to their shoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women suffering any haire to growe in any part of their body, but dayly pull it off as it groweth. They goe all naked, the men couering no part of their body but their yard, vpon the which they weare a gourd or piece of cane, made fast with a thrid about their loynes, leauing the other parts of their members vncouered, whereof they take no shame. The women also are vncouered, sauing with a cloth which they weare a hand-breach, wherewith they couer their priuities both before and behind. These people be very small feeders, for travelling they cary but two small bottels of gourdies, wherein they put in one the iuice of Soyrell wherof they haue great store, and in the other slowze of their Haiz, which being moist, they eate, taking sometime of the other. These men cary euery man his bowe and arrowes, whereof some arrowes are poisoned for warres, which they keepe in a Cane together, which Cane is of the bignesse of a mans arme, other some with broad heades of iron wherewith they stricke fish in the water: the experience whereof we saw not once nor twise, but dayly for the time we taried there, for they are so good archers that the Spaniards for feare thereof arme themselves and their horses with quilted canuas of two ynches thicke, and leaue no place of their body open to their enemies, sauing their eyes which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so small a scantling: their popson is of such a force, that a man being stricken therewith dyeth within foure and twentie howers, as the Spaniards do affirme, & in my iudgement it is like there can be no stronger popson as they make it, vning therewith apples which are very faire and red of colour, but are a strong popson, with the which together with venomous Bats, Vipers, Adders and other serpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the same.

The Indian women delight not when they are yong in bearing of children, because it maketh them haue hanging breastes which they account to bee great deforming in them, and vpon that occasion while they bee yong, they destroy their seede, saying, that it is fittest for olde women. Forcouer, when they are deliuered of childe, they goe straight to washe themselves, without making any further ceremonie for it, not lying in bed as our women doe. The beds which they haue are made of Goslopine cotton, and wrought artificially of diuers colours, which they cary about with them when they trauell, and making the same fast to two trees, lie therein they and their women. The people be surely gentle and tractable, and such as desire to liue peaceably, or els had it bene vnpossible for the Spaniards to haue conquered them as they did, and the more to liue now peaceably, they being so many in number, and the Spaniards so few.

From hence we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we passed betwene the maine land, and the Island called Tortuga, a very lowe Island, in the yeere of our Lorde God one thousande five hundred sixtie five aforesaide, and sayled along the coast vntill the first of Aprill, at which time the Captaine sayled along in the Iesus pinnesse to discerne the coast, and saw many Caribes on shore, and some also in their Canoas, which made tokens vnto him of friendship, and shewed him golde, meaning thereby that they would trafficke for wares. Whereupon he stayed to see the maners of them, and so for two or three trifles they gaue such things as they had about them, and departed: but the Caribes were very importunate to haue them come on shore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to trafficke with them, he would not haue denyed them, because the Indians which we saw before were very gentle people, and such as do no man hurt. But as God would haue it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would haue bene his confusion: for these were no such kinde of people as wee tooke them to bee, but more deuillish a thousand partes and are eaters and deuourers of any man they can catch, as it was afterwards declared vnto vs at Burboroata, by a Carauel comming out of Spaine with certaine souldiers, and a Captaine generall sent by the king for those Eastward parts of the Indians, who sayling along in his pinnesse, as our Captaine did to descry the coast, was by the Caribes called a shoore with sundry tokens made to him of friendship, and golde shewed as though they desired trafficke, with the which the Spaniard being moued, suspecting no deceite at all, went ashore amongst them: who was no sooner ashore, but with foure or five more was taken, the rest of his company being inuaded by them, saued themselves by flight, but they that were taken, paid their ranfome with their liues, and were presently eaten. And this is their practise to toll with their golde the ignorant to their snares: they are bloodsuckers both of Spaniards, Indians, and all that light in their laps, not sparing their owne countrey men if they can conueniently come by them. Their policie in fight with the Spaniards is marvellous: for they chuse for their refuge the moountaines and woodes where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them, and if they fortune to be met in the plaine

plaine where one horseman may ouer-runne 100. of them, they haue a deuise of late practised by them to pitch stakes of wood in the ground, and also small iron pikes to mischiefe their horses, wherein they shew themselves politique warriors. They haue more abundance of golde then all the Spaniards haue, and liue vpon the mountaines where the Pines are in such number, that the Spaniards haue much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet sometimes by assembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe sure ynough.

Thus hauing escaped the danger of them, wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of April to a Towne called Burboroata, where his ships came to an anchor, and hee himselfe went ashore to speake with the Spaniards, to whom hee declared himselfe to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of marchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Vnto whom they made answer, that they were forbidden by the king to trafique with any forren nation, vpon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therefore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their handes, because they were subiects and might not goe beyond the law. But hee replied that his necessitie was such, as he might not so do: for being in one of the Queenes Armadas of England, and hauing many souldiours in them, hee had neede both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also, without the which hee coulde not depart, and with much other talke perswaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would hee commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, nor yet for his honest reputation and estimation, vnlesse hee were too rigorously dealt withall, which hee hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redound to their profite, as his owne, and also hee thought they might doe it without danger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parts wee had free trafique in Spaine and Flanders, which are in his dominions, and therefore hee knew no reason why he should not haue the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made answer, that it lay not in them to giue any licence, for that they had a gouernour to whom the gouernment of those parts was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their gouernour who was threescore leagues off, and would returne answer within the space appointed, of his minde.

In the meane time they were contented hee should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliuer him any victuals he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiuing all things according to promise, the Captaine aduised himselfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receiue no good answer from the gouernour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to haue licence for the sale of certaine leane and sicke Negros which hee had in his shippe like to die vpon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, hauing little or no refreshing for them, whereas other men hauing them, they would be recovered well ynough. And this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals & for necessities which he should take: which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and towne-dwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, granted him licence for thirtie Negros, which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should graunt to nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwards. This being past, our Captaine according to their licence, thought to haue made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made shewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Gouernour his answer because they would keepe themselves blamelesse, or for any other policie hee knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, marueiling what the matter was that none came to buy them. They answered, because they had granted licence onely to the pooze to buy those Negros of small price, and their money was not so ready as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as soone as euer they sawe the shippes, they conueyed away their money by their wiues that went into the mountaines for feare, & were not yet returned, & yet asked two dayes to seeke their wiues and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day diuers of them came to cheape, but could not agree of price, because they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confesse if hee had licence, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did send for the principals of the Towne, and made a shewe hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sozpy that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the gouernour to come downe, seeing nowe his pperence was to depart, wherewith they maruelled much, and asked him what cause moued him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibilitie to haue his licence.

To the which he replied, that it was not onely a licence that he sought, but profit, which he perceived was not there to be had, and therefore would seeke further, and withall shewed him his writings what he payed for his Negros, declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping, and mens wages, and therefore to counteruaile his charges, hee must sell his Negros for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence, that he should not loose his labour in carrying, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that hee might make sale of his leane Negros, which they granted vnto. And the next day did sell some of them, who hauing bought and payed for them, thinking to haue had a discharge of the Custom for the custome of the Negros, being the Kings duetie, they gaue it away to the poore for Gods sake, and did refuse to giue the discharge in writing, and the poore not trusting their wordes, for feare, least hereafter it might be demanded of them, did reframe from buying any more, so that nothing else was done vntill the Gouvernours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a shippe of the Queenes Maiesties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driven by winde and weather, so that being come thither, hee had neede of sundry necessities for the reparation of the said Naue, and also great need of money for the payment of his Souldiours, vnto whom hee had promised payment, and therefore although hee would, yet would not they depart without it, & for that purpose he requested licence for the sale of certaine of his Negros, declaring that although they were forbidden to trafique with strangers, yet for that there was a great amitie betweene their princes, and that the thing pertained to our Queenes highnesse, he thought hee might doe their prince great seruice, and that it would be well taken at his hands, to doe it in this cause. The which allegations with diuers others put in request, were presented vnto the Gouvernour, who sitting in counsell for that matter, granted vnto his request for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings Custome, being vpon every slaue 30. duckets, which would not be granted vnto.

Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the Kings Custome of that they offered, so that either he must be a great looser by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the same kings Custome which was too vnreasonable, for to a higher price hee coulde not bring the buyers: Therefore the sixteenth of April hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebuzes and pikes, with the which hee marched to the towne wards, and being perceiued by the Gouvernour, he straight with all expedition sent messengers to knowe his request, desiring him to march no further forward vntill he had answere againe, which incontinent he should haue. So our Captaine declaring how vnreasonable a thing the Kings Custome was, requested to haue the same abated, and to pay seuen and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie Custome for wares through his dominions there, and vnto this if they would not graunt, hee would displease them. And this word being caried to the Gouvernour, answere was returned that all things should be to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the souldiers and Mariners finding so little credite in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the premises, or els they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to lend gages, wee departed, beginning our trafique, and ending the same without disturbance.

Thus hauing made trafique in the harborough vntill the 28. our Captaine with his ships intended to goe out of the roade, and purposed to make shew of his departure, because nowe the common sort hauing imployed their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no shew that they were come to buy, so that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the Captaine knew they would be made the more eger, for feare least we departed, and they should goe without any at all.

The nine and twentie wee being at anker without the roade, a French ship called the Greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted vs after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of Ordnance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was happened vnto the Minion: besides the Captaine Dauid Carlet and a Marchant, with a dozen Mariners betrayed by the Negros at their first arriuall thither, and remayning prisoners with the Portugals; and besides other misadventures of the losse of their men, happened through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorrowfull for vs to vnderstand.

Thus

300 hundred
Englishmen
in armoir.

The reports of
the mishaps of
the Minion in
Guinie.

Thus hauing ended our trafique here the 4. of May, we departed, leauing the Frenchman behind vs, the night before the which the Caribes, whereof I haue made mention before, being to the number of 200. came in their Canoas to Burboroara, intending by night to haue burned the towne, and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant because of our being there, then their custome was, perceiving them comming, raised the towne, who in a moment being a horsebacke, by meanes their custome is for all doubts to keepe their horses ready saddled, in the night set vpon them, & tooke one, but the rest making shift for themselves, escaped away. But this one, because he was their guide, and was the occasion that diuers times they had made inuasion vpon them, had for his trauele a stake thrust through his fundament, and so out at his necke.

Horses kept ready saddled.

The first of May aforesaide, wee came to an yland called Curaçao, where wee had thought to haue anchored, but could not find ground, and hauing let fall an anchor with two cables, were faine to weigh it againe: and the seuenth sayling along the coast to seeke an harborow, and finding none, wee came to an anchor where we rode open in the Sea. In this place we had trafique for hides, and found great refreshing both of beefe, mutton and lambes, whereof there was such plentie, that sauing the skinnes, we had the flesh giuen vs for nothing, the plentie whereof was so abundant, that the worst in the ship thought scozne not onely of mutton, but also of sodden lambe, which they disdaind to eate vnrosted.

Exceeding plentie of cattell in Curaçao.

The increase of cattell in this yland is marueilous, which from a dozen of each sort brought thither by the gouernour, in 25. yeeres he had a hundred thousand at the least, & of other cattel was able to kill without spoile of the increase 1500. yeerely, which hee killeth for the skinnes, and of the flesh saueth onely the tongues, the rest hee leaueth to the soule to deuoure. And this I am able to affirme, not onely vpon the Gouernours owne report, who was the first that brought the increase thither, which so remaineth vnto this day, but also by that I saw my selfe in one field, where an hundred oren lay one by another all whole, sauing the skinne and tongue taken away. And it is not so marueilous a thing why they doe thus cast away the flesh in all the ylands of the West Indies, seeing the land is great, and more then they are able to inhabite, the people fewe, hauing delicate fruites and meates ynough besides to feede vpon, which they rather desire, and the increase which passeth mans reason to beleue, when they come to a great number: for in S. Domingo an yland called by the finders thereof Hispaniola, is so great quantitie of cattell, and such increase thereof, that notwithstanding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not possible to allmage the number of them, but they are deuoured by wilde dogs, whose number is such by suffering them first to range the woods and mountaines, that they eate and destroy 60000. a yeere, and yet small lacke found of them. And no marueile, for the said yland is almost as bigge as all England, and being the first place that was founde of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the rest, it ought therefore of reason to be most populous: and to this houre the Viceroy and counsell royall abideth there as in the chiefest place of all the Indies, to preserue orders to the rest for the kings behalfe, yet haue they but one Citie and 13. villages in all the same yland, whereby the spoile of them in respect of the increase is nothing.

Great numbers of wilde dogs.

The 15. of the foresaid moneth wee departed from Curaçao, being not a little to the reioycing of our Captaine and vs, that wee had there ended our trafique: but notwithstanding our sweete meate, wee had lower sauce, for by reason of our riding so open at sea, what with blastes whereby our anchor being a ground, thre at once came home, and also with contrary windes blowing, whereby for feare of the shoze we were faine to hale off to haue anchor-hold, sometimes a whole day and a night we turned vp and downe; and this happened not once, but halfe a dozen times in the space of our being there.

The 16. wee passed by an yland called Aruba, and the 17. at night anchored sixe houres at the West ende of Cabo de la vela, and in the morning being the 18. weighed againe, keeping our course, in the which time the Captaine sayling by the shoze in the pinnesse, came to the Rancheria, a place where the Spaniards vse to fish for pearles, and there spoke with a Spaniard, who tolde him how far off he was from Rio de la Hacha, which because he would not ouershoot, he anchored that night againe, & the 19. came thither; where hauing talke with the kings treasurer of the Indies resident there, he declared his quiet trafique in Burboroara, & shewed a certificate of the same, made by the gouernour thereof, & therefore he desired to haue the like there also: but the treasurer made answer that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and counsell of S. Domingo, who hauing intelligence of our being on the coast, did sende expresse commission to resist vs, with all the force they could, inso much that they durst not trafique with vs in no case, alleaging that if they did, they should loose all that they did trafique for, besides their bodies at the magistrates commaundement. Our Captaine replied, that hee was in an Armada of the Queenes Maiesties of England,

Aruba.

La Rancheria.

Rio de la Hacha.

*M. Hawkins his
letter to the
Treasurer of
Rio de la Hacha.*

and sent about other her affaires, but dyuen besides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary winde to come into those parts, where he hoped to finde such friendship as hee should doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof hee knewe no reason, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But seeing they would contrary to all reason go about to withstand his trafique, he would it should not be said by him, that hauing the force he hath, to be dyuen from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in aduventure to try whether he or they should haue the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to giue him licence to trade, or else to stand to their owne harmes: So vpon this it was determined hee should haue licence to trade, but they would giue him such a price as was the one halfe lesse then he had sold for before, and thus they sent word they would do, and none other wise, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined to deale otherwise with him. Whereupon, the captaine waying their vnconscionable request, wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorously with him, to go about to cut his throte in the price of his commodities, which were so reasonably rated, as they could not by a great deale haue the like at any other mans handes. But seeing they had sent him this to his supper, hee would in the morning bring them as good a breakfast. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May, hee shot off a whole Culuering to summon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went a shore, hauing in his great boate two Faulcons of brasse, and in the other boates double basses in their noses, which being perceiued by the Townesmen, they incontinent in battell aray with their drumme and ensigne displayed, marched from the Towne to the sands, of footemen to the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries, and weaving vs a shore, whereby they made a semblance to haue fought with vs in deed. But our Captaine perceiuing them so bragge, commanded the two Faulcons to be discharged at them, which put them in no small feare to see, (as they afterward declared) such great pieces in a boate. At euery shot they fell flat to the ground, and as wee approached neere vnto them, they broke their aray, and disperseed themselves so much for feare of the Ordnance, that at last they went all away with their ensigne. The horsemen also being about thirtie, made as braue a shew as might be, courting vp and downe with their horses, their braue white leather Targets in the one hand, and their iauelings in the other, as though they would haue receiued vs at our landing. But when wee landed, they gaue ground, and consulted what they should doe, for little they thought wee would haue landed so boldly: and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward to haue encountered with them, they sent a messenger on horsebacke with a flagge of truce to the Captaine, who declared that the Treasurer marvelled what he meant to doe to come a shore in that order, in consideration that they had granted to euery reasonable request that he did demand: but the Captaine not well contented with this messenger, marched forwards. The messenger prayed him to stay his men, and saide, if hee would come apart from his men, the Treasurer would come and speake with him, whereunto hee did agree to commune together. The Captaine onely with his armour without weapon, and the Treasurer on horsebacke with his iaueling, was afrayde to come neere him for feare of his armour, which he said was worse then his weapon, and so keeping aloofe communing together, granted in fine to all his requests. Which being declared by the Captaine to the company, they desired to haue pledges for the performance of all things, doubting that otherwise when they had made themselves stronger, they would haue bene at defiance with vs: and seeing that now they might haue what they would request, they iudged it to be more wisdom to be in assurance then to be forced to make any more labours about it. So vpon this, gages were sent, and we made our trafique quietly with them. In the meane time while we stayed here, wee watered a good breadth off from the shore, where by the strength of the fresh water running into the Sea, the salt water was made fresh. In this Riuer we saw many Crocodils of sundry bignesses, but some as bigge as a boate, with 4. feere, a long broad mouth, and a long taile, whose skinn is so hard, that a sword wil not pierce it. His nature is to liue out of the water as a frogge doth, but he is a great deuourer, and spareth neither fish, which is his common food, nor beastes, nor men, if hee take them, as the prooue thereof was knowne by a Negro, who as hee was filling water in the Riuer was by one of them caried cleane away, and neuer scene after. His nature is euer when hee would haue his prey, to cry and sobbe like a Christian body, to prouoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this prouerbe that is applied vnto women when they weepe, *Lachrymæ Crocodili*, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocodile when hee crieth, goeth then about most to deceiue, so doeth a woman most commonly when she weepeth. Of these the Master of the Iesus watched one, and by the banks side stroke him with a pike of a bill in the side, and after three or foure times turning in sight, hee sunke downe, and was not afterward scene. In the time of our being in the Riuer Guinie, wee sawe many of a monstrous bignesse,

amongst

amongst the which the captaine being in one of the Barks comming downe the same, shot a Faulcon at one, which very narrowly hee missed, and with a feare hee plunged into the water, making a streame like the way of a boate.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a feare that the Spaniards doubted wee would haue done them some harme before we departed, or for any treason that they intended towards vs, I am not able to say: but then came thither a Captaine from some of the other townes, with a dozen souldiers vpon a time when our Captaine and the treasurer cleared all things betweene them, and were in a communication of a debt of the gouernours of Burboroara, which was to be payd by the said treasurer, who would not answer the same by any meanes. Whereupon certaine words of displeasure passed betwixt the Captaine and him, and parting the one from the other, the treasurer possibly doubting that our Captaine would perforce haue sought the same, did immediately command his men to armes, both horsemen and footemen: but because the Captaine was in the River on the backe side of the Towne with his other boates, and all his men unarmed and without weapons, it was to be iudged he ment him little good, hauing that aduantage of him, that comming vpon the sudden, hee might haue mischieued many of his men: but the Captaine hauing vnderstanding thereof, not trusting to their gentlenesse, if they might haue the aduantage, departed aboard his ships, and at night returned againe, and demanded amongst other talke, what they ment by assembling their men in that order, & they answered, that their Captaine being come to towne did muster his men according to his accustomed maner. But it is to be iudged to bee a cloake, in that comming for that purpose hee might haue done it sooner, but the truth is, they were not of force vntill then, whereby to enterprise any matter against vs, by meanes of pikes and harquebuzes, whereof they haue want, and were now furnished by our Captaine, and also 3. Faulcons, which hauing got in other places, they had secretly conueyed thither, which made them the bolder, and also for that they saw now a conuenient place to do such a feat, and time also seruing thereunto, by the meanes that our men were not onely unarmed and vnprouided, as at no time before the like, but also were occupied in hewing of wood, and least thinking of any harme: these were occasions to prouoke them thereunto. And I suppose they went about to bring it to effect, in that * I with another gentleman being in the towne, thinking of no harme towards vs, and seeing men assembling in armour to the treasurers house, whereof I maruelled, and reuoking to minde the former talke betweene the Captaine and him, and the vnrედinnesse of our men, of whom aduantage might haue bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediately to giue knowledge thereof, but before we came to our men by a slight shot, two horsemen riding a gallop were come neere vs, being sent, as wee did gesse, to stay vs least wee should cary newes to our Captaine, but seeing vs so neere our men they stayed their horses, comming together, and suffering vs to passe, belike because wee were so neere, that if they had gone about the same, they had bene espied by some of our men which then immediately would haue departed, whereby they should haue bene frustrate of their pretence: and so the two horsemen ridde about the bushes to espie what we did, and seeing vs gone, to the intent they might shadow their comming downe in post, whereof suspicion might bee had, faigned a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine, but that seemed so simple to the Captaine, that standing in doubt of their courtesie, he returned in the morning with his three boats, appointed with Bales in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he carried none: and thus dissembling all iniuries conceived of both parts, the Captaine went ashore, leauing pledges in the boates for himselfe, and cleared all things betweene the treasurer and him, sauing for the gouerners debt, which the one by no meanes would answer, and the other, because it was not his due debt, would not molest him for it, but was content to remit it vntill another time, and therefore departed, causing the two Barks which rode neere the shore to weigh and go vnder saile, which was done because that our Captaine demanding a testimoniall of his good behauiour there, could not haue the same vntill hee were vnder saile ready to depart: and therefore at night he went for the same againe, & receiued it at the treasurers hand, of whom very courteously he tooke his leaue and departed, shooting off the bales of his boat for his farewell, and the townsmen also shot off foure Faulcons and 30. harquebuzes, and this was the first time that he knew of the conueyance of their Faulcons.

The 31. of May wee departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola, and the fourth of Iune wee had sight of an pland, which wee made to be Iamaica, marueiling that by the vehement course of the Seas we should be driuen so farre to leeward: for setting our course to the West end of Hispaniola we fel with the middle of Iamaica, notwithstanding that to all mens sight it thewed a headland, but they were all deceiued by the clouds that lay vpon the land two dayes together, in such sort that we thought it to be the head land of the said pland. And a Spaniard being in the ship, who

The authour
of this storie.

John Hawkins
the first voyage
to the West Indies
in the year 1568

John Hawkins
the second voyage
to the West Indies
in the year 1570

was a Merchant, and inhabitant in Iamaica, hauing occasion to go to Guinie, and being by treason taken of the Negroes, & afterwards bought by the Tangomangos, was by our Captaine brought from thence, and had his passage to go into his countrey, who perceiuing the land, made as though he knew euery place thereof, and pointed to certaine places which he named to be such a place, and such a mans ground, and that behinde such a point was the harborow, but in the ende he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a leeboord of all places, and found our selues at the West end of Iamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting up againe, so that by trusting of the Spaniards knowledge, our Captaine sought not to speake with any of the inhabitants, which if he had not made himselfe sure of, he would haue done as his custome was in other places: but this man was a plague not onely to our Captaine, who made him loose by ouershooting the place 2000. pounds by hides, which hee might haue gotten, but also to himselfe, who being three yeeres out of his Countrey, and in great misery in Guinie, both among the Negroes and Tangomangos, and in hope to come to his wife and friends, as he made sure accompt, in that at his going into the pinnelle, when he went to shore he put on his new clothes, and for ioy flung away his old, could not afterwards finde any habitation, neither there nor in all Cuba, which we sailed all along, but it fell out euer by one occasion or other, that wee were put beside the same, so that he was faine to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a duke of Samaria, when the Israelites were besieged, and were in great misery with hunger, & being tolde by the Prophet Elizaeus, that a bushell of flower should be sold for a sickle, would not beleue him, but thought it impossible: and for that cause Elizaeus prophesied hee should see the same done, but hee should not eate thereof: so this man being absent three yeeres, and not euer thinking to haue seene his owne Countrey, did see the same, went vpon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remaine with his friends according to his desire.

June.

The deceitfull
force of the
current.

Two hundred
plands for
the most part
not inhabited.

The Cape of
S. Anthony in
Cuba.

Florida.

Thus hauing sailed along the coast two dayes, we departed the seuenth of June, being made to beleue by the Spaniard that it was not Iamaica, but rather Hispaniola, of which opinion the Captaine also was, because that which hee made Iamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast, and also for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not beleue he was so farre driuen to leeward, and therefore setting his course to Iamaica, and after certaine dayes not finding the same, perceiued then certainly that the pland which he was at before was Iamaica, and that the cloudes did deceiue him, whereof he marvelled not a little: and this mistaking of the place came to as ill a passe as the ouershooting of Iamaica: for by this did he also ouerpasse a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz, where, as he was informed, was great store of hides to be had: & thus being disappointed of two of his portes, where he thought to haue raised great profite by his trafique, and also to haue found great refreshing of victuals and water for his men, hee was now disappointed greatly, and such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seeke the shore to obtaine the same, which he had sight of after certaine dayes ouerpasse with stormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certaine plands in number two hundred, whereof the most part were desolate of inhabitants: by the which plands the Captaine passing in his pinnelle, could finde no fresh water vntill hee came to an pland bigger then all the rest, called the yle of Pimas, where wee anchored with our ships the 16. of June, and found water, which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the meanes it is standing, and but the water of raine, and also being nere the Sea was brackish, yet did wee not refuse it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, then wee should haue bene another time with fine Conduit water. Thus being reasonably watered we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very couenient for such ships of charge as they were, because there were many shoales to leeward, which also lay open to the Sea for any wind that should blow: and therefore the captaine made the more haste away, which was not vnnecessfull: for little sooner were their anchors weyed, and forsaile set, but there arose such a storme, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the rest, was faine for haste to cut the cable in the hawse, and loose both anchor and cable to saue her selfe.

Thus the 17. of Jun, wee departed and on the 20. wee fell with the West end of Cuba, called Cape S. Antony, where for the space of three dayes wee doubled along, till wee came beyond the shoales, which are 20. leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary Brise taking vs, which is the North-east winde, put vs the 24. from the shore, and therefore we went to the Northwest to fetch wind, and also to the coast of Florida to haue the helpe of the current, which was iudged to haue set to the Eastward: so the 29. wee found our selues in 27. degrees, and in the soundings of Florida, where we kept our selues the space of foure dayes, sailing along the coast as nere as we could, in tenne or twelue fadome water, hauing all the while no sight of land.

The

The fift of July we had sight of certeine Islands of land, called the Tortugas (which is lowe land) where the captaine went in with his pinnelle, and found such a number of birds, that in halfe an houre he laded her with them; and if they had beene ten boats more, they might haue done the like. These Islands beare the name of Tortoises, because of the number of them, which there do breed, whose nature is to liue both in the water and vpon land also, but breed onely vpon the shore, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges, to the number of three or foure hundred; and couering them with sand, they are hatched by the heat of the Sunne; and by this meanes commeth the great increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which haue both backe and belly all of bone, of the thicknes of an inch: the fish whereof we proued, eating much like beale; and finding a number of egges in them, tasted also of them, but they did eat very sweetly. Heere wee ankered sixe houres, and then a faire gale of winde springing, we weped anker, and made satle toward Cuba, whither we came the sixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill so called, because of the forme thereof: here we lay off and on all night, to keepe that we had gotten to wind-ward, intending to haue watered in the morning, if we could haue done it, or els if the winde had come larger, to haue plied to wind-ward to Hauana, which is an harborow wherunto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and doe there tary to haue one the company of another. This hill we thinking to haue beene the Table, made account (as it was indeed) that Hauana was but eight leagues to wind-ward, but by the perswasion of a French man, who made the captaine beleue he knew the Table very well, and had beene at Hauana, sayd that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary, and that behinde the hilles to the Westward was Hauana. To which perswasion credit being giuen by some, and they not of the woozst, the captaine was perswaded to goe to lee ward, and so sailed along the seueneth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table; and then perceiuing his folly to giue eare to such praters, was not a little soyy, both because he did consider what time he should spend yet he could get so far to wind-ward againe, which would haue bene, with the weathering which we had, ten or twelue dayes worke, & what it would haue bene longer he knew not, and (that which was woozst) he had not aboue a dayes water, and therfore knew not what shift to make: but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to seeke water, and to goe further to lee ward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los puercos, which he was in doubt of, both whether it were inhabited, & whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoalds he might haue such access with his ships, that he might conueniently take in the same. And while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesayd, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer vs to run into any further danger, which we had bene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no ship escapeth which commeth thither, (as the Spanyards haue very wel proued the same) sent vs the eight day at night a faire Westerly winde, whereupon the captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pinch his owne bellie, whatsoeuer had happened; and taking the sayd winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and sailing the same night, vnawares ouershot Hauana; at which place wee thought to haue watered: but the next day, not knowing that wee had ouershot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certeine knownen marks, we vnderstood that we had ouershot it 20 leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no conuenient watering place, whereby there was no remedie but to disemboque, and to water vpon the coast of Florida: for, to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoalds, which are very dangerous; and because the current shooteth to the North-east, we doubted by the force thereof to be set vpon them, and therefore durst not approach them: so making but reasonable way the day aforesayd, and all the night, the twelfth day in the morning we fell with the Islands vpon the cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the meanes that fearing the shoalds to the Eastwards, and doubting the current comming out of the West, which was not of that force we made account of; for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt such a current, that bearing all sailes against the same, yet were driuen backe againe a great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Iesus pinnelle, and the Salomons boat, which were sent the same day in the afternoone, whiles the ships were becalmed, to see if they could finde any water vpon the Islands aforesayd; who spent a great part of the day in robbing thither, being further off then they deemed it to be, and in the meane time a faire gale of winde springing at sea, the ships departed, making a signe to them to come away, who although they saw them depart, because they were so neere the shore, would not lose all the labour they had taken, but determined to keepe their way, and see if there were any water to be had, making no account

The Isles of Tortugas. Great flocks of birds.

A hill called the Table.

The port of Hauana.

The state of the current of Florida.

but

but to finde the shippes well enough: but they spent so much time in filling the water which they had foud, that the night was come before they could make an end. And hauing lost the sight of the ships, they rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they should seeke them againe; as indeed there was a more doubt then they knew of: for when they departed, the shippes were in no current; and sailing but a mile further, they found one so strong, that bearing all sailes, it could not preuaile against the same, but were driuen backe: whereupon the captaine sent the Salomon, with the other two barks, to heare neere the shoze all night, because the current was lesse there a great deale, and to heare light, with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boats might better know how to come to them.

The Iesus also bare a light in her toppes gallant, and shot off a piece also now and then, but the night passed, and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the ships and barks ceased not to looke still for them, yet they thought it was all in vaine, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night past; and therefore determined to tary no longer, seeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Iesus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the current) was caried almost out of sight; but as God would haue it, now time being come, and they hauing tacked about in the pinnacles top, had sight of them, and tooke them by: they in the boats, being to the number of one and twenty, hauing sight of the ships, and seeing them tacking about; whereas before at the first sight of them they did greatly reioyce, were now in a greater perplexitie then euer they were: for by this they thought themselves utterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to haue found them. Truly God wrought maruellously for them, for they themselves hauing no victuals but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestow any further time in seeking the shippes then that present noone time; so that if they had not at that instant espied them, they had gone to the shoze to haue made prouision for victuals, and with such things as they could haue gotten, either to haue gone for that part of Florida where the French men were planted (which would haue bene very hard for them to haue done, because they wanted victuals to bring them thither, being an hundred and twenty leagues off) or els to haue remained amongst the Floridians; at whose hands they were put in comfort by a French man, who was with them, that had remained in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victuals sufficient, and gentle entertainment, if need were, for a yeere or two, vntill which time God might haue prouided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to their expectations, it is hard to iudge, seeing those people of the cape of Florida are of more sauage and fierce nature, and more valiant then any of the rest; which the Spanyards well proued, who being five hundred men, who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were enforced to forsake the same: and of their cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a frier, who taking vpon him to persuaue the people to subiection, was by them taken, and his skin cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his flesh eaten.

In these Islands they being a shoze, found a dead man, dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodies of men: so that these sorts of men are eaters of the flesh of men, as well as the Cannibals. But to returne to our purpose.

The foureteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Iesus, bringing them newes of the recovery of the men, which was not a little to the reioycing of the captaine, and the whole company: and so then altogether they kept on their way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anchor, and so from five and twenty degrees to thirty degrees and a halfe, where the French men abode, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, ankering euery night, because we would ouershoot no place of fresh water, and in the day time the captaine in the ships pinnace sailed along the shoze, went into euery creeke, speaking with diuers of the Floridians, because hee would vnderstand where the French men inhabited; and not finding them in eight and twenty degrees, as it was declared vnto him, marvelled thereat, and neuer left sailing along the coast till he found them, who inhabited in a riuer, by them called the riuer of May, and standing in thirty degrees and better. In ranging this coast along, the captaine found it to be all an Island, and therefore it is all lowe land, and very scant of fresh water, but the countrey was maruellously sweet, with both marish and medow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found sozell to grow as abundantly as grasse, and where their houses were, great store of maiz and mill, and grapes of great bignesse, but of taste much like our English grapes. Also Decere great plentie, which came vpon the sands before them. Their houses are not many together, for in one house an hundred of them do lodge; they being made much like a great barne, and in strength not inferiour to ours, for they haue stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and are couered with palmito-leaves, hauing

M. Hawkins
ranged all the
coast of Florida.

The riuer of
May.
Florida found
to be cut into
Islands.
Sozell.
The common
ditties of Flo-
rida.
The houses
of Florida.

having no place divided, but one small roome for their king and queene. In the middelt of this house is a hearth, where they make great fires all night, and they sleepe upon certaine pieces of wood heven in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads, which they put one by another all along the walles on both sides. In their houses they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they desire the fields, where they dresse their meat, and make prouision for victuals, which they prouide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be maruelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but also the Negros doe the same, which is made onely by two stickes, rubbing them one against another: and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde stickes sufficient for the purpose. In their apparell the men onely vse deere skinnnes, wherewith some onely couer their priuy members, ocher some vse the same as garments to couer them before and behind; which skinnnes are painted, some yellow and red, some blacke & russet, and euery man according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paine their bodie also with curious knots, or antike worke, as euery man in his owne fancy deuiseeth, which painting, to make it continue the better, they vse with a thorne to pricke their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may haue better hold. In their warres they vse a sleigher colour of painting their faces, thereby to make themselves shew the more fierce; which after their warres ended, they wash away againe. In their warres they vse bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kind of Yew, but blacker then ours, and for the most part passing the strength of the Negros or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours: their arrowes are also of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varping in two points, both in length and also for nocks and feathers, which the other lacke, whereby they shoot very stedy: the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, piked points of knives, which they hauing gotten of the French men, broke the same, & put the points of them in their arrowes heads: some of them haue their heads of silver, ocher some that haue want of these, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as farre as any of the rest. In their fight, being in the woods, they vse a maruellous policie for their owne safegard, which is by clasping a tree in their armes, and yet shooting not withstanding: this policy they vsed with the French men in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of some policy: and although they are called by the Spanyards Gente triste, that is to say, Bad people, meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity: yet haue the French men found them so witty in their answers, that by the captaines owne report, a counsellor with vs could not giue a more profound reason.

The manner of
kindling of fire
in Florida.

The women also for their apparell vse painted skinnnes, but most of them gownes of mosse, somewhat longer then our mosse, which they sowe together artificially, and make the same surpless like wife, wearing their haire downe to their shoulders, like the Indians. In this riuer of May aforesayd, the captaine entring with his pinnesse, found a French ship of fourescore tun, and two pinnesse of fiftene tun a piece, by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues by, which they had built, in which their captaine Monsieur Laudonniere was, with certaine souldiers therein. To whom our captaine sending to vnderstand of a watering place, where he might conveniently take it in, and to haue licence for the same, he straight, because there was no convenient place but by the riuer fife leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barks, which going in with other boats prouided for the same purpose, ankered before the fort, into the which our captaine went; where hee was by the Generall, with other captaines and souldiers, very gently entertained, who declared vnto him the time of their being there, which was foureteene moneths, with the extremity they were driuen to for want of victuals, hauing brought very little with them; in which place they being two hundred men at their first comming, had in short space eaten all the maiz they could buy of the inhabitants about them, and therefore were driuen certaine of them to serue a king of the Indians against other his enemies, for mill and other victuals; which hauing gotten, could not serue them, being so many, so long a time: but want came vpon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acorns, which being stamped small, and often washed, to take away the bitterneffe of them, they did vse for bread, eating withall sundry times, roots, whereof they found many good and hole some, and such as serue rather for mebedines then for meates alone. But this hardnesse not contenting some of them, who would not take the paines so much as to fish in the riuer before their doores, but would haue all things put in their mouthes, they did rebell against the captaine, taking away first his armour, and afterward imprisoning him: and so to the number of fourescore of them, departed with a barke and a pinnesse, spoiling their store of victuall, and taking away a great part thereof with them, and so went to the Islands of Hispaniola and Iamaica a rousing, where they spoiled and pillled the Spanyards; and hauing taken two carauels

The French
fort.
Monsieur Lan-
donniere.

Bread made
of acorns.

laden

The occasion
of the falling
out with the
Floridians.

The French
greatly relie-
ued by *M.*
Hawkins.

Twentie hog's
heads of wine
made in Flori-
da, like to the
wine of Orle-
ans.

Labourers ne-
cessary to inha-
bit new coun-
treys.

Tobacco & the
great vertue
thereof.

laden with wine and casavi, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victuals and crea-
ture, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such haughty stomachs, that they thought
their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborow in Iamaica, go-
ing dayly ashore at their pleasure. But God which would not suffer such euill doers unpunished,
did indurate their hearts in such sort, that they lingered the time so long, that a ship and galliassie
being made out of Santa Domingo came thither into the harborow, and tooke twenty of them,
whereof the most part were hanged, and the rest caried into Spaine, and some (to the number of
five and twenty) escaped in the pinnelle, and came to Florida; where at their landing they were
put in prison, and incontinent foure of the chiefeest being condemne d, at the request of the souldi-
ers, did passe the harquebuzers, and then were hanged vpon a gibbet. This lacke of threescore
men was a great discouragement and weakening to the rest, for they were the best souldiers that they
had: for they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their dayly crauing of maiz, hauing
no wares left to content them withall, and therefore were enforced to rob them, and to take away
their victual perforce, which was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith)
did take certeine of their company in the woods, and slew them; whereby there grew great warres
betwixt them and the Frenchmen; and therefore they being but a few in number durst not ven-
ture abroad, but at such time as they were enforced thereunto for want of food to do the same: and
going twenty harquebuzers in a company, were set vpon by eightene kings, hauing seuen or
eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, & droue
them all downe to their boats; whose pollicy in fight was to be marvelled at: for hauing shot at
diuers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiuing that their arrowes did not preuaile a-
gainst the same, they shot at their faces and legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were
hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned, being in ill case by the hurt of their men, hauing not a-
boue forty souldiers left unhurt, whereby they might ill make any more inuasions vpon the Flori-
dians, and keepe their fort withall: which they must haue bene driuen vnto, had not God sent vs
thither for their succour; for they had not aboue ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which
perplexity our captaine seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrells of meale, & foure
pipes of beanes, with diuers other victuals and necessaries which he might conueniently spare:
and to helpe them the better homewards, whither they were bound before our comming, at their
request we spared them one of our barks of fifty tun. Notwithstanding the great want that the
Frenchmen had, the ground doth yeeld victuals sufficient, if they would haue taken paines to get
the same; but they being souldiers, desired to liue by the sweat of other mens browes: for while
they had peace with the Floridians, they had fish sufficient, by weares which they made to catch
the same: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the same againe, and then
would not the Frenchmen take the paines to make any more. The ground yeeldeth naturally
grapes in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made 20 hogheads of
wine. Also it yeeldeth roots passing good. Deere marvellous store, with diuers other beasts, and
fowle, seruiceable to the vse of man. These be things wherewith a man may liue, hauing corne or
maiz wherewith to make bread: for maiz maketh good sauoy bread, and cakes as fine as flowre.
Also it maketh good meale, beaten and sodden with water, and eateth like pap wherewith we feed
chilozen. It maketh also good beuerage, sodden in water, and nourishable; which the Frenchmen
did vse to drinke of in the morning, and it assuageth their thirst, so that they had no need to drinke
all the day after. And this maiz was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no labourers to
sowe the same, and therefore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisite to haue labourers
to till and sowe the ground: for they hauing victuals of their owne, whereby they neither rob nor
spoil the inhabitants, may liue not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of
peace then of warres, but also shall haue abundance of victuals profered them for nothing: for it
is with them as it is with one of vs, when we see another man euer taking away fro vs, although
we haue enough besides, yet then we thinke all too little for our selues: for surely we haue heard
the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians, that a very little contenteth them: for the
Indians with the head of maiz roasted, will trauell a whole day, and when they are at the Spany-
ards finding, they giue them nothing but sodden herbs & maiz: and in this order I saw threescore
of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fifty leagues off. The Floridians when they
trauell, haue a kinde of herbe dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and
the dried herbe put together, doe sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof; which smoke satisfieth
their hunger, and therewith they liue foure or five dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the
Frenchmen vied for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water & fleame
to void from their stomachs. The commodities of this land are more then are yet known to any
man:

man: for besides the land it selfe, whereof there is more then any king Christian is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with meadow, pasture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypres, and other sorts, as better can not be in the world. They haue for apothecary herbs, trees, roots and gummes great store, as Storax liquida, Turpentine, Gumme, Myrthe, and Frankinsence, with many others, whereof I know not the names. Colours both red, blacke, yellow, & russet, very perfect, where with they so paint their bodies, and Deere skinnes which they weare about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, nor altereth colour. Golde and siluer they want not: for at the French mens first comming thither they had the same offered them for little or nothing, for they receiued for a hatchet two pound weight of golde, because they knew not the estimation thereof: but the souldiers being greedy of the same, did take it from them, giuing them nothing for it: the which they perceiuing, that both the Frenchmen did greatly esteeme it, and also did rigourously deale with them, by taking the same away from them, at last would not be knowen they had any more, neither durst they weare the same for feare of being taken away: so that sauing at their first comming, they could get none of them: and how they came by this golde and siluer the Frenchmen know not as yet, but by gesse, who hauing trauelled to the Southwest of the cape, hauing found the same dangerous, by meanes of sundry banks, as we also haue found the same; and there finding masts which were wracks of Spaniards comming from Mexico, iudged that they had gotten treasure by them. For it is most true that diuers wracks haue bene made of Spaniards, hauing much treasure: for the Frenchmen hauing trauelled to the cape ward an hundred and fiftie miles, did finde two Spaniards with the Floridians, which they brought after ward to their fort, whereof one was in a carauel comming from the Indies, which was cast away fourteene yeeres ago, & the other twelue yeeres; of whose fellows some escaped, other some were slain by the inhabitants. It seemeth they had estimation of their golde & siluer, for it is wrought flat and grauen, which they weare about their neckes; other some made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midst, to boustle by their breasts withall, because they thinke it a deformity to haue great breasts. As for mines either of gold or siluer, the Frenchmen can heare of none they haue vpon the Island, but of copper, whereof as yet also they haue not made the prooue, because they were but few men: but it is not vnlike, but that in the maine where are high hills, may be golde and siluer as well as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The Frenchmen obtained pearles of them of great bignesse, but they were blacke, by meanes of rolling of them, for they do not fish for them as the Spaniards doe, but for their meat: for the Spaniards vse to keepe dayly asishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choise a thousand: and their order is to go in canoas, or rather great pinnesles, with thirty men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or most part be diuers, the rest doe open the same for the pearles: for it is not suffered that they should vse dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beds of them. The oysters which haue the smallest sort of pearles are found in seuen or eight fadome water, but the greatest in eleuen or twelue fadome.

The Floridians haue pieces of vnicoznes hornes, which they weare about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obtained many pieces. Of those vnicoznes they haue many; for that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one horne, which comming to the riuer to drinke, putterth the same into the water before he drinke. Of this vnicoznes horne there are of our company, that hauing gotten the same of the Frenchmen, brought home thereof to shew. It is therfore to be presupposed that there are more commodities as well as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabit the same, can not yet come to light: but I trust God will reueale the same before it be long, to the great profit of them that shall take it in hand. Of beasts in this countrey besides deere, fores, hares, polcats, conies, ownces, & leopards, I am not able certainly to say: but it is thought that there are lions and tygres as well as vnicoznes; lions especially; if it be true that is sayd, of the enmity betweene them and the vnicoznes: for there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the cony the polcat, a sheepe the wolfe, the elephant the rinoceros; and so of other beasts the like: insomuch, that whereas the one is, the other can not be missing. And seeing I haue made mention of the beasts of this countrey, it shall not be from my purpose to speake also of the venimous beasts, as crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, adders of great bignesse, whereof our men killed some of a yard and a halfe long. Also I heard a miracle of one of these adders, vpon the which a faulcon seizing, the sayd adder did claspe her taile about her; which the French captaine seeing, came to the rescue of the faulcon, and tooke her slaying the adder; and this faulcon being wilde, he did reclaine her, and kept her for the space of two moneths, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to cast her off. On these adders the Frenchmen did feed, to no little admiration of vs, and affirmed the same to be a delicate meat. And the captaine of the Frenchmen saw also a

The variety of commodities in Florida.

Colours.

Golde and siluer.

Two Spaniards liued long among the Floridians.

Pieces of golde grauen among the Floridians.

Florida esteemed an Island.

This copper was found perfect golde, called by the Sauages, Syroa phya.

Pearles.

Vnicoznes hornes, which inhabitants call Souamama.

Beasts.

Faulcons in Florida.

Serpens

Serpents.

serpent with three heads and foure feet, of the bignesse of a great spaniell, which for want of a harquebuz he durst not attempt to slay. Of fish also they haue in the river, pike, roch, salmon, trout, and diuers other small fishes, and of great fish, some of the length of a man and longer, being of bignesse accordingly, hauing a snout much like a sword of a yard long. There be also of sea fishes,

Flying fishes.

which we saw comming along the coast flying, which are of the bignesse of a smelt, the biggest sort whereof haue foure wings, but the other haue but two: of these wee sawe comming out of Guinea a hundred in a company, which being chased by the gilt-heads, other wise called the bonitos, do to auoid them the better, take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre, because of the dyping of their wings, which serue them not to flie but when they are moist, and therefore when they can flie no further, they fall into the water, and hauing wet their wings, take a new flight againe. These bonitos be of bignesse like a carpe, and in colour like a makarell, but it is the swiftest fish in swimming that is, and followeth her prey very fiercely, not onely in the water, but also out of the water: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doeth this bonito leape after them, and taketh them sometimes aboue the water. There were some of those bonitos, which being galled by a fishgig, did follow our shippe comming out of Guinea 500 leagues. There is a sea-fowle also that chaleteth this flying fish as well as the bonito: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this fowle pursue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleasure then hawking, for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often then an hundred times: for the fowle can flie no way, but one or other lighteth in her palwes, the number of them are so abundant. There is an innumerable yong frye of these flying fishes, which commonly keepe about the ship, and are not so big as butter-flies, and yet by flying do auoid the vnfaciablennesse of the bonito. Of the bigger sort of these fishes wee tooke many, which both night and day flew into the sailes of our ship, and there was not one of them which was not woorth a bonito: for being put vpon a hooke dabling in the water, the bonito would leape thereat, and so was taken. Also, we tooke many with a white cloth made fast to a hooke, which being tied so short in the water, that it might leape out and in, the greedie bonito thinking it to be a flying fish leapeeth thereat, and so is deceived. We tooke also dolphins which are of very goodly colour and proportion to behold, and no lesse delicate in taste. Fowles also there be many, both vpon land and vpon sea: but concerning them on the land I am not able to name them, because my abode was there so short. But for the fowle of the fresh riuers, these two I noted to be the chiefe, wherof the Flemengo is one, hauing all red feathers, and long red legs like a herne, a necke according to the bill, red, wherof the hypper neb hangeth an inch ouer the nether; and an egripe, which is all white as the swanne, with legs like to an hearnshaw, and of bignesse accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of so fine a plume, that it passeth the estridge his feather. Of the sea-fowle aboue all other not common in

Dolphins.**Flemingo.****The egripe.****The pellicane.**

England, I noted the pellicane, which is feined to be the louingst bird that is; which rather then her yong should want, wil spare her heart bloud out of her belly: but for all this louingnesse she is very deformed to beholde; for she is of colour russet: notwithstanding in Guinea I haue seene of them as white as a swan, hauing legs like the same, and a body like a hearne, with a long necke, and a thicke long beake, from the nether jaw whereof downe to the bzeast passeth a skinne of such a bignesse, as is able to receiue a fish as big as ones thigh, and this her big throat and long bill doeth make her seeme so ougly.

Spanes to
reape a suffi-
cient profit in
Florida and
Virginia.

Here I haue declared the estate of Florida, and the commodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may seeme vnto some, by the meanes that the plenty of golde and siluer, is not so abundant as in other places, that the cost bestowed vpon the same will not be able to quit the charges: yet am I of the opinion, that by that which I haue seene in other Islands of the Indians, where such increase of cattell hath bene, that of twelue head of beasts in five & twenty yeeres, did in the hides of them raise a thousand pound profit yerely, that the increase of cattell onely would raise profit sufficient for the same: for wee may consider, if so small a portion did raise so much gaines in such short time, what would a greater do in many yerres: and surely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the breed of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this of Florida, which all the yeere long is so greene, as any time in the Summer with vs: which surely is not to be maruelled at, seeing the countrey standeth in so watery a climate: for once a day without faile they haue a shower of raine; which by meanes of the countrey it selfe, which is drie, and more feruent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flourish therein. And because there is not the thing we all seeke for, being rather desirous of present gaines, I doe therefore affirme the attempt thereof to be more requisite for a prince, who is of power as to go thorow with the same, rather then for any subiect.

From thence wee departed the 28 of July, vpon our voyage: mewards, hauing there all things

things as might be most conuenient for our purpose: and tooke leaue of the Frenchmen that there still remained, who with diligence determined to make as great speede after, as they could. Thus by meanes of contrary windes oftentimes, wee prolonged our voyage in such manner that victuals scanted with vs, so that we were diuers times (or rather the most part) in despaire of euer comming home, had not God of his goodnesse better prouided for vs, then our deserv-
 ing. In which state of great miserie, wee were prouoked to call vpon him by feruent prayer, which moued him to heare vs, so that we had a prosperous winde, which did set vs so farre shot, as to be vpon the banke of Newfound land, on Saint Bartholomews eue, and we sounded there-
 upon, finding ground at an hundred and thirtie fadoms, being that day somewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of fresh codde-fish, which greatly relieued vs: and being very glad there-
 of, the next day we departed, and had lingring little gales for the space of foure or fve dayes, at the ende of which we sawe a couple of French shippes, and had of them so much fish as would
 serue vs plentifully for all the rest of the way, the Captaine paying for the same both golde and siluer, to the iust value thereof, vnto the chiefe owners of the saide shippes, but they not looking
 for any thing at all, were glad in themselves to meete with such good intertainment at sea, as they had at our hands. After which departure from them, with a good large winde the twen-
 tieth of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall, God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse
 of twentie persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as
 also to the whole realme, in bringing home both golde, siluer, pearles and other iewels great
 store. His name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen.

Their arrivall
 in Padstow in
 the moneth of
 September,
 1565.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

- M. Iohn Hawkins.
- M. Iohn Chesser, } Sir William Chesters sonne.
- M. Anthony Parkhurst.
- M. Fitzwilliam.
- M. Thomas Woorley.
- M. Edward Lacie, } with diuers others.

The Register and true accounts of all herein expressed hath beene
 approued by me Iohn Sparke the younger, who went vpon the same
 voyage, and wrote the same.

The third troublesome voyage made with the Iesus of Lubeck, the
 Minion, and foure other ships, to the parts of Guinea, and the West Indies,
 in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by M. Iohn Hawkins.



The ships departed from Plimmouth, the second day of October, Anno 1567
 and had reasonable weather vntill the seuenth day, at which time fortie leagues
 North from Cape Finister, there arose an extreme storme, which continued
 foure dayes, in such sort, that the fleete was disperfed, and all our great boats
 lost, and the Iesus our chiefe shippe, in such case, as not thought able to serue
 the voyage: whercupon in the same storme we set our course homeward, de-
 termining to giue ouer the voyage: but the eleuenth day of the same moneth, the winde changed
 with faire weather, whereby we were animated to followe our enterprise, and so did, directing
 our course with the Islands of the Canaries, where according to an order befoze prescribed, all
 our shippes befoze disperfed, met at one of those Islands, called Gomera, where we tooke wa-
 ter, and departed from thence the fourth day of Nouember, towards the coast of Guinea, and ar-
 rived at Cape Verde, the eighteenth of Nouember: where we landed 150 men, hoping to ob-
 taine some Negroes, where we got but fewe, and those with great hurt and damage to our men,
 which chiefly proceeded of their enenomed arrowes: and although in the beginning they seemed
 to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawn of them, but died in
 strange sort, with their mouths shut some tenne dayes befoze they died, and after their wounds
 were whole; where I my self had one of the greatest woundes, yet thanks be to God, escaped.
 From thence we past the time vpon the coast of Guinea, searching with all diligence the riuers
 from Rio grande, vnto Sierra Leona, till the twelfth of Januarie, in which time we had not got-
 ten together a hundred and fve Negroes: yet notwithstanding the sicknesse of our men, and the
 late

4 storme.

Gomera.

Envenomed
 arrowes.

A towne of
8000 Negroes
taken.

No truth in
Negros.

Dominica.

Rio de la Hacha
taken.

Cartagena.

Furicanos.

Storme.

late time of the peere commanded vs away: and thus hauing nothing wherewith to seeke the coast of the West Indies. I was with the rest of our company in consultation to goe to the coast of the Mine, hoping there to haue obtained some golde for our wares, and thereby to haue defraied our charge. But euen in that present instant, there came to vs a Negro, sent from a king, oppressed by other Kings his neighbours, desiring our aide, with promise that as many Negroes as by these warres might be obtained, aswell of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure: whereupon we concluded to giue aide, and sent 120 of our men, which the 15 of Ianuarie, assaulted a towne of the Negroes of our Allies aduersaries, which had in it 8000 Inhabitants, being very strongly impaled and fenced after their manner, but it was so well defended, that our men preuailed not, but lost five men and forie hurt: so that our men sent forthwith to me for more helpe: whereupon considering that the good successe of this enterprize might highly further the commoditie of our voyage, I went my selfe, and with the helpe of the king of our side, assaulted the towne, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire (their houses being couered with dry Palme leaues) obtained the towne, and put the Inhabitants to flight, where we tooke 250 persons, men, women, & children, and by our friend the king of our side, there were taken 600 prisoners, whereof we hoped to haue had our choise: but the Negro (in which nation is seldeome or neuer found truth) meant nothing lesse: for that night he remooued his campe and prisoners, so that we were faine to content vs with those few which we had gotten our selues.

Now had we obtained between foure and foue hundred Negroes, wherewith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indies, and there, for our Negroes, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to counteruaile our charges with some gaines, wherunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, tooke fuel, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard, then before hath bene accustomed till the 27 day of March, which day we had sight of an Iland, called Dominica, vpon the coast of the West Indies, in fourtene degrees: from thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the king had straightly commanded all his Gouvernors in those parts, by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with vs: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainment, from the Ile of Margarita vnto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worth the noting, sauing at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles) the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer vs to take water, he had fortified his towne with diuers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himselfe with an hundred Hargabuziers, so that he thought by famine to haue inforced vs to haue put a land our Negroes: of which purpose he had not greatly failed, vnlesse we had by force entered the towne: which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his fauour) we were enforced to doe, and so with two hundred men brake in vpon their bulwarkes, and entered the towne with the losse onely of two men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards because after their voley of shot discharged, they all fled.

Thus hauing the town with some circumstance, as partly by the Spaniards desire of Negroes, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade: whereupon the Spaniards resorted to vs by night, and bought of vs to the number of 200 Negroes: in all other places where we traded the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of vs and traded willingly.

At Cartagena the last towne we thought to haue seene on the coast, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spaniard, the gouernour was so straight, and because our trade was so neere finished we thought not good either to aduenture any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24 of July, hoping to haue escaped the time of their stormes which then soone after began to reigne, the which they call Furicanos, but passing by the West end of Cuba, towards the coast of Florida there happened to vs the 12 day of August an extreme storme which continued by the space of foure dayes, which so beat the Iesus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder also was sore shaken, and withall was in so extreme a leake that we were rather vpon the point to leaue her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good passe, we sought the coast of Florida, where we found no place nor Hauens for our ships, because of the shallownesse of the coast: thus being in greater dispaire, and taken with a newe storme which continued other 3 dayes, we were inforced to take for our succour the Port which serueth the citie of Mexico called Saint Iohn de Villua, which standeth in 19 degrees: in seeking of which Port we tooke in our way 3 ships which carried passengers to the number of an hundred, which passengers we hoped should be a meane to vs the better to obtaine victuals for our money, & a quiet place for the repairing of our fleete. Shortly after this the 16 of September we entered the

the Port of Saint Iohn de Villua and in our entrie the Spaniards thinking vs to be the fleet of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the Countrey came aboord vs, which being deceiued of their expectation were greatly dismayed: but immediatly when they sawe our demand was nothing but victuals, were recomforced. I found also in the same Port twelue ships which had in them by the report two hundred thousand pound in gold & siluer, all which (being in my possession, with the kings Island as also the passengers before in my way thitherward stayed) I let at libertie, without the taking from them the waight of a groat: onely because I would not be delayed of my dispatch, I stayed two men of estimation and sent post immediatly to Mexico, which was two hundred miles from vs, to the Presidents and Councell there, shewing them of our arriual there by the force of weather, and the necessitie of the repaire of our shippes and victuals, which wantes we required as friends to king Philip to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidents and Councell there should with all conuenient speede take order, that at the arriual of the Spanishe fleet, which was dayly looked for, there might no cause of quarrell rise betweene vs and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commandement might be had in that behalfe. This message being sent away the first tenth day of September at night, being the very day of our arriual, in the next morning which was the seuenteenth day of the same moneth, we sawe open of the Hauen thirtene great shippes, and vnderstanding them to bee the fleet of Spaine, I sent immediatly to aduertise the Generall of the fleet of my being there, doing him to vnderstand, that before I would suffer them to enter the Port, there should some order of conditions passe betweene vs for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace. Now it is to be vnderstood that this Port is made by a little Island of stones not three foote above the water in the highest place, and but a bow-shoot of length any way, this Island standeth from the maine land two bow-shootes or more, also it is to be vnderstood that there is not in all this coast any other place for ships to arriue in safety, because the North winde hath there such violence, that unlesse the shippes be very safely moored with their ankers fastened vpon this Island, there is no remedie for these North windes but death: also the place of the Hauen was so little, that of necessitie the shippes must ride one aboord the other, so that we could not giue place to them, nor they to vs: and here I beganne to bewaile that which after followed, for now, said I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receiue the one of them. That was, either I must haue kept out the fleet from entring the Port, the which with Gods helpe I was very well able to doe, or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they neuer faile to execute, where they may haue opportunitie, to compass it by any meanes: if I had kept them out, then had there bene present shipwracke of all the fleet which amounted in value to fife Millions, which was in value of our money 1800000. li, which I considered I was not able to answere, fearing the Queenes Maiesties indignation in so waighie a matter. Thus with my selfe reuoluing the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the Iutt of the vncertainty, then the certaintie. The vncertaine doubt I account was their treason which by good policie I hoped might be prevented, and therefore as chusing the least mischiefe I proceeded to conditions. Now was our first messenger come and returned from the fleet with report of the arriual of a Viceroy, so that hee had authoritie, both in all this Province of Mexico (otherwise called Nueva Espanna) and in the sea, who sent vs word that we should send our conditions, which of his part should (for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the Princes) be both fauourably granted, and faithfully performed, with many faire wordes how passing the coast of the Indies he had vnderstood of our honest behaviour towardes the inhabitants where we had to doe, as well elsewhere as in the same Port, the which I let passe: thus following our demand, we required victuals for our money, and licence to sell as much ware as might furnish our wants, and that there might be of either part twelue gentlemen as hostages for the maintenance of peace: and that the Island for our better safetie might be in our owne possession, during our abode there, and such ordinance as was planted in the same Island which were cleven peeces of brasse: and that no Spaniard might land in the Island with any kind of weapon: these conditions at the first he somewhat misliked, chiefly the guard of the Island to be in our owne keeping, which if they had had, we had soone knowne our fare: for with the first North winde they had cut our cables and our ships had gone ashore: but in the end he concluded to our request, bringing the twelue hostages to ten, which with all speede of either part were receiued, with a writing from the Viceroy signed with his hande and sealed with his seale of all the conditions concluded, & forthwith a trumpet blownen with commandement that none of either part should be meane to violate the peace vpon paine of death: and further it was concluded that the two Generals of the fleets should meete, and giue faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses which was so done. Thus at the end of 3 dayes all was

Saint Iohn de Villua a Port. The Spaniards are deceiued.

Our requests.

The fleet of Spaine.

The manner of the Port S. Iohn de Villua.

North windes perilous.

1800. thousand pound.

A Viceroy.

Faire wordes beguiled.

Our requests.

The peace concluded.

concluded & the fleet entered the Port, saluting one another as the maner of the sea doth require. Thus as I said before, thursday we entered the Port, Friday we saw the fleet, and on munday at night they entered the Port: then we laboured 2 daies placing the English ships by themselves & the Spanish ships by themselves, the captaines of ech part & inferiour men of their parts promising great amity of al sides: which euen as with all fidelitie it was ment on our part, so the Spaniards ment nothing lesse on their parts, but from the maine land had furnished themselves with a supply of men to the number of 1000, and ment the next thursday being the 23 of September at dinner time to set vpon vs on all sides. The same Thursday in the morning the treason being at hand, some appearance thewed, as shifting of weapon from ship to ship, planting and bending of ordnance from the ships to the Island where our men warred, passing too and fro of companies of men moze then required for their necessary busines, & many other ill likelihoods, which caused vs to haue a belement suspicion, and therewithall sent to the Viceroy to enquire what was ment by it, which sent immediatly straight commandement to vnplant all things suspicious, and also sent word that he in the faith of a Viceroy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet we being not satisfied with this answer, because we suspected a great number of men to be hid in a great ship of 900 tunnes which was moored next vnto the Minion, sent againe to the Viceroy the master of the Iesus which had the Spanish tongue, and required to be satisfied if any such thing were or not. The Viceroy now seeing that the treason must be discovered, forthwith stayed our master, blew the Trumpet, and of all sides set vpon vs: our men which warred a shoze being stricken with sudden feare, gaue place, fled, and sought to recouer succour of the ships; the Spaniards being before provided for the purpose landed in all places in multitudes from their ships which they might easily doe without boates, and slewe all our men a shoze without mercie, a fewe of them escaped aboard the Iesus. The great ship which had by the estimation three hundred men placed in her secretly, immediatly fell aboard the Minion, but by Gods appointment, in the time of the suspicion we had, which was onely one halfe houre, the Minion was made readie to auoide, and so leeling her headstalls, and hapling away by the sternefastes she was gotten out: thus with Gods helpe she defended the violence of the first brunt of these three hundred men. The Minion being past out, they came aboard the Iesus, which also with very much a doe and the losse of manie of our men were defended and kept out. Then were there also two other ships that assaulted the Iesus at the same instant, so that she had hard getting loose, but yet with some time we had cut our head-fastes and gotten out by the sterne-fastes. Nowe when the Iesus and the Minion were gotten about two shippes length from the Spanish fleet, the fight beganne so hotte on all sides that within one houre the Admirall of the Spaniards was supposed to be sunke, their Vice-admirall burned and one other of their principall ships supposed to be sunke, so that the shippes were little able to annoy vs.

Then is it to be vnderstood, that all the Ordinance vpon the Islande was in the Spaniards hands, which did vs so great annoyance, that it cut all the mastes and yardes of the Iesus, in such sort that there was no hope to carrie her away: also it sunke our small shippes, whereupon we determined to place the Iesus on that side of the Minion, that she might abide all the batterie from the land, and so be a defence for the Minion till night, and then to take such reliefe of victuall and other necessities from the Iesus, as the time would suffer vs, and to leaue her. As we were thus determining, and had placed the Minion from the shot of the land, suddenly the Spaniards had fired two great shippes which were comming directly with vs, and hauing no meanes to auoide the fire, it bredde among our men a maruellous feare, so that some sayd, let vs depart with the Minion, other said, let vs see whither the winde will carrie the fire from vs. But to be short, the Minions men which had alwayes their sayles in a readinesse, thought to make sure worke, and so without either consent of the Captaine or Master cut their saile, so that very hardly I was receiued into the Minion.

The most part of the men that were left a liue in the Iesus, made shift and followed the Minion in a small boat, the rest which the little boate was not able to receiue, were inforced to abide the mercie of the Spaniards (which I doubt was very little) so with the Minion only and the Iudith (a small barke of 50 tunne) we escaped, which barke the same night forooke vs in our great miserie: we were now remooued with the Minion from the Spanish ships two bow-shootes, and there rode all that night: the next morning we recouered an Island a mile from the Spaniards, where there tooke vs a North winde, and being left onely with two ankers and two cables (for in this conflict we lost three cables and two ankers) we thought alwayes vpon death which euer was present, but God preserved vs to a longer time.

The weather waxed reasonable, and the Saturday we set saile, and hauing a great number of

The Viceroy
false of his
faith.

The treason
broke forth.

The Minion es-
caped hardly.

The Iesus es-
caped hardly.

Sharpe wars.

3. Ships of the
Spaniards
consumed.

A hard case.

Small hope to
be had of res-
cuing.
A storme.

of men and little victuals our hope of life wared lesse and lesse: some desired to yeeld to the Spaniards, some rather desired to obtaine a place where they might giue themselves to the Infidels, and some had rather abide with a little pittance the mercie of God at Sea: so thus with many sorrowfull hearts we wauided in an unknown Sea by the space of 14 dayes, till hunger inforced vs to seeke the land, for hies were thought very good meat, rats, cats, mice and dogs, none escaped that might be gotten, parrats and monkeyes that were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they serued the turne one dinner: thus in the end the 8 day of October we came to the land in the botome of the same bay of Mexico in 23 degrees and a halfe, where we hoped to haue found inhabitants of the Spaniards, reliefe of victuals, and place for the repaire of our ship, which was so sore beaten with shot from our enemies and hysled with shooting off our owne ordnance, that our wearie and weake armes were scarce able to defende and keepe out water. But all things happened to the contrary, for we found neither people, victuall, nor haue of reliefe, but a place where hauing faire weather with some perill we might land a boat: our people being forced with hunger desired to be set on land, whereunto I consented.

Small hopes of life.

Hard choice.

Epitaphies.

And such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such as were desirous to goe homewardes, I put a part, so that they were indifferently parted a hundred of one side and a hundred of the other side: these hundred men we set a land with all diligence in this little place before said, which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remaine of victuals to take the sea.

200 hundred men set on land in 23. deg. and a halfe.

The next day hauing a land with me fiftie of our hundred men that remained for the speedier preparing of our water aboard, there arose an extreame storme, so that in three dayes we could by no meanes repaire aboard our ship: the ship also was in such perill that euery houre we looked for shipwacke.

The greatest miserie of all.

But yet God againe had mercie on vs, and sent faire weather, we had aboard our water, and departed the sixteenth day of October, after which day we had faire and prosperous weather till the sixteenth day of Nouember, which day God be prayesd we were cleere from the coast of the Indies, and out of the chanell and gulfe of Bahama, which is betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Ilandes of Iucayo. After this growing neere to the colde countrey, our men being oppressed with famine, died continually, and they that were left, grew into such weakenesse that we were scantily able to manage our shippe, and the winde being alwayes ill for vs to recouer England, we determined to goe with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to relieue our companie and other extreame wantes. And being arriued the last day of December in a place neere vnto Vigo called Ponce Vedra, our men with excesse of fresh meate grew into miserable disleales, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there were none of our men suffered to goe a land, yet by accesse of the Spaniards, our feebleness was knowne to them. Whereupon they ceased not to seeke by all meanes to betray vs, but with all speede possible we departed to Vigo, where we had some helpe of certaine English ships and twelue fresh men, where with we repaired our wants as we might, and departing the 20 day of Ianuary 1568 arriued in Mounts bay in Cornewall the 25 of the same moneth, praised be God therefore.

If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorrowfull voyage should be perfectly and thoroughly written, there should neede a painefull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the liues and deathes of the Martyrs.

JOHN HAWKINS.

The first voyage attempted and set foorth by the expert and valiant captaine M. Francis Drake himselfe, with a ship called the *Dragon*, and another ship and a Pinnesse, to *Nombre de Dios*, and *Dariene*, about the yere 1572, Written and recorded by one *Lopez Vaz* a Portugall borne in the citie of *Eluas*, in manner follow: which Portugale, with the discourse about him, was taken at the river of *Plate* by the ships set foorth by the Right Honourable the Earle of *Cumberland*, in the yere 1586.

There was a certaine English man named Francis Drake, who hauing intelligence how the towne of *Nombre de Dios* in *Nueva Espanna*, had but small store of people remaining there, came on a night, and entred the Port with foure Pinnesses, and landed about 150 men, leaving 70 men with a trumpet, in a fort which was there, with the other 80 he entred the towne, without doing any harme, till he came to the market place,

X x 3

and

and there discharged his calliwers, & sounded a trumpet very loud, and the other which he had left in the Fort answered him after the same maner, with the discharging their calliwers, and sounding their trumpets: the people hereupon not thinking of any such matter, were put in great feare, and waking out of their sleepe fled all into the mountaines, inquiring one of another what the matter should be, remaining as men amazed, not knowing what that vppore was which happened so suddenly in the towne. But 14 or 15 of them topning together with their harquebuzes, went to the market place to know what they were that were in the towne, and in a corner of the market place they did discover the Englishmen, and seeing them to be but fewe, discharged their calliwers at those Englishmen: their fortune was such that they killed the Trumpetter, and shot one of the principall men thorow the legges, who seeing himselfe hurt, retyped to the Fort, where the rest of their company was left: they which were in the Fort sounded their Trumpet, and seeing that they in the towne did not answer them, and hearing the calliwers, thought that all they in the towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnelles: the English captaine comming to the Fort, and not finding his men which he left there, he and his were in so great feare, that leaving their furniture behind them, and putting off their hose, they swamme, and waded all to their Pinnelles, and so went with their ships againe out of the Port.

Thus this English Captaine called Francis Drake, departed from Nombre de Dios, & slew onely one man in the towne which was looking out of a windowe to see what the matter was, and of his men had onely his Trumpetter slaine.

The balliant
exploit of
Francis Drake
besieging Pa-
ma and Nombre
de Dios.

M. Francis Drake
burnt the house
of Crosses.

But he being discontented with the repulse which he had receiued there, came to the sound of Dariene, and having conference with certaine Negros which were fled from their masters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios, the Negros did tell him, that certaine Pules came laden with gold and siluer from Panama to Nombre de Dios, who in companie of these Negros went thereupon on land, and staped in the way where the treasure should come with an hundred shot, and so tooke two companies of mules, which came onely with their druiers mistrusting nothing, and he carried away the gold onely, for they were not able to carrie the siluer through the mountaines. And two dayes after he came to the house of Crosses, where he killed sixe or seuen marchants, but found no golde nor siluer but much marchandize: so he fired the house, where was burnt about 200000 Duckets in marchandize, and so went to his ship againe: and within halfe an houre after he was a ship-board, there came downe to the sandes three hundred shot of the Spaniards in the sight of his ships, of purpose to seeke him, but he cared little for them being out of their reach, and so departed with his treasure.

The voyage of John Oxnam of Plimmouth, to the West India, and over the straight of Dariene into the South sea. Anno 1575. Written by the foresaid Lopez Vaz in the said discourse.

There was another Englishman, who hearing of the spoyle that Francis Drake had done vpon the coast of Nueva Espanna, and of his good aduenture and safe returne home, was thereby prouoked to vndertake the like enterprize, with a ship of 140 tunnes, and 70 men, and came thither, and had also conference with the foresaide Negros: and hearing that the golde and siluer which came vpon the Pules from Panama to Nombre de Dios, was now conducted wth souldiers, he determined to do that which neuer any man before enterprised: and landed in that place where Francis Drake before had had his conference with the Negros. This man couered his ship after he had brought her aground with boughes of trees, and hid his great Ordnance in the ground, and so not leaving any man in his ship, he tooke two small pieces of ordnance, and his calliwers, and good store of victuals, and so went with the Negros about twelue leagues into the maine land, to a riuer that goeth to the South sea, and there he cut wood and made a Pinnelle, which was fixe and fortie foote by the keele, and hauing made this Pinnelle, he went into the South sea, carrying sixe Negros with him to be his guides, and so went to the Island of Pearles, which is fixe & twentie leagues from Panama, which is in the way that they come from Peru to Panama, and there he was ten dayes without shewing himselfe to any man, to see if he might get any ship that came from Peru: At last, there came a small Barke by, which came from Peru from a place called Quiro, which he tooke and found in her sixtie thousand pezos of golde, and much victuals. But not contenting himselfe with this prize, hee staped long without sending away his prize or any of the men, and in the ende of fixe dayes after, hee tooke another Barke which came from Lima, in which he tooke an hundred thousand pezos of siluer in barres, with the which hee thought to haue

The Island of
pearles 25
leagues from
Panama.

hate gone, & entered the river, but first he went into the Islands to see if he could find any pearles: where he found a few, and so returned to his pinnelle againe, & so sailing to the river from whence he came, and comming neere to the mouth of the sayd river, hee sent away the two prizes that hee tooke, and with his pinnelle he went up the river. The Negros that dwelt in the Island of pearles, the same night that he went from them, went in Canoas to Panama, and the Gouvernour within two dayes sent foure barkes with 100 men, 25 men in every one, and Negros to rowe with the captaine John de Ortega, which went to the Island of pearles, and there had intelligence, which way the English men were gone, and following them he met by the way the ships which the English men had taken, of whom he learned, that the English men were gone up the river, and he going thither, when he came to the mouth of the river, the captaine of Panama knew not which way to take, because there were three partitions in the river to goe up in, and being determined to goe up the greatest of the three rivers, he saw comming downe a lesser river many feathers of hennes, which the Englishmen had pulled to eate, and being glad thereof, hee went by that river where hee saw the feathers, and after that he had bene in that river foure daies, he descried the Englishmens pinnelle upon the sands, and comming to her, there were no more then five Englishmen, whereof they killed one, and the other five escaped away, and in the pinnelle he found nothing but victuals: but this captaine of Panama not herewith satisfied, determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leaving twenty men in his pinnelles, hee with 80 shot went up the countrey: hee had not gone halfe a league, but hee found a house made of boughs, where they found all the Englishmens goods, and the gold and silver also, and carrying it backe to their pinnelles, the Spaniards were determined to goe away, without following the English men any further.

But at the end of three dayes, the English captaine came to the river with all his men, and about 200 Negros, and set upon the Spaniards with great fury: But the Spaniards having the advantage of trees which they stood behind, did easily prevaille, and killed eleven Englishmen, and five Negros, and tooke other seven Englishmen alive, but of the Spaniards, two were slaine and five sore hurt.

Among other things, the Spaniards enquired of the Englishmen which they tooke, why they went not away in fiftene dayes liberty which they had. They answered, that their Captaine had commanded them to carie all that golde and silver which they had, to the place where they had left their shippe, and they had promised him to carie it, although they made three or foure journeys of it, for hee promised to give them part of it besides their wages, but the mariners would have it by and by, and so their Captaine being angry because they would not take his word, fell out with them, and they with him, in so much that one of the company would have killed the Captaine, so that the Captaine would not have them to carie the treasure, but sayd hee would seeke Negros to carie it, and so he went and sought for Negros, and bringing those Negros to carie it, hee met with the five English men that hee had left in his pinnelle which ranne from the Spaniards, and the rest also which ran from the house, and they told him what the Spaniards had done, and then making friendship with all his men, hee promised them halfe of all the treasure if they got it from the Spaniards, and the Negros promised to helpe him with their bowes and arrowes, and thereupon they came to seeke the Spaniards, and now that some of his company were killed and taken, hee thought it best to returne to his ship, and to passe backe for England. The Spanish captaine hearing this, having buried the dead bodie, and having gotten all things into his barkes, and taking the English men and their pinnelle with him, he returned to Panama: so the voyage of that English man did not prosper with him, as hee thought it would have done.

Nowe when the foure barkes were come to Panama, they sent aduise also to Nombre de dios, and they of Nombre de dios sent also from them other foure barkes which (as the Spaniards say) found the English ship where she was hid, and brought her to Nombre de dios: and that the Viceroy of Peru not thinking it good to suffer fiftie English men to remaine in the countrey, sent a servant of his called Diego de Frees, with a hundred and fifty shot into the mountaines to seeke them out, who found them making of certaine Canoas to goe into the North sea, and there to take some barke or other: some of them were sicke, and were taken, and the rest fled with the Negros, who in the end betrayed them to the Spaniards, so that they were brought to Panama. And the Justice of Panama asked the English captaine whether hee had the Queenes licence, or the licence of any other Prince or Lord for his attempt. And he answered he had none, whereupon hee and all his company were condemned to dye, and so were all executed, saving the Captaine, the Master, the Pilot, and five boyes which were caried to Lima, and there the Captaine was executed with the other two, but the boyes be yet living.

The English
betrayed to the
Spaniards.

The death of
John Oxnam.

The

The King of Spaine hauing intelligence of these matters, sent 300 men of warre against those Negros which had assisted those English men, which before were slaues vnto the Spaniards, and as before is sayd, fled from their masters vnto those mountaines, and so ioynded themselves to the Englishmen, to the ende they might the better reuenge themselves on the Spaniards.

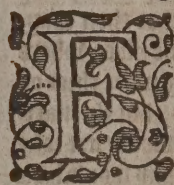
At the first comming of these 300 souldiers, they tooke many of the Negros, and executed great iustice vpon them: But after a season, the Negros grew wise and wary, and prevented the Spaniards, so that none of them could be taken.

The Spaniards of that countrey maruelled much at this one thing, to see that since the conquering of this land, there haue bene many Frenchmen, that haue come to those Countreys, but neuer saw English men there but onely those two of whom I haue spoken. And although there haue many Frenchmen bene on the coast, yet neuer durst they put foote vpon land, only those two English men aduentured it, and did such exploits, as are before remembred.

The English
mens coming
to the Indies,
caused the king
of Spaine to
build gallies
to keepe the
Seas.

All these things comming to the hearing of the king of Spaine, he prouided two Gallies well appointed to keepe those coastes: and the first yeere they tooke sixe or seuen French ships. And after that this was knowen, there were no more Englishmen or Frenchmen of warre that durst aduenture to approach the coast, vntill this present yeere 1586, that the aforesayd Francis Drake, with a strong fleet of 24 ships arrived there, and made spoile of Santo Domingo, Carthagena, and S. Augustine, things that are knowen to all the worlde. But it is likely that if the King of Spaine liue, he will in time prouide sufficient remedy, to keepe his countreys and subiects from the inuasion of other nations.

The voyage of Master *Andrew Barker* of *Bristol*, with two ships, the one called the *Ragged staffe*, the other the *Beare*, to the coast of *Terra firma*, and the Bay of *Honduras* in the West Indies, in the yeere 1576. Wherein the reasons are premised which mooued him to set forth this voyage against the Spaniards: collected out of certaine notes and examinations touching this enterprise by *M. Richard Hakluyt*.



First of all *Andrew Barker* hauing abode in one of the Canary Islands called *Tenerif* for a certaine time, and returning home left behind him *Charles Chester* (the sonne of *Dominic Chester* merchant of *Bristol*) to learn the language. Now the sayd *Andrew Barker* fort. with vpon his arriual in England, in November, 1574, freighted a small ship (named the *Speedwell* of *Bristol*) to goe for the Canaries with cloth and other merchandise of a great value. He sent also one *John Druce* of *Bastable* as his factor to make sale and dispose of the said goods, who when he arrived at *Tenerif*, landed the merchandize, and sent home the barke with some small quantity of wine, making account to sell the sayd wares to greater advantage in prouiding wines and sugar for the lading of another ship, which *Andrew Barker* had appointed to send thither. Also according to this his purpose y^e said *Andrew* in March following sent a ship called the *Christopher* of *Dartmouth*, captaine wherof was one *Henry Roberts* of *Bristol*: who when he had landed in *Tenerif*, & was in good hope to find the lading of his ship in a readines, contrary to his expectation, was suddenly cast into prison: the Spaniards alleaging that *Andrew Barker* was accused to the inquisition by *Charles Chester*, whereupon his goods were confiscat, his factor *John Druce* was attached, and he also (the said captaine *Roberts*) being as they supposed *Barkers* partner, was in like sort to be imprisoned. In fine all the foresaid commodities appertaining to the said *Andrew* and his brother *M. John Barker* and others to the value of 1700 pound and upwards (as it doth appeare by proofes of record in the Admiralty) were viterly lost, being confiscat to the said inquisition. Howbeit captaine *Roberts* by the meanes of a frier was deliuered out of prison (which cost him all the merchandize he brought with him in his ship) and so returned with dead freight to the summe of 200 pound that afterwards *Andrew Barker* discharged. In recompense of which iniurie (for that no suite preuaileth against the inquisition of Spaine) & also to recouer his losse of the Spaniards themselves, at his owne charge with the help of his friends hee furnished two barkes for the West Indies, the greater of which barkes was called the *Ragged staffe*, himselfe being captaine, & *Philip Roche* Master thereof, the other named the *Beare* had one *William Cox* of *Limehouse* for her Master and captaine. And thus all our company being imbarked at *Plimouth* on *Whitsunday* in the beginning of June, we set forward, & in our course we met with a ship of *London*, & afterwards with another ship, but tooke nothing fro either of them. Our first arriual was at one of the Islands of *Cape Verde*, named *Del sal*, by the Isle of salt, where we tooke certain fishes called *Tortois*: and there we remained one night and halfe the day following. And from thence wee came to the

Isle of Maio, being distant from Isla del Sal, 14 or 15 leagues, where we tooke in fresh water and traffiqued with certaine Portugals inhabiting in that place, of whom we had some victuals for knives and beades: and there we remained one day and one night: but our trumpetter was treacherously slaine by those Portugals, in reuenge of which murder we set on fire two of their small villages. From this Island wee shaped our course ouer the maine Ocean toward the West Indies, and arriued happily at the Island of Trinidad, and had conference with certaine Indians inhabitants thereof, who gaue vs very friendly and courteous entertainment: and here we set by a pinnesse which we caried forth in the Ragged staffe, and traffiqued with the foresayd Indians for victuals. And after we had spent five dayes in this place we departed, and arriued next at the Isle of Margarita, where we tooke a small Spanish ship hauing in her certaine pitch and 30 tuns of Canarie wines whereof we reserued 4 or 5 tunnes to our selues, dismissing them without any further damage. Thence (hauing remained there a day) wee set saile to the Island of Curacao, where we remained a day & a night, & tooke in fresh water, at what time by the inhabitants of that Island (being few of them Spaniards, & the most part Indians) 14 of our men were treacherously hurt, but none slaine. And from thence we departed for the maine land Southwards, to a certain bay, and there we abode 3 daies, but nothing of any reckoning was there atchieued. From thence we arriued at Cape de la Vela, where grewe a contention betweene our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, and his Master Philip Roche, vpon comparisons made betweene them concerning the knowledge of Nauigation, and about other quarels, which quarels afterward were an occasion of further mischiefe. Hence we sailed to the bay of Tulu (which is about 18 leagues Southwestward from Carthagen) where wee tooke a frigate and certaine treasure therein to the value of 500 pound, namely barres of gold, and lingots of siluer, and some quantity of corriento or coyne in rials of plate, and certaine greene stones called Emeraunds, whereof one very great, being set in gold, was found tied secretly about the thigh of a frier. Here hauing stayed three dayes, and now being pursued by Spanish men of warre, wee departed with the sayd treasure, and left the frigate behind vs, all which treasure at that instant was committed to the keeping of our captaine Andrew Barker. From thence we passed to Nombre de dios, and so forth to the mouth of the riuer of Chagre 18 leagues distant from Nombre de dios towards the Northwest. There wee landed 10 of our men, who trauelled by into the woods three or foure daies to seeke the Simerons, (which are certaine valiant Negros fled from their cruel masters the Spaniards, and are become mortall enemies, ready to ioyne with the English and French against them) but in their search they could find none of them. And though our men returned all free from peril of the enemy, yet the most part of the sayd ten persons presently fell sicke, and diuers other of our company: so that within 14 dayes 8 or 9 of our men died of a disease called there the Calentura, which is a hote and vehement feuer. And passing betweene Chagre and Veragua, we tooke a frigate, and some quantity of golde wee found therein. In this frigate were 23 Spaniards whom wee set on shore, and two Flemings, them wee brought into England with vs: wee had therein also foure cast pieces of Ordnance, 3 harquebuzes on crocke, 16 Spanish calliues, and a booke of Nauigation: and in this frigate some of our company came homeward into England. Thus passing forward in our course, we came to Veragua, where captaine Barker, & Philip Roche his Master, fought vpon the foresayd quarel, in which combat the captaine was hurt a little in the checke. Here we sanke our Admirall the Ragged staffe, because of her great leakage, and imbarked part of our company in the Spanish frigate, which immediately before we had surprised. From hence (by the direction of certain Indians) we sailed into the gulf of the Honduras: there we tooke a barke wherein were rials of plate, to the value of 100 pound, Maiz or Indian wheat, hennes, beefe and other small things. In this barke also were certaine Spaniards, whereof one was the Scriuano or secretary of Carthagen, who (being a man of some note) was put to his ranfome, which was payd in gold: the rest were dismissed freely. And after passing by diuers Islands, we arriued at an Island called S. Francisco, being in the mouth of the great bay, called the Honduras. And within two dayes next after our arriuall there, William Coxe and diuers others (which for certaine causes shalbe namelesse) came aboard the ship wherein the captaine then was, and disposed him as well of the sayd ship, as of the treasure in the same, and forthwith put our captaine with violence on shore, where he and one Germane Weiborne fought together, and were both wounded. After this our captaine desirous to come on board, was resisted by the persons aforesayd, who answered him that he should not come on board till they were ready to depart. Our men had appointed ten persons of their company for the keeping of this Island of S. Francisco: but about break of the day, on a certaine morning, firtie Spaniards arriuing secretly in the Island, surprised our people on the sudden, what time there were thirtie of our men on shore: in which surprise, they

The Isle of Maio.

Two villages burnt.

The Isle of Trinidad.

The Isle of Margarita.

The Isle of Curacao.

Cape de la Vela.

Tulu.

Nombre de dios.

Simerons rebels to the Spaniards.

Veragua.

The bay of Honduras.

The Isle of S. Francisco.

A conspiracie against the Captaine.

Mr. Andrew Barker and 8 other
slaine by the
Spaniards.

The towne of
Truxillo sacked
by the English

The death of
Philip Roche
master of the
Ragged staffe.
Their arrival
in the Isle of
Sillie.
Certaine Ordi-
nance of Iohn
Oxnam recover-
ed from the
Spaniards.

they slew our captaine, Mr. Andrew Barker with eight others, namely, one Wilde of Bristol, and Michael our Chirurgian, Richard of Bristol, Thomas Sampool, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Nightingale, Robert Jackson, Walter Newton; and the captaines boy and one other were hurt. Now after that William Coxe, and the rest (which were aboard the barke) perceived that the captaine, & some others were slain, he receiued them that were liuing into the ship, hauing before that time refused some of them. After this misfortune they went to an Island distant from thence a league, where Coxe deuised a chaine of gold (which was found in the captaines chest after his death) amongst the company. After this Coxe went in a pinelle (which wee tooke at the Isle of Sant Francisco) with certaine others of our men in a skiffe, to the towne of Truxillio, in the bay of Honduras, which towne they surprised, and had therein wine and oyle as much as they would, and diuers other good things, but no gold nor silver, nor any other treasure which they would confesse. But before they could returne to their company, those that were in the barke were had in chase by men of warre, whereby they were enforced euery man to shifte for himselfe: so for haste they left those that were in the skiffe (being 8 persons) in the bay of Honduras: what became of them afterward God knoweth. Whereupon we determined to saile for England, and being in the maine sea homeward bound, about 60 leagues from the Isle of S. Francisco, the Frigate wherein was the treasure for the aduenturers, and that which pertained to the captaine to the value of 2000 pound, being ouerset with sayle, with a flaw of wind was ouerthrowen, and all the goods therein perished: therein also were 14 persons drowned, and nine saued, whereof William Coxe and William Gillam were two. After this Philip Roche, Master of the Admirall called the Ragged staffe, died. And thus at length, (by the helpe of God) we arrived in the Isle of Silly neere Cornwall where we left our Frigate which we built new vpon the shoze of the Honduras, hauing in her at our landing ten bottles of oyle, and the foure cast peeces that were in Iohn Oxnam's Frigate (which the yee before was taken in the streit of Dariene) three harquebuzes on crocke, certaine calliues, and certaine treasure: Where William Cox and Andrew Browne deuised the treasure amongst their company, deliuering to some five pound, to some sixe pound, to some seuen pound, to some more, as euery man was thought to haue deserued. The barke and the rest of the Ordinance was left in the Island, to the vse of Andrew Browne. Diuers of our company, vpon our arriual at Plimmouth were committed to prison at the suite of Mr. Iohn Barker of Bristol, brother vnto our captaine Mr. Andrew Barker, as accessaries to our captains death, and betrayers of him vnto the enemy. And after straight examination of many of vs, by letters of direction from her Maiesties priuie Counsell, the chiefe malefactorz were onely chastised with long imprisonment, where indeede before God they had deserued to die: whereof some, although they escaped the rigor of mans law, yet could they not auoide the heauy iudgement of God, but shortly after came to miserable ends. Which may be example to others to shew themselves faithfull and obedient in all honest causes to their captaines and gouernours.

Parefcer de Don Aluaro Baqan, marques de Santa Cruz, tocante la Armada de Francisco Draque, estando en las yslas de Vayona: Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Octubre, estilo de España de 1585.

LO que parefcer, que podra hazer el Armada Inglesse, en caso que quiere passar a las Indias, y entrar en el mar del Sur, (como lo ha hecho otra vez Francisco Draque) con las treynta y dos naues y galeones, y muchas lanchas y vergantines deremo que trae, y cinco mil hombres de guerra, que es el numero que a los de Vayona parefció que venian en el armada, es lo siguiente.

Leuera su derotta al Rio de Ienero, que es en la costa del Brasil en 23 grados de la parte del Sur de la Linea. Es puerto capaz de muchos nauios y muy seguro, adonde se tiene agua, lena, y carne: y tambien podra tomar harina de Maiz en vn lugar dos o tres leguas del dicho puerto, que se dize San Vincente. Y por ser camino per las yslas de la Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde, podra saquear estas yslas, dandole el tiempo lugar a ello.

Desde Vaiona a la ysla de Madera con los vientos Nortes, que aora correran (passados los vientos de Vallee, que aora reynan, por estar la costa de España llouida) yra la Armada en seis dias; de alli a las Canarias en quatro, y de las Canarias a Cabo verde en ocho, que son per todos diez y ocho dias: y tardera mas lo que se tuuiere en saquear las yslas.

De Cabo Verde al rio de Ienero tardera quarenta dias, que vernan a ser todos dos meses: por manera, que estando el Armada todo este mes en Galicia, podra ser en el rio de Ienero en fin de Deziembre.

San Vincente,
Islas de Madera
Canaria, y Cabo
Verde.

Rio de Ienero.

A la

A la entrada de la baia del Rio de Ienero ay vna baxa, adonde con facilidad se hara vn fuerte, en que pueden estar mas que quinientos hombres: y ponendole su artilleria, guardera el puerto, y el fuerte quedara assalado, que por la vna parte del sudueste y nordeste tiene los dos canales, por donde entran los nauios en el puerto: En el qual podra Francisco Draque concertar su Armada, y dexar alli alguna gente, y partir con la que le pareciere, para entrar en el Mar del Sur, y yr en seguimiento de su viaje al Estrecho de Magallanes (que es quinientas y cinquenta leguas de aquel puerto, y esta en cinquenta y dos grados y medio de parte del Sur) y entrar por el Estrecho a la Mar del Sur por todo el mes de Febrero; y yr a la ciudad de los Reys o Lima, que esta en la costa, y es de dos mil vezinos: y por no ser gente de guerra, ni puesta en milicia, y lugar abierto sin fortaleza, ni artilleria, le podra tomar y saquear, y yr se apoderando de la tierra; pues tomando los nauios, que ay en aquella mar, no les podra entrar socorro de Espanna.

Lugar por hazer vn fuerte,

Estrecho de Magallanes.

Mar del Sur,

Lima es ciudad de dos mil vezinos, pero facil a tomar.

Y es de creer que se preuerra a tomar a Panama.

Panama.

No queriendo hazer este viaje, repartira su armada en dos vandas, y saqueare la ysla de San Domingo, Puerto Rico, y la costa de Tierra firma, hasta Cartagena y Nombre de Dios. Y desde el rio de Chagre, que es xv. leguas de Nombre de Dios, podra meter la Infanteria en lanchas de remo, y en las varcas de carga y descarga en a quel rio, que son mas de cinquenta, y llegar hasta la Venta de Cruces, que es cinco leguas de Panama, que, por ser lugar abierto, sera facil a saquear.

La segunda viaje.

San Domingo.

Cartagena.

Rio de Chagre.

Panama lugar abierto y facil a saquear.

La Hauana.

Y tambien corre peligro la Hauana; que aunque tiene fortaleza, es chica y flaca, y sacando artilleria en tierra, la tomara con facilidad.

Y de mas de los dannos que podran hazer, conforme a este discurso, no sera el menor, cortar el hilo a la nauigacion de las Indias, a tomar las flotas, si alli fueren.

Tomar las flotas.

Lo que Conuernia hazer para reparar estos dannos.

Despachar carauelas con grandissima diligencia a los virreys y gouernadores de las Indias, auertiendo les de la Nueva de la Armada Inglesca, para que esten preuenidos, y se pogan en orden. Aunque, segun el numero de las Naues que han salido de Inglatierra, tengo por sin duda, hauran pasado de aquellas partes algunabanda dellas, hasta Tierra nueva. Porque la Reyna a tenido cuidado de embiar y tomar las naos de la Pesqueria del Baccalao: Y assi es de creer sin duda lo de las Indias.

Y teniendo se consideracion a que, por lo que se intiende de Inglatierra, han salido mas de ochenta nauios con los de Armada: Conuernia que su Magestad mandasse iuntar otra para buscar la Inglesca, y combatir con ella, ordinando que los galeones que tiene la corona deste Reino, y los que tiene su Magestad en el Rio de Seuilla se aderescan de yr opposito, dandoles carena, para che estubiesen a punto a qualquier viaje, por largo que fuesse: y que assi mismo se embarce vn galeon del Duque de Florencia, que esta muy bien armado y artillado, y a partido de Alicante para Cadiz, y cumplimiento hasta quarenta naos gruesas, que se hallaran en Viscaia y Guiposcoa: y que adereçadas, artilladas, y puestas en orden, como conuiene, se auitualen por ocho meses, y que desde luego se leuanten hasta mil marineros de Catalunna y Genoa para departir en las naues, y se trayen, como se hizo para la armada de la Terçera: y que assi mismo se leuanten seys mil soldados, dando condutas para mas gente, que esta, para que aya este numero de seruicio.

Quarenta naos gruesas.

Tambien conuernia, que de Viscaia venga para esta Armada 20 patazes, y veynte Azabras de Castro. Que las patazes sean de 50 hasta 60 toneladas: y las Azabras, como las que vinieran a la Iornada de la Terçera.

Que se poruea el artilleria, poluere, y cuerda, y plomo necessario, arcabuzes, mosquetas, y picas de respito para la guardia de la costa.

Conuerne hazer otra armada de dos naos cada 400 toneladas, y otras quatro de a dozientas, y quatro patazes, y mil soldados, de mas de la gente de mar.

Auiendo visto y considerado, que en dos meses han hecho tantos dannos los Ingleses con los nauios de mercantes que nauegan por estos mares, y que es de creer que haran lo mismo en las flotas que fueren y vinieren de las Indias, conuernia, que, como para la ordenança en tiempo de paz, lleua la armada las naos Capitana y Almirante, que lleuassen aora otras dos mas por lo menos en cada flota: y no por esto se ha de dexar de asegurar las con Armada.

Todas estas preuenciones, me parece, se deuen hazer, para solo lo que toca la Armada Inglesca, y otros nauios que han salido de aquel Reyno.

Pero

Pero en caso que Don Antonio Veniese con la Armada, y quise intentarlo de este Reyno, seran menester las preuenciones siguientes.

Que se apercibiesen el conde de Benaute, Marques de Soria, conde de Altamira, conde de Monte Rey, Marques de Cerraluo, y los de mas Sennores y Caualleros, a quien se dio orden que estubiesen a punto, quando se vino a este Reyno.

Que se exercibiese tam bien la gente de las Ciudades de Toro, Zamora, Salamanca, cuidar para socorrer a la parte dentro Doro y Minno. Y las de Estremadura y Seuilla para socorrer esta Ciudad de Lisbona, y su Comarca.

Que se auitallen los castillos desta ciudad, ribera, y comarca, y prouean de polucre, cuerda, y plomo, y lo demas tocante el artilleria, como lo he pedido en las relaciones, que he embiado a su Magestad en 7 de março deste anno 1585. Que se prouean las galeras por quatro meses: y vengan otras seys de Espanna a este Rio con 120 soldados por galera, para que los pueden repartir, en las ocho que estan aca. Y en caso que esto se ay, que la armada Inglesa no passe a las Indias, y se ocupen en lo deste Reyno, porque haure nauios de Ingleses, que acuden a lo vno y a lo otro, sera forçoso hazer otra armada para lo de las Indias, de doze naos, quatro patajes, y mil y quinientos soldados.

Todo esto, me parece, conuiene al seruicio de su Maiestad, se preuenga y apercibiese con mucha diligencia y cuidado, prouiendo del dinero necessario para ello, sin que se aguarde lo vno a lo otro, sino que todo se haga sin desferirlo: Remitiendo me en todo a mejor pareçer. Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Octubre de 1585. Annos.

The opinion of Don Aluaro Baçan, Marques of Santa Cruz, and high Admirall of Spaine, touching the armie of sir Francis Drake lying at the Isles of Bayona in Galicia, written in Lisbon the 26 of October after the account of Spaine in the yere 1585.

That which it seemeth unto me, that the English army may doe, if they seeke to passe into the West Indies, and enter into the South sea (as Francis Drake hath done once before) with their thirty ships and galeons, and many pinnettes and thalops with oares, which they haue with them, and 5000 men of warre, which they of Bayona thinke to be in the flete, is as followeth.

They may take their course to the riuer of Ienero, which is on the coast of Brasil in 23 degrees to the South of the Equinoctial line. It is an hauien capable of many ships and very safe, where there is water, wood and flesh: and likewise Drake may haue coyne of Maiz in a towne two or three leagues from the sayd hauien, which is called S. Vincente.

And because the course is by the Isles of Madera, the Canaries, and Cape verde, he may sacke those Islands, the time seruing him for that purpose.

From Bayona to the Isle of Madera, with the Northerne winds which now wil begin to blow, when the Westerne winds be past, which presently doe blowe because that it beginneth to raine on the coast of Spaine, the flete may run in 6 daies, and from thence to the Canaries in foure, and from the Canaries to the Isles of Cape Verde in eight, which all together make eightene dayes: and he may stay as much time more as shall serue him to sacke the Islands in.

He may saile from Cape Verde to the riuer of Ienero in 40 dayes, which in the whole amount unto two moneths. So that the flete remaining all this moneth of October on the coast of Galicia, it may come to the riuer of Ienero in the end of December.

At the entry of the bay of the riuer of Ienero there is a flat low Island where a fort may very easily be made, wherein about 500 men may be left: and placing his artillerie therein, he may keepe the hauien, & the fort wil be able to hold out all assault, because that on the South west and North east sides are two chanelis whereby the ships come into the hauien: wherein Francis Drake may repaire his army, and leaue there some people, and depart with so much of the rest as shal seeme good unto him to enter into the South sea, & go on vpon his voyage to the streight of Magelan, which is 550 leagues from the fore said hauien, and standeth in 52 degrees & a halfe toward the South, and may enter by the streight into the South sea all the moneth of February, & so may goe to the citie of Lima, otherwise called the citie de los Reys, which standeth on the sea coast hauing two thousand inhabitants in it. But in respect that they be no warlike people nor exercised in armes, and because the place is open and without fortresse & artillerie, he may take and sacke it, and make himself master on the land, & afterward taking those ships which are in that sea, our people can haue no succour of ships out of Spaine, but by the streight of Magelan, which is a long way about.

It is also very credible that he will be able to take Panama.

If he seeke not to take this course he may deuide his army into two parts, & sacke the Isle of S. Domingo, Puerto Rico, the coast of Tierra firma vnto Cartagena and Nombre de Dios.

And

The damage which may be done by passing by the riuer of Ienero into the South sea.

Madera.

Canaries.
The Isles of
Cape Verde.

The riuer of
Ienero.

A fort may be
built on an
Island in the
mouth of the
riuer of Ienero.

The streight of
Magelan.

The citie of Li-
ma can be
taken, though
it haue 2000
inhabitants.
The ships in
the South sea
may be burnt.
Panama may be
taken.
The second
course which
take the Drake
books.

And from the riuer of Chagre, which is fiftene leagues from Nombre de Dios, he may send his footemen in shalops with oares and in the vessels which carrie goods vp and downe the riuer, whereof there are aboute fittie there, and passe by to the lodging of the Crofles, called in Spanish Venta de Cruzes, which is fve leagues from Panama, which because it is an vnwalled towne may easily be taken.

Panama being an open place is easie to be taken. Havana easie to be taken.

And Hauana also will bee in great danger, which albeit it haue a fortreffe, yet it is but little and weake, and bying his great ordnance on shor he may take the same with great facilitie.

And besides these domages which he may do, according to this discourse, it will not be the least to cut off the nauigation of the Indies, to take the West Indian fleet, if they chance to be there.

The Indian fleet may be taken.

What course is to be taken to preuent these mischiefes.

To dispatch Carauels with all possible diligence to the viceroyes and gouernours of the Indias, aduertising them of the newes of the English army, that they may be provided, and make themselves ready for them. Albeit, considering the number of ships which haue bene set forth out of England, I assure my selfe, that some part of them are gone out of those parts vnto Newfoundland. For the Queene hath taken carefull order to send to intercept the ships of the fishermen that goe to Baecalaos. And it is like wise to be thought that shee hath done the like for the intercepting of the fleet of the Indies.

Sir Barnard Drake took 170 sailes of the Spanish and Portugall shippers returning from Newfoundland, 1585. His intelligence was too true, as since I found in the office of the Admiralty.

And considering that according to our intelligence out of England, aboute fourescore shippes, and the army of Drake haue bene set forth from thence, it is meete that his maiestie should prepare another army to seeke the English fleet, and to fight with it, commanding that the Galeons which belong to the crowne of Portugall, and those of his maiestie which lye in the riuer of Siuill be prepared to send against them, and to giue them the Carena, that they may bee in a readinesse for any voyage howe long soeuer it bee: And like wise to arrest a Galeon of the Duke of Florence, which is very well armed and furnished with great ordnance, and passed lately from Alicante toward Cadiz, and to make by the number of fortie great shippes, which are to be had in Biscay and Guipuscoa: and that being rigged, armed and set in good order, they bee victualled for eight moneths, and that forthwith there bee leuied a thousand mariners of Catalunna and Genoa to bee diuided among the Fleet, and bee conducted, as they were for the Fleet of Terçera: furthermore that sixe thousande souldiers bee leuied, giuing commaundement to presse a greater number, to the ende that these may bee able men for seruice.

Fortie great ships to be provided.

1583. Terçera was won by the Marques of Santa Cruz.

Moreouer it is needfull for this armie that 20 pataches be brought from Biscay, and 20. Azabras from Castro. That the pataches bee from 50. to 60. tunnes: and that the Azabras bee like those which were in the expedition to Terçera.

That sufficient provision be made of artillerie, powder, match, and lead, and harquebuzes, muskets, and chosen pikers for the keeping of the coast.

It is also meete to provide another army of two ships of 400. tunnes apiece, and other foure of 200. tunnes, and foure pataches and a thousand souldiers, besides mariners.

Another army of ten sailes.

Having seene and considered that the Englishmen with their marchants ships onely that trauele these seas haue made such haucke in two moneths, and that it is to bee thought that they will doe the like against the fleetes which goe and come from the Indies: it is expedient, that as by order in time of peace the fleet hath an Admirall and Viceadmirall, that now it should haue two more at the least in eche Fleet: and neuertheless they are to bee wasted home with an armie.

The Indian fleet to be strengthened with 4. ships of warre.

In mine opinion all these provisions ought to bee made onely in regard of the English army, and the rest of the ships which haue bene set out of that kingdome.

But in case that Don Antonio should come with an armie, and should seeke to inuade this kingdome, these provisions following would be needefull.

That warning be giuen to the Conde de Beneuena, to the Marques de Soria, to the Conde of Altamira, to the Conde of Monterey, to the Marquesse of Zerraluo, and to the rest of the Lordes and Knights, which are to haue order to bee in a readinesse, against hee come vnto this kingdome.

What provision is to be made if Don Antonio should come with an army.

That the people also be trained of the cities of Toro, Zamora, and Salamanca, to bee ready to succour the countrey betweene the riuers of Doro and Minno: and the people of Extremadura

and Siuilla are likewise to bee trained to be ready to succour the citie of Lisbon, and the countrey about the same.

Also that the castles of this citie, riuer and territorie be victualled and prouided of gunpowder, match and lead, and all things else belonging to the artillerie, as I haue requested in the relations which I sent vnto his maiestie the 7. of March of this present yeere 1585.

An armie of
14. gallies to
be prouided.

That the gallies be furnished for foure moneths: and that sixe more bee brought from Spaine to this riuer of Lisbon with an hundred and twentie souldiers for ech gallie, that they may be de- uided among the eight gallies which remaine here.

Another armie
of 12. great
ships, 4. para-
chies, and 1500
souldiers.

And in case it fall out that the armie of the English goe not for the Indies, but occupie them- selues vpon this kingdome, (for there may be English ships, which may attend the one ant the o- ther) we shal be enforced to make another armie, besides that for the Indies, of twelue ships, foure pataches, and a thousand five hundred souldiers.

In mine opiaion all this is meet for his maiesties seruice to be forescene to be made ready with great diligence and care, and to prouide money needfull for the same, without neglecting the one or the other, but that all these things be done without delay: Referring my selfe in all things to those of wiser iudgement. Written in Lisbon the 26 of October, 1585.

A summarie and true discourse of *sir Francis Drakes* West Indian voyage, begun in the yeere 1585. Wherein were taken the cities of *Saine Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena*, and the towne of *Saint Augustine* in *Florida*; Publi- shed by *M. Thomas Cates*.



His worthy knight for the seruice of his Prince and countrey hauing prepared his whole flecte, and gotten them downe to Plimmouth in Deuonshire, to the number of five and twenty saile of ships and pinnelles, and hauing assembled of souldiers and mariners, to the number of 2300. in the whole, embarked them and himselfe at Plimmouth aforesaid, the 12. day of September 1585. being ac- companied with these men of name and charge, which hereafter follow:

Master Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, a man of long experience in the warres as well by sea as land, who had formerly caried high offices in both kindes in many fights, which he dis- charged alwaies very happily, and with great good reputation.

Anthonie Powel Sergeant Maior.

Captaine Matthew Morgan, and Captaine Iohn Sampson, Corporals of the field.

These officers had commandement ouer the rest of the land-Captaines, whose names hereaf- ter follow.

Captaine Anthony Plat.
Captaine Edward Winter.
Captaine Iohn Goring.
Captaine Robert Pew.
Captaine George Barton.

Captaine Iohn Merchant.
Captaine William Cecill.
Captaine Walter Bigs.
Captaine Iohn Hannam.
Captaine Richard Stanton.

Captaine Martine Frobisher Viceadmirall, a man of great experience in sea-faring actions, who had caried the chiefe charge of many ships himselfe, in sundry voyages befoze, being now ship- ped in the *Primrose*.

Captaine Francis Knolles, Reereadmirall in the Galeon *Leicester*.

Master Thomas Vennor Captaine in the *Elizabeth Bonadventure* vnder the Generall.

Master Edward Winter Captaine in the *Aide*.

Master Christopher Carleil the Lieutenant general, Captaine of the *Tygar*.

Henry White Captaine of the *Sea Dragon*.

Thomas Drake Captaine of the *Thomas*.

Thomas Seelie Captaine of the *Minion*.

Bailly Captaine of the *Barke Talbot*.

Robert Crosse Captaine of the *Bark Bond*.

George Fortescue Captaine of the

Barke Bonner.

Edward Carelesse Captaine of the *Hope*.

Iames Erizo Captaine of the *White Lyon*.

Thomas Moone Captaine of the *Francis*.
Iohn Riuers Captaine of the *Vantage*.
Iohn Vaughan Captaine of the *Drake*.
Iohn Varney Captaine of the *George*.
Iohn Martin Captaine of the *Beniamin*.
Edward Gilman Captaine of the *Skout*.
Richard Hawkins Captaine of the *Galiot*
called the *Ducke*.
Birchfield Captaine of the *Swallow*.

After

After our going hence, which was the foureteenth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1585, and taking our course towards Spaine, wee had the winde for a fewedayes somewhat skant, and sometimes calme. And being arriued neere that part of Spaine, which is called the Moores, wee happened to espie diuers sailes, which kept their course close by the shore, the weather being faire and calme. The Generall caused the Viceadmirall to goe with the pinnelles well manned to see what they were, who vpon sight of the said pinnelles approaching neere vnto them, abandoned for the most part all their ships (being Frenchmen) laden all with salt, and bound homewards into France, amongst which ships (being all of small burthen) there was one so wel liked, which also had no man in her, as being brought vnto the generall, he thought good to make stay of her for the seruice, meaning to pay for her, as also accordingly he performed at our returne: which barke was called the Drake. The rest of these ships (being eight or nine) were dismissed without any any thing at all taken from them. Who being afterwarde put somewhat farther off from the shore, by the contrariety of the wind, we happened to meet with some other French ships, full laden with Newland fish, being vpon their returne homeward from the said Newfoundland: whom the Generall after some speech had with them (and seeing plainly that they were Frenchmen) dismissed, without once suffering any man to go aboard of them.

The day following standing in with the shore againe, we discied another tall ship of twelue score runnes or thereabouts, vpon whom Master Carleil the Lieutenant generall being in the Tygar, vnderooke the chase, whom also anon after the Admirall followed, and the Tygar hauing caused the said strange ship to strike her sailes, kept her there without suffering any body to go aboard vntill the Admirall was come by: who forthwith sending for the Master, and diuers others of their principall men, and causing them to be seuerally examined, found the ship and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of S. Sebastian in Spaine, but the mariners to bee for the most part belonging to S. Iohn de Luz, and the Passage. In this ship was a great store of dry Newland fish, commonly called with vs Poore Iohn, wherof afterwarde (being thus found a lawfull prize) there was distribution made into all the ships of the fleet, the same being so new and good, as it did very greatly bestead vs in the whole course of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ship, we put in within the Isles of Bayon, for lacke of fauourable wind: where wee had no sooner ankered some part of the fleet, but the Generall commanded all the pinnelles with the shipboats to be manned, and euery man to be furnished with such armes as were needful for that present seruice; which being done, the Generall put himselfe into his gallie, which was also well furnished, and rowing towards the city of Bayon, with intent, and the fauour of the Almighty to surprize it, before we had advanced one halfe league of our way, there came a messenger being an English merchant from the Gouvernour, to see what strange fleet we were, who came to our General, conferred a while with him, and after a small time spent, our Generall called for Captaine Sampson, and willed him to go to the Gouvernour of the citie, to resolue him of two points. The first, to know if there were any warres betweene Spaine and England. The second, why our marchants with their goods were embarged or arrested. Thus departed captaine Sampson with the said messenger to the citie, where he found the gouernour & people much amazed of such a sudden accident.

The Isles of Bayona.

The Generall with the aduise and counsell of M. Carleil his Lieutenant generall, who was in the galley with him, thought not good to make any stand, till such time as they were within the shot of the citie, where they might bee ready vpon the returne of Captaine Sampson, to make a sudden attempt if cause did require before it were darke.

Captaine Sampson returned with his message in this sort, First, touching peace or warres the Gouvernour said he knew of no warres, and that it lay not in him to make any, hee being so meane a subject as he was. And as for the stay of the marchants with their goods, it was the kings pleasure, but not with intent to endamage any man. And that the kings counter-commandement was (which had bene receiued in that place some seuen night before) that English marchants with their goods should be discharged: for the moze verifing wherof, he sent such merchants as were in the towne of our nation, who traffiqued those parts: which being at large declared to our General by them, counsell was taken what might best be done. And for that the night approached, it was thought needful to land our forces, which was done in the shutting vp of the day, & hauing quartered our selues to our most aduantage, with sufficient gard vpon euery strait, we thought to rest our selues for that night there. The Gouvernour sent vs some refreshing, as bread, wine, oyle, apples, grapes, marmalad and such like. About midnight the weather beganne to altercast, insomuch that it was thought meeter to repaire aboard, then to make any longer abode on land, and before wee could recouer the Fleet, a great tempest arofe, which caused many of our shippes to driue from their anker-hold, and some were forced to sea in great perill, as the barke Talbot, the barke

Hawkins, and the Speedewell, which Speedewell was onely driuen into England, the others recovered vs againe: the extremitie of the storme lasted three dayes, which no sooner began to assuage, but M. Carleil our Lieutenant generall was sent with his owne shippe and three others: as also with the gallie and with diuers pinnesses, to see what he might doe aboute Vigo, where hee tooke many boates and some carauels, diuersly laden with things of small value, but chiefly with household stuffe, running into the high countrey, and amongst the rest, he found one boat laden with the principal church-stuffe of the high Church of Vigo, where also was their great crosse of silver, of very faire embossed worke, and double gilt all ouer, hauing cost them a great masse of money. They complained to haue lost in all kind of goods about thirty thousand duckets in this place.

The next day the Generall with his whole flecte went from by the Isles of Bayon, to a very good harbour aboute Vigo, where M. Carleil stayed his comming, as well for the more quiet riding of his ships, as also for the good commoditie of fresh watering, which the place there did afford full well. In the meane time the Gouvernour of Galicia had reared such forces as hee might, his numbers by estimate were some two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and marched from Bayon to this part of the countrey, which lay in sight of our flecte, where making a stand, he sent to parley with our Generall, which was granted by our Generall, so it might bee in boats vpon the water: and for safetie of their persons, there were pledges deliuered on both sides: which done, the Gouvernour of Galicia put himselfe with two others into our Viceadmirals skiffe, the same hauing bene sent to the shore for him, and in like sort our Generall went in his owne skiffe; where by them it was agreed, we should furnish our selues with fresh water, to be taken by our owne people quietly on the land, and haue all other such necessaries, paying for the same, as the place would afford.

When all our businesse was ended, wee departed, and tooke our way by the Islands of Canaria, which are esteemed some three hundred leagues from this part of Spaine, and sailing purposefully with Palma, with intention to haue taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many things into order, and the better furnishing our store with such seuerall good things as it affourderh very abundantly, we were forced by the vile Sea-gate, which at that present fell out, and by the naughtinesse of the landing place, being but one, and that vnder the fauour of many platformes well furnished with great ordinance, to depart with the receit of many their Canon-shot, some into our ships, and some besides, some of them being in very deepe full Canon high. But the only or chiefe mischiese was the dangerous sea-surge, which at shore all along plainly threatened the ouerthrow of as many pinnesses and boates, as for that time should haue attempted any landing at all.

Now seeing the expectation of this attempt frustrated by the causes aforesaid, we thought it meete to sail with the Isle Hierro, to see if we could find any better fortune: and comming to the Island, we landed a thousand men in a balley vnder a high mountaine, where we stayed some two or three houres, in which time the inhabitants, accompanied with a yong fellow bozne in England, who dwelt there with them, came vnto vs, shewing their state to be so poore, that they were all ready to starue, which was not but true: and therefore without any thing gotten, we were all commanded presently to imbarke, so as that night wee put off to sea Southsoutheast along towards the coast of Barbary.

Upon Saturday in the morning, being the 13. of December, we fell with Cape Blanke, which is a low land and shallow water, where we caught store of fish, and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certaine French ships of warre, whom wee entertained with great courtesie, and there left them. This afternoone the whole flect assembled, which was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of Cape Verde, sailing till the 16. of the same moneth in the morning, on which day we descried the Island of S. Iago, and in the evening we ankered the flect between the towne called the Playa or Praya, and S. Iago, where we put on shore 1000. men or more, vnder the leading of M. Christopher Carleil Lieutenant generall, who directed the seruice most like a wise commander. The place where we had first to march did afford no good order, for the ground was mountainous & full of dales, being a very stony and troublesome passage; but such was his industrious disposition, as he would neuer leaue, untill wee had gottē vp to a faire plain, where we made stand for the assembling of the army. And when we were all gathered together vpon the plaine, some 2 miles from the town, the lieutenant generall thought good not to make attēpt till daylight: because there was not one that could serue for guid or giuing knowledge at al of the place. And therfore after hauing wel rested, euen halfe an houre before day, he commanded the army to be diuided into 3 speciall parts, such as he appointed, whereas before we had marched by seuerall companies, being therunto forced by the badnesse of the way as is aforesaid.

Now

Now by the time wee were thus ranged into a very braue order, daylight began to appeare, and being aduanced hard to the wall, we saw noemie to resist, whereupon the Lieutenant generall appointed Captaine Sampson with thirtie shot, and Captaine Barton with other thirtie, to goe downe into the towne which stood in the valley vnder vs, and might very plainly bee viewed all ouer from that place where the whole Army was now arriued: and presently after these Captaines was sent the great ensigne, which had nothing in it but the plaine English crosse, to be placed towards the Sea, that our flect might see Saint Georges crosse flourish in the enemies fortresse. Order was giuen that all the ordnance throughout the towne and vpon all the platformes, which were about fiftie pieces all ready charged, should be shot off in honour of the Queenes Maiesties coronation day, being the seuenteenth of Nouember, after the peerely custome of England, which was so answered againe by the ordnance out of all the ships in the flecte which now was come neere, as it was strange to heare such a thundering noyse last so long together. In this meane while the Lieutenant generall held still the most part of his force on the hill top, till such time as the towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole Armie: which being done euery captaine tooke his owne quarter, and in the euening was placed such a sufficient guard vpon euery part of the towne that we had no cause to feare any presentemie.

Thus we continued in the citie the space of 14. dayes, taking such spoiles as the place yeelded, which were for the most part, wine, oyle, meale, and some such like things for victuall, as vineger, olives, and some such other trash, as merchandise for their Indians trades. But there was not found any treasure at all, or any thing else of worth besides.

The citie of S. Iago taken and possessed for 14. dayes.

The situation of S. Iago is somewhat strange, in forme like a triangle, hauing on the East and West sides two mountaines of rocke and cliffe, as it were hanging ouer it, vpon the top of which two mountaines were builded certaine fortifications to preserve the towne from any harne that might bee offered, as in a plot is plainly shewed. From thence, on the South side of the towne is the maine sea, and on the North side, the valley lying betweene the foresayd mountaines, where in the towne standeth: the said valley & towne both do grow very narrow, insomuch that the space betweene the two cliffes of this end of the towne is estimated not to be about 10. or 12. score ouer.

In the midst of the valley commeth downe a riueret, rill, or brooke of fresh water, which hard by the sea side maketh a pond or poole, whereout our ships were watered with very great ease and pleasure. Somewhat about the towne on the North side betweene the two mountaines, the valley wareth somewhat larger then at the townes end, which valley is wholly conuerted into gardens and orchards well replenished with diuers sorts of fruites, herbes and trees, as lymmons, oranges, sugar-canes, rochers or cochos nuts, plantans, potato-roots, cucumbers, small and round onions, garlick, and some other things not now remembred, amongst which the cochos nuts, and plantans are very pleasant fruites, the saide cochos hath a hard shell and a greene huske ouer it, as hath our walnut, but it farre exceedeth in greatnesse, for this cochos in his greene huske is bigger then any mans two fistes: of the hard shell many drinking cups are made here in England, and set in silver as I haue often seene.

Next within this hard shell is a white rine resembling in thewe very much euen as any thing may do, to the white of an egge when it is hard boyled. And within this white of the nut lyeth a water, which is whitish and very cleere, to the quantitie of halfe a pynt or thereaboutes, which water and white rine before spoken of, are both of a very coole fresh taste, and as pleasing as any thing may be. I haue heard some hold opinion, that it is very restozatiue.

The plantan groweth in cods, somewhat like to beanes, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the stalk, and when it wareth ripe, the meate which filleth the rine of the cod becommeth yellow, and is exceeding sweet and pleasant.

In this time of our being there hapned to come a Portugall to the Westerne fort, with a flag of cruce, to whom Captaine Sampson was sent with Captaine Goring, who comming to the said messenger, he first asked them what nation they were, they answered Englishmen, hee then required to knowe if warres were betweene England and Spaine, to which they answered that they knew not, but if he would goe to their Generall he could best resolue him of such particulars, and for his assurance of passage and repassage, these Captaines made offer to ingage their credits, which he refused for that he was not sent from his Gouvernor. Then they told him, if his Gouvernor did desire to take a course for the common benefit of the people and countrey, his best way were to come and present himselfe vnto our noble and mercifull Gouverneur Sir Francis Drake, whereby hee might bee assured to find fauour, both for himselfe and the inhabitantes. Otherwise within three dayes wee should march ouer the land, and consume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the sword all such liuing soules as wee should chance vpon: so thus much hee tooke for the

the conclusion of his answer, and departing, hee promised to retorne the next day, but we neuer heard moze of him.

Upon the foure and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall accompanied with the lieutenant generall and sixe hundred men marched forth to a village twelue miles within the land, called Saint Domingo, where the Gouvernour and the Bishoppe with all the better sort were lodged, and by eight of the clocke wee came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the mountaines: so we made stand a while to ease our selues, and partly to see if any would come to speake to vs.

After we had well rested our selues, the Generall commaunded the troupes to march away homewards, in which retreat the enemy shewed themselves, both horse and foote, though not such force as durst encounter vs: and so in passing sometime at the gale with them, it wared late and towards night before we could recouer home to S. Iago.

On Sunday the sixe and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall commaunded all the pinnesses with the boates, to vse all diligence to imbarke the Armie into such shippes as euery man belonged. The Lieutenant generall in like sort commaunded Captaine Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred shot to make a stand in the market place, vntill our forces were wholly imbarked, the viceadmiral making stay with his pinnesse & certaine boats in the harbour, to bring the sayd last companie aboard the ships. Also the Generall willed forthwith the gallie with two pinnesses to take into them the company of Captaine Barton, and the company of Captaine Bigs, vnder the leading of captaine Sampson, to seeke out such munition as was hidden in the ground, at the towne of Praya or Playa, hauing bene promised to be shewed it by a prisoner, which was taken the day before.

The Captaines aforesayd comming to the Playa, landed their men, and hauing placed the troupe in their best strength, Captaine Sampson tooke the prisoner, and willed him to shewe that hee had promised, the which he could not, or at least would not: but they searching all suspected places, found two pieces of ordinance, one of yron, an other of brasse. In the after noone the Generall ankered with the rest of the fleet before the Playa, commaunding himselfe ashore, willing vs to burne the towne and make all haste aboard, the which was done by sixe of the clocke the same day, and our selues imbarked againe the same night, and so we put off to Sea South west.

But before our departure from the towne of S. Iago, wee established orders for the better gouernment of the Army, euery man mustered to his captaine, and others were ministrd to acknowledge her Maestie supreme Gouvernour, as also euery man to doe his uttermost endeour to aduance the seruice of the action, and to yeeld due obedience vnto the directions of the Generall and his officers. By this prouident counsell, and laying downe this good foundation before hand, all things went forward in a due course, to the achieuing of our happy enterprize.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Gouvernour for the king of Spaine, (which is a Portugall) neither the Bishop, whose authoritie is great, neither the inhabitants of the towne, or Island euer came at vs (which we expected they should haue done) to intreate vs to leaue them some part of their needfull prouisions, or at the least, to spare the ruining of their towne at our going away. The cause of this their vnrasonable distrust (as I doe take it) was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to old M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth, in the voyage he made 4. or 5. yeres before. When as they did both breake their promise, and murdered many of his men, whereof I iudge you haue vnderstood, & therefore it is needlesse to be repeated. But since they came not at vs, we left written in sundry places, as also in the spittle house, (which building was only appointed to be spared) the great discontentment & scorne we tooke at this their refraining to come vnto vs, as also at the rude manner of killing, & sauage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boyes found by them stragling al alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had stragled the other bowels about the place, in a most brutish and beastly manner.

In reuenge whereof at our departing we consumed with fire all the houses, as well in the cottetrey which we saw, as in the towne of S. Iago.

From hence putting off to the West Indies, wee were not many dayes at Sea, but there beganne among our people such mortalitie, as in fewe dayes there were dead about two or three hundred men. And vntill some seuen or eight dayes after our comming from S. Iago, there had not died any one man of sicknesse in all the fleete: the sicknesse shewed not his infection wherewith so many were stricken, vntill we were departed thence, and then seized our people with extreme hot burning and continuall agues, whereof very fewe escaped with life, and yet those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wittes and strength for a long time after. In some that died were plainly shewed the small spots, which are often found

36 wise course
to be imitated
in all great
actions.

The treason of
the Portugals
against M. Willi-
am Hawkins.

upon

upon those that be infected with the plague: wee were not above eightene dayes in passage betwene the sight of Saint Iago aforesaid, and the Island of Dominica, being the first Island of the West Indies that we fell withall, the same being inhabited with sauage people, which goe all naked, their skinnie coloured with some painting of a reddish tawney, very personable and handsome strong men, who doe admit little conuersation with the Spanyards: for as some of our people might vnderstand them, they had a Spaniard or twaine prisoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any safetie for any of our nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commandement, albeit they vsed vs very kindly for those few houres of time which wee spent with them, helping our folkes to fill and cary on their bare shoulders fresh water from the riuer to our ships boates, and fetching from their houses great store of Tabacco, as also a kind of bread which they fed on, called Cassau, very white and sauourie, made of the rootes of Cassau. In recompence whereof, we bestowed liberall rewards of glasse, coloured beades, and other things, which we had found at Saint Iago, wherewith (as it seemed) they rested very greatly satisfied, and shewed some sorrowfull countenance when they perceiued that we would depart.

From hence wee went to another Island Westward of it, called Saint Christophers Island, wherein we spent some dayes of Christmas, to refresh our sicke people, and to cleanse and ayre our ships. In which Island were not any people at all that we could heare of.

In which time by the General it was aduised and resolved, with the consent of the Lieutenant generall, the Vice-admirall, and all the rest of the Captaines to proceede to the great Islande of Hispaniola, as well for that we knewe our selues then to bee in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the citie of S. Domingo, being the ancientest and chiefe inhabited place in all the tract of Countrey thereabouts. And so proceeding in this determination, by the way we mette a small Frigate, bound for the same place, the which the Vice-admirall tooke: and hauing duely examined the men that were in her, there was one found, by whom wee were aduertised, the Hauen to be a barred Hauen, and the shore or land thereof to be well fortified, hauing a Castle thereupon furnished with great store of Artillerie, without the danger whereof was no conuenient landing place within ten English miles of the Citie, to which the sayd Pilot tooke vpon him to conduct vs.

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commaunded in the Euening to embarke themselves in Pinnesles, boats, and other small barkes appoynted for this seruice. Our souldiers being thus imbarked, the Generall put himselfe into the barke Francis as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small saile vntill our arrivall to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day, and so we landed, being Newyeeres day, nine or ten miles to the Westwards of that braue Citie of S. Domingo: for at that time nor yet is knowne to vs any landing place, where the sea-surge doth not threaten to ouerset a Pinnesle or boate. Our Generall hauing seene vs all landed in safetie, returned to his Fleete, bequeathing vs to God, and the good conduct of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall: at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to march, and about noone time, or towards one of the clocke, we approached the towne, where the Gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some hundred and fiftie braue horses or rather more, began to present themselves; but our small shot played vpon them, which were so lusted with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troope vnprepared to receiue them (for you must vnderstand they viewed all round about) they were thus driuen to giue vs leaue to proceed towards the two gates of the towne, which were the next to the seaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that present, and sudden alarme without the gate, and also some troopes of small shot in Ambuscado vpon the hie way side. We diuided our whole force, being some thousand or twelue hundred men into two partes, to enterprise both the gates at one instant, the Lieutenant Generall hauing openly vowed to Captaine Powel (who led the troope that entred the other gate) that with Gods good fauour he would not rest vntill our meeting in the market place.

Their ordinance had no sooner discharged vpon our neere approach, and made some execution amongst vs, though not much, but the Lieutenant generall began forthwith to aduance both his voyce of encouragement, and pace of marching; the first man that was slaine with the ordinance being very neere vnto himselfe: and thereupon hastened all that hee might, to keepe them from the recharging of the ordinance. And notwithstanding their Ambuscados, we marched or rather ran so roundly in to them, as pell mell wee entred the gates, and gaue them more care euery man to saue himselfe by flight, then reason to stand any longer to their broken fight. We forthwith repayed to the market place: but to be more truly vnderstood, a place of very faire spacious square ground, whither also came as had bene agreed Captaine Powel with the other troope: which place

The citie of
S. Domingo taken.

place with some part next vnto it, we strengthened with Barricados, and there as the most conuenient place assured our selues, the Citie being farre too spacious for so small and weary a troope to vnder take to guard. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the Castle, hearing vs busie about the gates of the said Castle, abandoned the same: some being taken prisoners, and some fleeing away by the helpe of boates to the other side of the Hauen, and so into the countrey.

The next day we quartered a litle more at large, but not into the halfe part of the towne, and so making substantiall trenches, and planting all the ordinance, that ech part was correspondenc to other, we held this towne the space of one moneth.

In the which time happened some accidents, more then are well remembred for the present, but amongst other things, it chanced that the Generall sent on his message to the Spaniards a Negro boy with a flagge of white, signifying truce, as is the Spaniards ordinarie maner to doe there, when they approach to speake to vs: which boy unhappily was first mette withall by some of those, who had bene belonging as officers for the King in the Spanish Galley, which with the towne was lately fallen into our hands, who without all order or reason, & contrary to that good vsage wherewith wee had intertaind their messengers, furiously strooke the pooze boy thorow the body with one of their hozlemens stauers: with which wound the boy returned to the General, and after hee had declared the maner of this wzongfull crueltie, died forthwith in his presence, wherewith the Generall being greatly passioned, commaunded the Prouost Partiall, to cause a couple of Friers then prisoners, to be caried to the same place where the boy was stroken, accompanied with sufficient guard of our souldiers, and there presently to be hanged, dispatching at the same instant another pooze prisoner, with this reason wherefore this execution was done, & with this message further, that vntill the party who had thus murdered the Generals messenger were deliuered into our hands, to receiue condigne punishment, there should no day passe, wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, vntill they were all consumed which were in our hands.

Whereupon the day following, hee that had bene Captaine of the kings Galley, brought the offender to the townes ende, offering to deliuer him into our hands; but it was thought to be a more honourable reuenge to make them there in our sight, to performe the execution themselves: which was done accordingly.

During our being in this towne, as formerly also at S. Iago there had passed iustice vpon the life of one of our owne company for an odious matter, so heere likewise was there an Irishman hanged, for the murdering of his Corpozall.

In this time also passed many treaties betweene their Commissioners and vs, for ransome of their Citie: but vpon disagreements we still spent the early mornings in sitering the outmost houses: but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high loftes, gaue vs no small trauell to ruine them. And albeit for diuers dayes together we ordeined ech morning by day breake, vntill the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred Partiers did nought els. but labour to fire and burne the said houses without our trenches, whilst the souldiers in a like proportion stood forth for their guard: yet did wee not, or could not in this time consume so much as one third part of the towne: which towne is plainly described and set forth in a certaine Map. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, wee were contented to accept of five and twentie thousand Ducats of five shillings six pence the peece, for the ransome of the rest of the towne.

Spott insatiable
the Spanish
ambition.

Amongst other things which happened and were found at S. Domingo, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable marke & token of the insatiable ambition of the Spanish king and his nation, which was found in the kings house, wherein the chiefe gouernour of that Citie and Countrey is appoynted alwayes to lodge, which was this: In the comming to the Hall or other roomes of this house, you must first ascend by by a faire large paire of staires; at the head of which staires is a handsome spacious place to walke in, somewhat like vnto a gallery: wherein vpon one of the wals, right ouer against you as you enter the said place, so as your eye cannot escape the sight of it, there is described & painted in a very large Scutchion the armes of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the said Scutchion, there is likewise described a Globe, containing in it the whole circuit of the sea and the earth, whereupon is a horse standing on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted vp as it were to leape, with a scroll painted in his mouth, wherein was writtten these words in Latin, Non sufficit orbis: which is as much to say, as the world sufficeth not. Whereof the meaning was required to be knowen of some of those of the better sort, that came in commission to treat vpon the ransome of the towne, who would shake their heads, and turne aside their countenance in some smyling sort, without answering any thing, as greatly ashamed thereof. For by some of our company it was tolde them, that if

the

the Queene of England would resolutely prosecute the warres against the king of Spaine, hee should be forced to lay aside that proude and vnrasonable reaching vaine of his: for hee should finde more then enough to doe to keepe that which hee had already, as by the present example of their lost towne they might for a beginning perceiue well enough.

Now to the satisfiing of some men, who maruell greatly that such a famous and goodly builded Citie so well inhabited of gallant people, very braue in their apparell (whereof our souldiers found good store for their reliefe) should alsoo no greater riches then was found there: herein it is to be understood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this whole Island of Hispaniola (the same being neere hand as great as England) were many yeeres since cleane consumed by the tyrannie of the Spaniards, which was y^e cause, that for lacke of people to worke in the Mines, the golde and siluer Mines of this Island are wholly giuen ouer, and thereby they are faine in this Island to vse Copper money, whereof was found very great quantitie. The chiefe trade of this place consisteth of Sugar and Ginger, which groweth in the Island, and of Hides of oxen and kine, which in this waste countrey of the Island are bredde in infinite numbers; the soyle being very fertile: and the sayd beasts are fedde vpon a very large growth, and so killed for nothing so much, as for their Hides aforesayd. Wee found heere great store of strong wine, sweete oyle, vineger, oliues, and other such like prouisions, as excellent Wheate-meale packed vp in wine-pipes and other caskes, and other commodities likewise, as Woollen and Linnen cloth, and some Silkes: all which prouisions are brought out of Spaine, and serued vs for great reliefe. There was but a little Plate or vessell of Siluer, in comparison of the great pride in other things of this towne, because in these hotte Countreys they vse much of those earthen dishes finely painted or varnished, which they call Porcellana, which is had out of the East India: & for their drinking, they vse glasses altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the same place. But yet some plate we found, and many other good things, as their household garniture very gallant and rich, which had cost them deare, although vnto vs they were of small importance.

From Saint Domingo we put ouer to the maine or firme land, and going all alongst the coast, we came at the last in sight of Cartagena, standing vpon the sea side, so neere, as some of our barks in passing alongst, approached within the reach of their Culuerin shot, which they had planted vpon certaine platfomes. The Harbour mouth lay some three miles toward the Westward of the towne, whereinto wee entred about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone without any resistance of ordinance, or other impeachment planted vpon the same. In the Euening wee put our selues on land towards the harbour mouth, vnder the leading of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall, who after hee had digested vs to march forwarde about midnight, as easily as foote might fall, expelly commanded vs to keepe close by the sea-wall of the shore for our best & surest way, whereby we were like to goe through, and not to misse any more of the way, which once wee had lost within an houre after our first beginning to march, through the slender knowledge of him that tooke vpon him to be our guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must haue bene done by resting. But as we came within some two miles of the towne, their horsemen which were some hundred, met vs, and taking the alarme, retired to their townward againe vpon the first volley of our shot that was giuen them: for the place where wee encountered being wooddy and bushy euen to the water side was vnnieete for their seruice.

At this instant we might heare some pteces of Artillerie discharged, with diuers small shot towards the harbour, which gaue vs to vnderstand, according to the order set downe in the Euening before by our Generall, that the Vice-admirall accompanied with Captaine Venner, Captaine White, and Captaine Crosse, with other sea Captaines, and with diuers Minnells and boates should giue some attempt vnto the litle Fort standing on the entrie of the inner Hauen, neere adioyning to the towne, though to small purpose, for that the place was strong, and the entry very narrow was chained ouer: so as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt, more then the giuing of them an alarme on that other side of the Hauen being a mile and a halfe from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-admirall had the rudder of his skiffe stroken through with a Saker shot, and a litle or no harme receiued elsewhere.

The troopes being now in their march, halfe a myle behither the Towne or lesse, the ground we were on grewe to bee streight, and not aboue fiftie paces ouer, hauing the maine Sea on the one side of it, and the harbour-water or inner sea (as you may tearme it) on the other side, which in the plot is plainly shewed. This streight was fortified cleane ouer with a stone wall and a ditch without it: the sayd wall being as orderly built with flanking in euery part, as can be set downe. There was onely so much of this streight vnwalled, as might serue for the issuing of the horsemen, or the passing of caryage in time of neede: but this vnwalled part was not without a very good

Barricado

Barricado of wine-buts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thicke as they might stand on ende one by another, some part of them standing even within the maine sea.

This place of strength was furnished with fire great peeces, Demi-culverins, and Sakers, which shotte directly in front vpon vs as wee approched. Now without this wall vpon the inner side of the streight, they had brought likewise two great Galleis with their prowes to the shoze, hauing planted in them eleuen peeces of ordnance, which did beate all crosse the streight, and flanked our comming on. In these two Galleis were planted three or foure hundred small shot, and on the land in the guard onely of this place, three hundred shot and pikes.

They in this their full readinesse to receiue vs, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lieutenant generall, taking the aduantage of the darke (the day light as yet not broken out) approched by the lowest ground, according to the expresse direction which himselfe had formerly giuen, the same being the sea-wash shoze, where the water was somewhat fallen, so as most of all their shot was in vaine. Our Lieutenant generall commanded our shot to forbear shooting vntill we were come to the wall side, and so with pikes roundly together we approched the place, where we soone found out the Barricados of pipes or butts, to be the meetest place for our assault, which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shot, was without staying attempted by vs: downe went the butts of earth, and pell mell came our swordes and pikes together, after our shot had first giuen their bolley, even at the enemies nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed; for very few of them were armed: with which aduantage our swordes and pikes greiv too hard for them, and they driuen to giue place. In this furious entry, the Lieutenant generall slew with his owne hands the chiefe Ensigne bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his liues end.

We followed into the towne with them, and giuing them no leasure to breathe, we wanne the Market-place, albeit they made head, and fought a while before we got it, and so wee being once seized and assured of that, they were content to suffer vs to lodge within their towne, and themselves to goe to their wiues, whom they had caried into other places of the countrey before our comming thither.

At euery streetes end they had raised very fine Baricados of earth-wozkes, with trenches without them, as well made as euer we saw any worke done: at the entering whereof was some little resistance, but soone overcome it was, with few slaine or hurt. They had ioynd with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of aduantage, all bowmen, with their arrowes most villanously empoisoned, so as if they did but breake the skinne, the partie so touched died without great maruell: some they slew of our people with their arrowes: some they likewise mischiewed to death with certaine pyicks of small sticks sharply pointed, of a foote and a halfe long, the one ende put into the ground, the other empoisoned, sticking fast vp, right against our comming in the way, as we should approch from our landing towarde the towne, whereof they had planted a wonderfull number in the ordinarie way: but our keeping the sea-wash shoze missed the greatest part of them very happily.

I ouerpasse many particular matters, as the hurting of Captaine Sampson at sword blowes in the first entering, vnto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the Vanguard by his lot and turne; as also of the taking of Alonso Brauo the chiefe commander of that place by Captaine Goring, after the said captaine had first hurt him with his sword: vnto which Captaine was committed the charge of the shot of the sayd Vanguard.

Captaine Winter was likewise by his turne of the Vanguard in this attempt, where also the Lieutenant generall marched himselfe: the said Captaine Winter through a great desire to serue by land, hauing now exchanged his charge by sea with Captaine Cecil for his band of footemen.

Captaine Powel the Sergeant maiorz had by his turne the charge of the foure companies which made the battaile.

Captaine Morgan, who at S. Domingo was of the Vanguard, had now by turne his charge vpon the companies of the Rereward.

Euery man as well of one part as of another, came so willingly on to the seruice, as the enemy was not able to endure the furie of such hot assault.

We stayed here fire weekes, and the sicknesse with mortalicie before spoken of still continued among vs, though not with the same furie as at the first: and such as were touched with the sayde sicknesse, escaping death, very few or almost none could recouer their strength: yea, many of them were much decayed in their memozie, insomuch that it was growen an ordinarie iudgement, when one was heard to speake foolishly, to say he had bene sicke of the Calentura, which is the Spanissh

Alonso Brauo
the gouernour
of Cartagena
taken.

Spanish name of their burning Ague: for as I tolde you before, it is a very burning and pestilent ague. The originall cause thereof, is imputed to the Evening or first night ayre, which they call La serena, wherein they say and hold very firme opinion, that who so is then abroad in the open ayre, shall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or naturall race of those countrey people: by holding their watch, our men were thus subjected to the infectious ayre, which at S. Iago was most dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconuenience of continuall mortallitie, we were forced to giue ouer our intended enterprise, to goe with Nombre de Dios, and so ouerland to Panama, where we should haue strooken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompence of our tedious traualles. And thus at Cartagena wee tooke our first resolution to returne homewards: the forme of which resolution I thought good here to put downe vnder the principall Captaines hands, as followeth.

A resolution of the Land-captaines, what course they thinke most expedient to bee taken. Given at Cartagena the xxvij of Februarie 1585.

Vhereas it hath pleased the Generall to demaund the opinions of his Captaines what course they thinke most expedient to be now undertaken, the Land-captaines being assembled by themselves together, and hauing aduised hereupon, doe in thre poynts deliver the same.

The first, touching the keeping of the towne against the force of the enemy, either that which is present, or that which may come out of *Spain*, is answered thus.

We holde opinion, that with this troope of men which we haue presently with vs in land-seruice, being victualled and munitioned, wee may well keepe the Towne, albeit that of men able to answer present seruice, we haue not aboue 700. The residue being some 150. men by reason of their hurts and sicknesse are altogether vnable to stand vs in any stead: wherefore hereupon the Sea-captaines are likewise to giue their resolution, how they will undertake the safetie and seruice of the Shippes vpon the arriual of any Spanish Fleet.

The second poynt we make to be this, whether it bee meete to goe presently homeward, or els to continue further tryall of our fortune in vnderraking such like enterprises as we haue done already, and thereby to seeke after that bountifull masse of treasure for recompence of our traualles, which was generally expected at our comming forth of *England*: wherein we answered.

That it is well knowen how both we and the souldiers are entred into this action as voluntarie men, without any impest or gage from her Maiestie or any body els: and forasmuch as we haue hitherto discharged the parts of honest men, so that now by the great blessing and fauour of our good God there haue bin taken thre such notable townes, wherein by the estimation of all men would haue bene found some very great treasures, knowing that S. Iago was the chiefe citie of all the Islands and traffiques thereabouts, S. Domingo the chiefe citie of Hispaniola, and the head gouernment not only of that Island, but also of Cuba, and of all the Islands about it, as also of such inhabitations of the firme land, as were next vnto it, & a place that is both magnificently builded, and interteineth great trades of marchandise; and now lastly the citie of Cartagena, which cannot be denied to be one of the chiefe places of most especiall importance to the Spaniard of all the cities which be on this side of the West India: we doe therefore consider, that since all these cities, with their goods & prisoners taken in them, and the ransoms of the said cities being all put together, are found farre short to satisfie that expectation which by the generalitie of the enterprisers was first conceiued: And being further aduised of the slenderesse of our strength, whereunto we be now reduced, as well in respect of the small number of able bodies, as also not a litle in regard of the slacke disposition of the greater part of those which remaine, very many of the better mindes and men being either consumed by death, or weakened by sicknes and hurts: And lastly, since that as yet there is not laid downe to our knowledge any such enterprise as may seeme conuenient to be undertaken with such few as we are presently able to make, and withall of such certaine likelihood, as with Gods good successe which it may please him to bestow vpon vs, the same may promise to yeeld vs any sufficient contentment: We doe therefore conclude hereupon, that it is better to hold sure as we may the honour already gotten, and with the same to returne towards our gracious

gracious Soueraigne and Countrey, from whence if it shall please her Maiestie to set vs forth againe with her orderly meanes and intertainment, we are most ready and willing to goe through with any thing that the vtermost of our strength and indouour shall be able to reach vnto; but therewithall wee doe aduise and protest that it is farre from our thoughts, either to refuse, or so much as to seeme to be wearte of any thing, which for the present shalbe further required or directed to be done by vs from our Generall.

The third and last poynt is concerning the ranfome of this citie of *Cartagena*, for the which, before it was touched with any fire, there was made an offer of some xxvij. or xxviii. thousand pounds sterling.

Thus much we utter herein as our opinions agreeing (so it be done in good sort) to accept this offer aforesayde, rather then to breake off by standing still vpon our demaunds of one hundred thousand poundes, which seemes a matter impossible to bee performed for the present by them, and to say truely, wee may now with much honour and reputation better be satisfied with that summe offered by them at the first (if they will now bee contented to giue it) then wee might at that time with a great deale more, inasmuch as we haue taken our full pleasure both in the vtermost sacking and spoyling of all their householde goods and marchandize, as also in that we haue consumed and ruined a great part of their Towne with fire. And thus much further is considered herein by vs, that as there bee in the Voyage a great many poore men, who haue willingly aduentured their liues and trauailes, and diuers amongst them hauing spent their apparell and such other little provisions as their small meanes might haue giuen them leaue to prepare, which being done vpon such good and allowable intencion as this action hath alwayes carryed with it, meaning, against the Spaniard our greatest and most dangerous enemy: so surely wee cannot but haue an inward regarde so farre as may lye in vs, to helpe eyther in all good sort towards the satisfaction of this their expectation, and by procuring them some little benefite to incourage them and to nourish this ready and willing disposition of theirs both in them and in others by their example against any other time of like occasion. But because it may bee supposed that heerein wee forgette not the priuate benefite of our selues, and are thereby the rather moued to incline our selues to this composition, wee doe therefore thinke good for the clearing of our selues of all such suspicion, to declare heereby, that what part or porcion soeuer it bee of this ranfome or composition for *Cartagena*, which should come vnto vs, wee doe freely giue and bestowe the same wholly vpon the poore men, who haue remayned with vs in the Voyage, meaning as well the Sayler as the Souldier, wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much as might seeme a sufficient rewarde for their painefull indouour. And for the firme confirmation thereof, we haue thought meete to subligne these presents with our owne hands in the place and time aforesayd.

Captaine *Christopher Carliell* Lieutenant Generall.

Captaine *Goring*. Captaine *Sampson*. Captaine *Powell* &c.

But while wee were yet there, it happened one day, that our watch called the Centinell, vpon the Church-steeple, had discovered in the Sea a couple of small Barkes or Boates, making in with the Harbour of *Cartagena*, whereupon Captaine Moone and Captaine Varney, with Iohn Grant the Master of the Tyger, and some other Sea-men, embarked themselves in a couple of small Pinnesses, to take them befoze they should come nigh the shore, at the mouth of the Harbour, lest by some stragling Spaniardes from the Lande, they might be warned by signes from comming in: which fell out accordingly, notwithstanding all the diligence that our men could vse: for the Spanish Boates, vpon the sight of our Pinnesses comming towards them, ranne themselves ashore, and so their men presently hidde themselves in bushes hard by the Sea side, amongst some others that had called them by signes thither. Our men presently without any due regard had to the qualitie of the place, and seeing no man of the Spaniards to shew themselves, aboarded the Spanish Barks or Boates, and so standing all open in them, were suddenly shotte at by a troope of Spaniardes out of the bushes: by which volley of shotte there were slaine Captaine Varney, which dyed presently, and Captaine Moone, who dyed some fewe dayes after, besides some foure or fife others that were hurt: and so our folkes returned without their purpose, not hauing any sufficient number of souldiers with them to fight on shore. For those men they carped were all Mariners to rowe, few of them armed, because they made account with their ordinance to haue taken the Barks well enough at

at sea, which they might full easily haue done, without any losse at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards boates had gotten so nere the shore.

During our abode in this place, as also at S. Domingo, there passed diuers courtesies betweene vs and the Spaniards, as feasting, and vsing them with all kindnesse and fauour: so as amongst others there came to see the Generall, the Gouernour of Cartagena, with the Bishop of the same, and diuers other Gentlemen of the better sort.

This towne of Cartagena we touched in the out parts, & consumed much with fire, as we had done S. Domingo vpon discontentments, and for want of agreeing with vs in their first treaties touching their rancome, which at the last was concluded between vs, should be 100, and 10000. Ducats for that which was yet standing, the Ducat valued at five shillings sixpence sterling.

This towne though not halfe so bigge as S. Domingo, giues as you see, a farre greater rancome, being in very deepe of farre more importance, by reason of the excellencie of the Harbour, and the situation thereof, to serue the trade of Nombre de Dios and other places, and is inhabited with farre more richer Merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with Lawyers and braue Gentlemen, being the chiefe or highest appeale of their suites in law of all the Islands about it, and of the maine land coast next vnto it. And it is of no such accompt as Cartagena, for these and some other like reasons, which I could giue you, ouer long to be now written.

The warning which this towne receiued of our comming towards them from S. Domingo, by the space of twentie dayes before our arriual here, was cause that they had both fortified and euery way prepared for their best defence. As also that they had caried and conueyed away all their treasure and principall substance.

The rancome of an hundred & ten thousand Ducats thus concluded on, as is aforesaid, the same being written, and expressing for nothing more then the towne of Cartagena, vpon the payment of the sayd rancome, we left the said towne, and drew some part of our souldiers into the Priorie or Abbey standing a quarter of an English mile belowe the towne vpon the harbour water-side, the same being walled with a wall of stone, which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their composition: whereupon they finding the defect of their contract, were contented to enter into another rancome for all places, but specially for the sayd house, as also the Blockehouse or Castle, which is vpon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when wee asked as much for the one as for the other, they yeelded to giue a thousand Crownes for the Abbey, leauing vs to take our pleasure vpon the Blockehouse, which they sayd they were not able to rancome, hauing stretched themselves to the uttermost of their powers: and therefore the sayd Blockehouse was by vs undermined, and so with gunne powder blown vp in pieces.

While this latter contract was in making, our whole flecte of ships fell downe towards the harbour mouth, where they anchored the third time, and imployed their men in fetching of fresh water aboard the ships for our voyage homewards, which water was had in a great well, that is in the Island by the harbour mouth: which Island is a very pleasant place as hath bene seene, hauing in it many sorts of goodly and very pleasant fruites, as the Orange trees and others, being set orderly in walkes of great length together. Insomuch as the whole Island being some two or three miles about, is cast into grounds of gardening and orchards.

After six weekes abode in this place, we put to sea the last of March, where after two or three dayes a great ship which we had taken at S. Domingo, and thereupon was called The new yeeres gift, fell into a great leake, being laden with ordnance, hides, and other spoiles, and in the night she lost the company of our flecte, which being missed the next morning by the Generall, hee cast about with the whole flecte, fearing some great mischance to bee happened vnto her, as in very deepe it so fell out: for her leake was so great, that her men were all tyred with pumping. But at the last hauing found her & the Barke Talbot in her company, which stayed by great hap with her, they were ready to take their men out of her, for the sauing of them. And so the General being fully aduertised of their great extremitie, made saile directly backe againe to Cartagena with the whole flecte, where hauing staid eight or ten dayes more, about the vnlading of this ship, and the bestowing thereof and her men into other Ships, we departed once againe to Sea, directing our course towards the Cape S. Antony, being the Westermost part of Cuba, where wee arriued the seven and twentieth of April. But because fresh water could not presently be found, we weyed anchor, and departed, thinking in few dayes to recouer the Matanzas, a place to the Eastward of Hauana.

After wee had sailed some fourteen dayes, wee were brought to Cape S. Anthony againe, through lacke of fauourable winds: but then our scarcity was grown such, as neede made vs looke a litle better for water, which we found in sufficient quantitie, being indeede, as I iudge, none other

The Island of
Cares.

other then raine water newly fallen, and gathered up by making pits in a plot of marriſh ground, ſome three hundred paces from the ſea ſide.

As moſt com-
mendable ex-
ample of dili-
gence in a Ge-
nerall,

I doe wrong if I ſhould forget the good example of the Generall at this place, who to encourage others, and to haſten the getting of freſh water aboard the ſhips, tooke no leſſe paine himſelfe then the meanest; as alſo at S. Domingo, Cartagena, and all other places, hauing alwayes ſo vigilant a care and foreſight in the good ordering of his Fleet, accompanying them, as it is ſayde, with ſuch wonderfull trauell of body, as doubtleſſe had he bene the meanest perſon, as hee was the chiefest, he had yet deſerued the firſt place of honour: and no leſſe happy doe we account him, for being aſſociated with Maſter Carliel his Lieutenant generall, by whole experience, prudent counſell, and gallant perſormance he atchieued ſo many and happy enterpriſes of the warre, by whom alſo he was very greatly aſſiſted, in letting downe the needfull orders, lawes, and courſe of iuſtice, and the due adminiſtration of the ſame vpon all occaſions.

After three dayes ſpent in watering our Ships, wee departed now the ſecond time from this Cape of S. Anthony the thirteenth of May, and proceeding about the Cape of Florida, wee neuer touched any where; but coaſting alongſt Florida, and keeping the ſhoare ſtill in ſight, the 28. of May early in the Morning wee deſcried on the ſhoare a place built like a Beacon, which was in deede a ſcaffold vpon foure long maſſes raiſed on end, for men to diſcouer to the ſeaward, being in the latitude of thirtie degrees, or very neere thereunto. Our Pinneſſes manned, and comming to the ſhoare, wee marched vp alongſt the riuer ſide, to ſee what place the enemy held there: for none amongſt vs had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the Generall tooke occaſion to march with the companies himſelfe in perſon, the Lieutenant generall hauing the Vant guard; and going a mile or ſomewhat more by the riuer ſide, we might diſcerne on the other ſide of the riuer ouer againſt vs, a Fort which newly had bene built by the Spaniards: and ſome mile or thereabout about the Fort was a little Towne or Village without walles, built of wooden houſes, as the Plot doeth plainely ſhew. Wee forthwith prepared to haue ordinance for the batterie; and one peece was a litle before the Evening planted, and the firſt ſhot being made by the Lieutenant generall himſelfe at their Enſigne, ſtrake through the Enſigne, as wee afterwards vnderſtood by a French man, which came vnto vs from them. One ſhot more was then made, which ſtrake the foote of the Fort wall, which was all maſſiue timber of great trees like Maſtes. The Lieutenant generall was determined to paſſe the riuer this night with 4. companies, and there to lodge himſelfe intrenched as neere the Fort, as that he might play with his muſkets and ſmalleſt ſhot vpon any that ſhould appeare, and ſo afterwards to bring and plant the batterie with him: but the helpe of Mariners for that ſudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cauſe that this determination was remitted vntill the next night.

In the night the Lieutenant generall tooke a little rowing Skiffe, and halfe a dozen well armed, as Captaine Morgan, and Captaine Sampſon, with ſome others beſides the rowers, & went to view what guard the enemy kept, as alſo to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as couertly as might be, yet the enemy taking ſuch Alarme, grew feareful that the whole force was approaching to the aſſault, and therefore with all ſpeede abandoned the place after the ſhooting of ſome of their peeces. They thus gone, and hee being returned vnto vs againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their Fort, forthwith came a French man being a Phipper (who had bene priſoner with them) in a litle boate, playing on his Phiph the tune of the Prince of Orange his ſong; and being called vnto by the guard, he tolde them before he put foote out of the boate, what he was himſelfe, and how the Spaniards were gone from the Fort, offering either to remaine in hands there, or els to returne to the place with them that would goe.

Vpon this intelligence, the Generall, the Lieutenant generall, with ſome of the Captaines in one Skiffe, and the Vice-admirall with ſome others in his Skiffe, and two or three Pinneſſes furniſhed of ſouldiers with them, put preſently ouer to wards the Fort, giuing order for the reſt of the Pinneſſes to follow. And in our approach, ſome of the enemy holder then the reſt, hauing ſtayed behinde their company, ſhot off two peeces of ordinance at vs: but on ſhoare wee went, and entered the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walles being none other but whole Maſtes or bodie of trees ſet by right and cloſe together in maner of a pale, without any ditch as yet made, but wholly intended with ſome more time; for they had not as yet finiſhed all their worke, hauing begunne the ſame ſome three or foure moneths before: ſo as, to ſay the truth, they had no reaſon to keepe it, being ſubiect both to fire, and eaſie aſſault.

The platforme whereon the ordinance lay, was whole bodie of long pine trees, whereof there is great plencie, layd a croſſe one on another, and ſome litle earth amongſt. There were in it thir-

Nicolas Bor-
goignon.

teene

teene or fouretee great peeces of Braſſe ordnance, and a cheſt vnbroken vp, hauing in it the value of ſome two thouſand pounds ſterling by eſtimation of the kings treaſure, to pay the ſouldiers of that place, who were a hundred and fiftie men.

The Fort thus wonne, which they called S. Iohns Fort, and the day opened, wee aſſayed to goe to the towne, but could not by reaſon of ſome riuers and broken ground which was betweene the two places: and therefore being enforced to imbarke againe into our Pinneſſes, wee went thither vpon the great maine riuer, which is called alſo the Towne, by the name of S. Auguſtin.

At our approaching to land, there were ſome that began to ſhew themſelues, and to beſtow ſome few ſhot vpon vs, but preſently withdrew themſelues. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant Maior finding one of their horſes ready ſaddled and bridled, tooke the ſame to follow the chace; and ſo ouergoing all his company, was (by one layd behind a buſh) ſhotte through the head: and falling downe therewith, was by the ſame and two or three more, ſtabbed in three or foure places of his body with ſwords and daggers, before any could come neere to his reliefe. His death was much lamented, being in very deepe an honeſt wiſe Gentleman, and a ſouldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called S. Auguſtin, we vnderſtood the king did keepe, as is before ſaid, one hundred and fiftie ſouldiers, and at another place ſome dozen leagues beyond to the Northwards, called S. Helena, he did there likewiſe keepe an hundred and fiftie more, ſeruing there for no other purpoſe, then to keepe all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that coaſt; the gouernement whereof was committed to one Pedro Melendez Marquelle, nephew to that Melendez the Admiral, who had ouerthrowen Maſter Iohn Hawkins in the bay of Mexico ſome ſeuenteen or eigh- teene yeeres agoe. This Gouernour had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the firſt that left the ſame.

Peere it was reſolued in full aſſembly of Captaines, to vndertake the enterpriſe of S. Helena, and from thence to ſeek out the inhabitation of our Engliſh countrey men in Virginia, diſtant from thence ſome ſix degrees Northward.

When we came thwart of S. Helena, the ſhoulds appearing dangerous, and we hauing no Pilot *Santa Helena* to vndertake the enterie, it was thought meeteſt to goe hence alongſt. For the Admirall had bene the ſame night in foure ſadome and a halfe, three leagues from the ſhore: and yet wee vnderſtood by the helpe of a known Pilot, there may and doe goe in Ships of greater burthen and draughte then any we had in our Fleete.

We paſſed thus alongſt the coaſt hard aboord the ſhore, which is ſhallow for a league or two from the ſhore, and the ſame is lowe and broken land for the moſt part.

The ninth of Iune vpon ſight of one ſpeciall great fire (which are very ordinarie all alongſt this coaſt, euen from the Cape of Florida hither) the Generall ſent his Skiffe to the ſhore, where they found ſome of our Engliſh countrey men (that had bene ſent thither the yeere before by Sir Walter Raleigh) and brought them aboard: by whole direction wee proceeded along to the place which they make their Port. But ſome of our ſhips being of great draught vnable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wilde roade at ſea, about two miles from ſhore.

From whence the General wrote letters to maſter Ralfe Lane, being gouernour of thoſe Engliſh in Virginia, and then at his Fort about ſix leagues from the Rode in an Iſland which they call Roanoac, wherein eſpecially he ſhewed how ready he was to ſupply his neceſſities and wants, *Roanoac* which he vnderſtood of, by thoſe he had firſt talked withall.

The morow after, Maſter Lane himſelfe and ſome of his company comming vnto him, with the conſent of his captaines he gaue them the choiſe of two offers, that is to ſay: Either he would leaue a ſhip, a pinneſſe, and certaine boates with ſufficient Maſters and Mariners, together furniſhed with a moneths victuall, to ſtay and make farther diſcouery of the countrey and coaſtes, and ſo much victuall likewiſe as might be ſufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three perſons) into England, if they thought good after ſuch time, with any other thing they would deſire, and that he might be able to ſpare.

Or els if they thought they had made ſufficient diſcouerie already, and did deſire to returne into England, he would giue them paſſage. But they, as it ſeemed, being deſirous to ſtay, accepted very thankfully and with great gladneſſe, that which was offered firſt. Whereupon the ſhip being appointed and receiued into charge by ſome of their owne company ſent into her by Maſter Lane, before they had receiued from the reſt of the Fleete the prouiſion appointed them, there aroſe a great ſtorme (which they ſayd was extraordinary and very ſtrange) that laſted three daies together, and put all our Fleete in great danger, to bee driuen from the anchoring vpon the coaſt. For we brake many Cables, and loſt many Anchors; and ſome of our Fleete which had

lost all (of which number was the ship appointed for Waster Lane and his company) was driven to put to sea in great danger, in auoyding the coast, and could neuer see vs againe vntill we met in England. Many also of our small Iunelles and boates were lost in this storme.

Notwithstanding after all this, the Generall offered them (with consent of his Captaines) another ship with some provision, although not such a one for their turnes, as might haue bene spared them before, this being vnable to be brought into their Harbour. Or els if they would, to giue them passage into England, although he knew he should performe it with greater difficultie then he might haue done before.

But Waster Lane with those of the chiefest of his company which hee had then with him, considering what should be best for them to doe, made request vnto the General vnder their hands, that they might haue passage for England: the which being graunted, and the rest sent for out of the countrey and shipped, we departed from that coast the 18. of June.

And so, God bee thanked, both they and wee in good safetie arriued at Portesmouth the 28. of July 1586. to the great glory of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our Countrey, and our selues.

The totall value of that which was gotten in this voyage is esteemed at three score thousand pounds, whereof the companies which haue trauelled in the voyage were to haue twentie thousand pounds, the aduenturers the other fortie. Of which twentie thousand pounds (as I can iudge) will redound some fixe pounds to the single share.

We lost some seuen hundred and fiftie men in the voyage: about three parts of them onely by sicknesse.

The men of name that dyed and were slaine in this voyage, which I can presently call to remembrance, are these.

Captaine Powel.
Captaine Varney.
Captaine Moone.
Captaine Fortescue.

Captaine Bigges.
Captaine Cecill.
Captaine Hannam.
Captaine Greenefield.

Thomas Tucker a Lieutenant.
Alexander Starkey a Lieutenant.
Master Escot a Lieutenant.
Master Waterhouse a Lieutenant.
Master George Candish.

Master Nicholas Winter.
Master Alexander Carliell.
Master Robert Alexander.
Master Scroope.
Master James Dier.
Master Peter Duke.

With some other, whom for haste I cannot suddenly thinke on.

The ordinance gotten of all sorts Brazle and Iron, were about two hundred and forty peeces, whereof the two hundred and some more were brazle, and were thus found and gotten.

At S. Iago some two or three and fiftie peeces.

In S. Domingo about fourescore, whereof was very much great ordinance, as whole Canon, Demi-canon, Culuerins, and such like.

In Cartagena some sixtie and three peeces, and good store like wise of the greater sort.

In the Fort of S. Augustin were foureteene peeces.

The rest was Iron ordinance, of which the most part was gotten at S. Domingo, the rest at Cartagena.

A relation of the ports, harbors, forts and cities in the West Indies which haue bene surueied, edified, finished, made and mended, with those which haue bene builded, in a certaine suruey by the king of Spaine his direction and commandement: Written by Baptista Antonio, surueyours in those parts for the said King. Anno 1587.

Santa Marta.

Santa Marta situate in 10. degrees and a halfe.



First Santa Marta the principall Citie of the Bishopricke or Dioces of the coast of Tierra firma, or the firme land, lieth in 10. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, the city being situated vpon a sandy bay adioyning vnto the sea side, containeth in it about 30. households; all the houses being made of canes, and covered ouer with Palmico trees, and some of them be covered with ycle.

They haue traffike with none, but with the Indians of the said countrey, which

doe bring vnto the Citie for to sell earthen Potes and Pipkins, and Couerlits of Cotton wooll, and great earthen Iarres. Also they doe traffique to Cartagena. It is a countrey which hath but small store of cattel, because it is all mountainous, and hath small store of people. There is a very good harbour before the said towne, inuironed with mighty hills & great rocks, which reach euen vnto the sea side, the which hie land doth greatly succour the harbour, as also two Islands which lie about 2 of a league on the North side: so that although they be subiect to Easterly winds, and that with great stormes, yet they doe no great harme to goe on land. Within this Harbour there is a place which is called La Caldera, where in times past they were wont to trimme and carene their Shippes. As touching the Harbour, there is no cause to fortifie it, nor to make any account of it, by reason there is no trade nor traffique to this place from any other places, according as I haue certified your Maiestie thereof. And also because here are but few dwellers or inhabitants, and loosing euery day so many as it doeth, by reason that it is euery day robbed and spoyled by the enemy. But if your Maiestie would command that the Fleete of Noua Hispania might direct their course to this Harbour being in their way, and here to water and refresh themselves, all the Pilots doe say that the Fleete may proceede on their Voyage from this place, still going before the winde, and so goe to the Cape of Saint Anthony, which lieth on the Island of Cuba, and from thence goe their direct course to Noua Hispania; and by this meanes the Fleete should haue no occasion to passe so many dangers as they doe, by reason of the Huricanos or stormy windes which many times do come vpon them, when they are vpon the coast of Hispaniola: and this is the cause that there are so many ships cast away, as your Maiestie doeth well know.

A new course
to Noua Hispania,
by the way
of Santa Marta
lesse subiect to
danger then
the ordinary
course.

And as concerning this course according as I haue certified your Maiestie, they shall come in to no danger at all, nor shall make any further way about; so by this meanes both the Fleetes may come from Spaine in company, and then come to S. Marta, and the Fleete of Noua Hispania may come into this Harbour, and the Fleete which doeth goe vnto the firme land, may goe directly to Cartagena as they doe. Then your Maiestie may send to fortifie the said Harbour, and the fortification must be thus: That on the morro or mount which is in the entering in of the said harbour, there be built a litle Fort, and so to plant some small quantitie of ordinance. And hard by on the South side, there to build a litle Towre, and another Sconce, where wee may plant some more ordinance. So by this meanes not onely the Shippes may ride heere in securitie, but also it will bee a defence for those which dwell heere in the Towne: and the better to effect this purpose, there is hard by the Towne great store of Lyme, Stone, Sande, and Tymber, if occasion should serue.

Cartagena.

Cartagena is a Citie, and the principall place of the Bishopricke; it lyeth fourtie leagues from Santa Marta: it standeth in scant 11. degrees. The sayd Citie is situated vpon a sandy banke or bay like vnto an Island: it hath about 450. dwellers therein. There are very faire buildings therein: as concerning their houses, they are made of stone, and there are three Monasteries, of which two of them are of Friers which are within the city, the one called Santo Domingo, and the other called Santo Augustin, and the other which is called Saint Francis, which standeth without the citie about 30. paces off. And for to goe vnto the said frierie, you must goe vpon a Causey made of stone, and water on both sides. This citie hath great trade out of Spaine, and out of The new kingdome of Granada, and out of the Islands there adioyning, from Peru, and from all the coast of this firme land, and of the fishing of the pearles of Rio de la Hacha, and of Margarita: it is a very sound countrey.

Cartagena lieth
ate in 11. de-
grees scant.

This Citie hath a very good Harbour, and sufficient to receiue great store of Ships: this said Harbour hath two entrances in, the one of them lyeth halfe a league from the Citie, where all the Ships doe enter into the sayd Harbour: the mouth or entering in of the sayd Harbour is 1400. paces or paces in bredth, and very deepe water. The other entering in which is called La boca chica, or litle mouth, lieth a league beyond this place to the westwards. It is 900. yards in bredth, and in the entering in thereof there lieth a channel in the midst of it, which is 200. yards broad, and 20. or 15 fadome water, some places more, some lesse. And to enter into the Harbour, you must go through this channel, and the land doth double in and out. And at the entering in of the sayd Harbour, after you haue past this Channell, you must beare vp to the shoareward neere vnto the Island of Cares, and looke how much is ouerplus more then the two hundred paces of the Channell, all the rest are certaine ledges of Rockes, couered with two or three foote water vpon the toppe of them, some places more, and some lesse. So the ships which must enter

in at the mouth, must bring very good Pilots with them, which must be very skilfull: yet all this will not serue, but they must carry their Boate before, and sound with their Lead to know where the best place of the Channell lyeth for them to goe in, so it will be small hinderance to any shippe that shall enter, neither per danger at all of sinking.

Francis Drake.

There are three places about the sayde Citie, where the Enemie may giue an attempt by Land. The one of them is where the enemie did enter in and landed, which is a sandy Bay, and on the one side of the Bay is the Sea, and on the other side a great Lake which goeth towards the Harbour. The sandy bay or banke, on the one side is 500. yardes broad, all sandy ground without any trees. So that the enemie which giueth the assault in this place must bee constrained to march all alongst this sandie Bay, the enemie lying open these 500. yardes, which reach vntill you doe come to the trench: And on the backside other 500. yardes, till you doe come vnto the Citie.

The sayde sandie bay or banke is 130. yardes broad, where the trench is builded. And in this place this Citie hath bene taken by the enemie twice. Wherefore heere wee haue driuen in a great many of wooden stakes, which goe downe into the sea 50. yardes deepe: and this wee haue done, because this is a very dangerous and filthy coast. And below in the bottome of the Valley there we haue builded a little Sconce, where we may plant 3. or 4. peeces of ordinance. And likewise wee haue made a deepe ditch, which doeth answere to both parts of the sea; so on this side the Citie is very strong and sufficient. For this was the place whereof the Citizens were most afraid.

The other entring is lower downe by the sayde sandy Bay, which is called Cienaga, or The fenne del Roreado. This is another place which is on the sayd sandy bay, which is 300. yardes broad from the one place downe to the sea. And on the other side there lyeth the Cienaga, which is a certaine plat of ground that is ouerflown with water all the yeere long. So that the enemie which shall come this way to winne the Citie, must come marching ouer land a good way vpon a sandie banke or Bay, where the Sea lyeth on the one side, and a groue or boske of wood on the other side, and through a plat of ground which is ouerflown with water, but not all couered. So in this place wee haue made a Fort or Sconce with certaine Flankers belonging thereunto. And I haue caused a deepe ditch to be digged of 60. foote in bredth, so that the Sea doeth come to that plat or place which is ouerflown. And in this order we haue stoppt this passage, so that the Citie standeth in maner like vnto an Island. There is 2600. yardes distance from this place to the other trench where the enemie Francis Drake did land last.

The entring in of this Harbour is by the bridge and Causey which doeth goe from the Citie to S. Francis; the sayd Causey is 300. yardes in length, and 12. yardes in bredth: and the water is on both the sides of the said Causey: so this is the strongest place of all the rest of the three places. Also in this place there is order taken to make a draw bridge, and vpon the top of the said bridge, to build a platfome, and plant ordinance vpon it: and on both sides of the bridge there are certaine trenches made, where our men may be close kept.

At the point of this land called ycacos, which is in the entring in of the harbour to wards S. Anna, we haue made a Fort of timber foursquare of 300. foote euery way, and trencht, where wee may plant 15. or 16. peeces of ordinance, and keepe 50. men in garison, and behinde the bourdes on the backside of the timbers, a Barricado of earth or mudde wall being foure foote in thicknesse, and behinde the mud-wall, sand: so this Fort will bee of great importance for safegard of this Harbour, because all the Shippes which doe enter into this Harbour doe come close to this place where it is strongest, so that sometimes one may cast a stone into the ships when they are comming in: and when any ship of warre or Pirate will giue any attempt to enter into this Harbour, there is order giuen that the two galleys shall go forth, and put themselves behinde the Fort with their prowes to the sea, and so shooting at their enemies in the forepart of the ship, and then the Fort answering likewise with their ordinance at the side of the shippe, and at their tackling, so the enemie being in the Harbour all vnrigged, they must of necessity be constrained to lye houerling within the Harbour, or els they must driu vpon the rockes called the Ismo, or els vpon those rockes which are couered with the sea at the Island of Cares.

The galleies of Caragena.

And put case that in this place we can doe no good by this meanes, and that the enemie will venture to come in with their long boates & Pinnelles through this narrow mouth: then we are to haue in a readinesse 4. Frigats to ayde and helpe the galleies, & to row with oares, and so to go to the narrow mouth, and there to stay in the channell. And forasmuch as the entring in is so dangerous, according as I haue certified your Matestie, there can no ship come into this harbour, but we must needes sinke them; so that these defences shall not onely bee annoyance to the enemie, but also

also animate and encourage the inhabitants of this citie : for they haue bene and are in such feare of the enemye, and pirates, that if wee had not made these fortifications, strengthened the citie in this order, and put some souldiers in garison, the citizens would haue fledde, and forsaken this citie : for all the persuasions made to them by the gouernour coulde not perswade them to the contrary, but they would bee gone, if it had not bene for this fortification, and yet for all this wee haue much to doe to make them to stay here : so nowe by reason of these souldiers which shall come hither, the people of the citie haue taken heart of grasle : so I haue tolde them that your maiestie will command that this citie and the harbour shall be better fortified and made stronger, and all this which I haue caused to be builded, is with that money which I haue borrow- ed of the citizens.

As touching the safegard and defence of this harbour, if your maiestie so please, here may we builde a very faire and strong castle with foure bulwarks, on the poynt of the Ycacos which both lie on the side where the citie is builded, because all the shippes which doe come to this harbour, must come close aboord this shoze, so neere, that wee may cast a stone into them, and so ouertake any ship. So likewise if the shippes will goe on the other shoze, then they doe goe in greater danger, because of those shoals and ledges of rockes, and so are often cast away. And forasmuch as those ships which here doe arrive are brought hither by Easterly winds, and sometimes with those winds which come out from the sea, and therefore perforce must giue a good birth off, other- wise they cannot enter into this harbour, therefore of necessity they must come so close to the shoze: And on the other side where the Island of Cares standeth, there may wee builde another tower foure-square, and plant some foure or fve pieces of ordinance, and this will serue for the night, if occasion be offered that any small shippe or barke should come in here, or any pinnelle in the night, to doe any harme, or to attempt to burne any flete which shoulde ride here at an anker within this harbour : so the fort being on the one side, and the tower on the other side, keeping good watch, there can no shippe nor barke come into this harbour, but they will bee espied.

The poynt of
YCACOS.

In the narrow mouth at the entring in the other way towards the Island of Cares, where the channell doth runne neere the shoze, as I haue already certified your maiestie, there may an- other castle be made, and there foure or fve pieces of ordinance planted, and some sixe or eight men to keepe watch and ward : this being done, your maiestie shall haue this citie very well fortified, by reason it is of such importance for the seruice of your maiestie, and the trade of all Spaine and Peru, and all the Indies : for this is the principall fort of all this countrey.

Duer against this point of the Ycacos, in the Isle of Cares, hard by the water side, there are great store of stones, free stones, and other stones to make lyme, and wood to burne the stones withall for the lyme, and great part of the stones doe lie about the water : so the wood will cost but the cutting of it downe, and the working of it, and with little paines taking it will bee brought to good perfection, for wee haue already made triall thereof, for there was neuer building that went to decay after it hath bene made, nor perished by the sea: so the charge hereof will be but little or nothing.

And for to put this in practife to build a fort, it is needefull that your maiestie should send hi- ther and to many other places, where any fort shall bee made, some store of Negros, and to this place would be sent 150 Negros brought from Guyney : and if the Negros of Hauana are not to bee employed there, nor those which are in Sant Iuan de Vllua, it may please your maiestie to cause them to bee sent for to this place, for most of them be artificers, some masons, brick- layers, smithes and sawyers, and to send some masons from Spaine to teach our men these occu- pations. And after these fortifications are ended and all furnished, then the Negros may be solde to great profit, for a Negro that is of any occupation is sold here for 600. and 700. pesos.

Nombre de Dios.

NOMBRE DE DIOS is builded vpon a sandy Bay hard by the sea side, it is a citie of some thirtie households or inhabitants : their houses are builded of timber, and most of the people which are there be forreiners, they are there to day and gone to morrow : it is full of woods and some places of the land are ouerflown with water continually by reason of much raine which doth fall vpon the hills. It is a very bad harbour, neither is there any good water : and it is sub- iect to northerly winds and Easterly windes, which continually doe blow vpon this coast : many of the great ships which doe come to this place doe vnlade halfe their commodities betweene the two ledges of rockes, for that there is but little water in the harbour : and after that a ship

hath

hath unladen halfe of her goods, then shee goeth to the second rocke, as it doth appeare by the platforme, but the small ships come neere vnto another rocke on the West side. If the winde chance to come to the North and North-west, and that it ouerblowe, then such great ships as then be in the roade must of force moze themselves with sixe cables a head, especially in a storme, and yet neuertheless sometimes they are driuen ashore and so cast away, and all because they dare not bier cable prouough, because of so many shelles and rockes which are in both those places: also the shippes doe roule very much in the harbour, by reason in foule weather the Sea will bee mightily growen, which is the cause that their cables do oftentimes breake, and their ruthers are vnhanged, the cause thereof is by reason the shippes doe ride but in litle water, yet goeth there a great sea.

The citie is builded and situated very well if it were a good harbour, it standeth vpon the East side vpon a rocke where they may builde a very good fort, according to the platforme for the safeguard of this harbour: but seeing it is but a bad haven and shallow water, therefore I doe thinke that it is not needefull for your maiestie to be at any charges in fortifying that place, but onely a trench to be made of earth or clay, so that these townesmen may defend themselves from danger of 3. or 4. shippes.

The citie of Panama is eightene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the wayes are exceeding bad thitherwards; yet notwithstanding all the silver is brought this way to Nombre de Dios, as well your maiesties treasure as other marchandize; so likewise the most part of those commodities which are caried to Peru, and the rest of the marchandize are carried to the riuer of Chagre which is some 18 leagues from this citie and it is brought vp by this riuer within fife leagues of Panama vnto an Inne or lodge called Venta de Cruzes, and from this place afterwards they are transported to Panama vpon Mules. The high way which goeth from Nombre de Dios to Panama may be very wel mended, only to remooue this way and to stop it quite vp, and so to make it againe vpon the side of a mountaine. This citie lieth in nine degrees and one tierce, and if your maiestie will giue order that this citie should be plucked downe and newly builded againe in Puerto Bello, then you are to make a new way through the mountains of Capira, by reason it may not be frequented and because the high wayes are very bad: with litle charges they may be broken and so shut vp, and the chanell of this harbour may bee stoppt with the timber of those old ships which are laid vp here euery yeere, and then afterwards may be cast a great number of stones into the same, and so by this meanes to damme vp the harbour: and here is great want of stones to ballast the shippes: wherefore they are faine to goe to an Island three leagues from Cartagena called Isla de los Bastimentos, and this is a thing very needefull for this Countrey, as by experience I haue scene,

Nombre de Dios
in 9. deg. and
one tierce.

Puerto Bello.

Puerto Bello lieth fife leagues from Nombre de Dios Westward: It is a very good harbour and sufficient to receiue great store of ships, and hath very good ankering, and fresh water: for neere the shore you shall find some sixe fathome water, and in the middelt of the same harbour you shall find twelue fathome, very good and cleane ground or sand, without eyther banks or rockes. There are twelue small riuers or brookes of water which doe belong to this harbour, and so doe meete all together: so that the flete may at all times prouide themselves of fresh water so much as shall serue their turnes. And likewise there is in this place great store of timber to build shippes, and stones to ballast shippes. Also the harbour hath no danger at all in comming in, but onely when the wind is Westerly, which is seldome scene vpon this coast. The windes which doe most blowe vpon this coast are Northerly windes, and they are moze dangerous and hurtfull then the Easterly windes are. Within this harbour there lieth a small creeke safe from all winds that can blow. This creek is about fife hundred yards long, and so many in breadth, and in the entring in of this creekes mouth it is some 300. yardes broad, and foure fathome and a halfe of water: and entring farther in, sixe fathome, all oaze and muddie ground: so that if a ship should chance to strike or come aground, shee could take no harme being soft oaze; also it doth ebbe and flow accoring as I haue certified your maiestie already.

And likewise the comming in and going out of this harbour is very good: and with all kinde of weather a shippe may set saile from this place except with a Westerly wind: and all this coast is very cleane where a shippe at all times may come to anker without the harbours mouth. This harbour is inuironed round about with woods: and at the ende of this harbour there is certaine land which is ouerflown with water: it may bee easily dyed vp and walled round about,

about, so this land will serue very well to feede cattell. For that is the chiefeſt thing which doth belong to any citie or towne, and of this pasture ground there is great want in Nombre de Dios, for there is no pasture at all to breede cattell, for all kinde of flesh which is spent in this place is brought from Panama: so towards the South there is a very good place, where the citie may be newe built on a certaine plaine ground which lieth at the foot of certaine mountaines, which bee not very high; and in this place there runne three little riuers of fresh water very sweete and good, and here is good arable ground to till and to sow Maiz and other kinds of graine. Also in this circuite there are great stones to make lyme, and these stones must needs prooue very good as I doe thinke, but we neuer had any triall thereof.

This harbour hath all things necessary to builde a citie, where your maiestie may haue your armies and fleetes of shippes to ride at an anker in safetie without danger of loosing: and it is a very healthfull countrey, and where the citie shall be builded it is all stony ground: and forasmuch as the raine water which doth fall from the mountaines may doe hurt vnto the citie, there at the foote of the mountaine wee will make a great pond to receiue in all the water which doth fall from the mountaines, and so from thence to goe into the sea, as moze at large your maiestie may see by my platfoyme.

If it would please your maiestie, it were good that the citie of Nombre de Dios might bee brought and builded in this harbour: it would not bee very chargeable vnto the citizens by reason that all their houses are made of timber, and they may benefite themselves with the same againe, and likewise with the tyles of their houses: the greatest charge will bee to land timber and to cut downe the mountaine of wood.

If it please your maiestie that the sayd citie of Nombre de Dios should bee builded in this harbour the first thing which must be finished is to make vp this high way, and so to pull downe the Church which is in Nombre Dios, and the Contractation house, and so newe build it in this harbour: and then to command all the fleetes of shippes from time to time to come and vnlade their goods in this sayd Puerto Bello: And that those marchants and factozs of Spaine which are lygers in Panama and Nombre de Dios, shall come to this harbour and builde anew their warehouses for receiuing of their goods. So by these meanes in short time it will be greatly inhabited with people: also the fleete shall not passe so many dangers as they dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: neither will there so many people die as there dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: and the cause thereof is, that those labouring men which doe vse to vnlade those marchandize, are all the whole day wading in the water vp to the armpits to bring the packs of cloth and other commodities aland; for there is no landing place where there can come any boates to land any goods close to the shore, so this wading and the parching of the Sunne is the cause why so many doe dye of a burning feuer. There are but 60. dwelling houses in Nombre de Dios, and but thirtie dwellers which doe continually dwell there, and the rest doe goe to Panama after the fleete is gone, and then this Towne doeth remayne desolate, euery man forsaking it because it is so full of diseases.

In the entering in of this harbour for the moze securitie thereof and defence of the towne it is needefull to build vpon the toppes of the mount which lyeth to the Northward, a little fort fouresquare that will hold foure or fve pieces of ordinance, and to appoynt fixe men to watch and ward; and this being done wee shall haue no occasion to make any moze defence, by reason the countrey is full of rocks and filthy wayes, and all full of woods round about the harbour.

And so likewise on the other side to builde a little tower in maner of a fort, with eight pieces of ordinance and fixe and twenty souldiers to keepe it. And this will bee of moze importance because it must be builded on the towne side. And a little beyond this place on the Northside there lyeth a creeke, where there is a very good ankering in eight fathome water: so this fort being builded in this place it will defend the harbour and offend the enemy: and will defend the coast along and a paynt of the land which doth runne from the East to the West, and reacheth to the Island of Buena Ventura. And put case that the fort which is builded on the other side doth decay, or be taken by the enemy, with this other fort wee may defend the citie very well, if the enemy should chauce to come into the harbour, and bee succoured and holpen by the citizens, and twenty musketters being planted vpon a mount which lyeth ouer the fort, will bee sufficient to defend vs from a good many of our enemies, that shoulde come to assault vs, because all the countrey is full of rockes and stones, and full of mountaines. So from this wood there may a way be made to goe to the citie, and to ioyne with that way which shall goe to Panama; and this may bee done with small charges. This harbour doth lie in nine degrees and one tierce, and if occasion shoulde serue wee may stop by the way which doth goe to Capira, and the rest of the wayes

wayes which goe from Nombre de Dios to Venta de Cruzes, according as it is certified me by the Negros called Simerons; for they told me that this way would not bee very troublesome. Although in the Winter it is reported that there is good store of water in this place, which in the Sommer it is all dzyed up, and where these waters are, there we may builde a causey, to which purpose there are great quantities of stones and timber very serviceable: so this way may bee made with that treasure which your maiestie doeth receiue of the auerages and customes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which doth amount vnto twelue or foureteeen thousand pezos yearly: and an order might be taken for the same, that the sayd money may serue for the building and repairing of these wayes.

Panama.

Panama is the principall citie of this Dioces: it lieth 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios on the South sea, and standeth in 9. degrees. There are 3. Monasteries in this said city of fryers, the one is of Dominicks, the other is of Augustines, and the third is of S. Francis fryers: also there is a College of Iesuits, and the royall audience or chancery is kept in this citie.

This citie is situated hard by the sea side on a sandy bay: the one side of this citie is enuironed with the sea, and on the other side it is enclosed with an arme of the sea which runneth by into the land 1000. pards.

Panama hath
350. houses.

Negros Simerons
mostall ene-
mies to the
Spaniards.

This citie hath three hundred and fiftie houses, all built of timber, and there are sixe hundred dwellers and eight hundred souldiers with the townesmen, and foure hundred Negros of Guyney, and some of them are free men: and there is another towne which is called Santa Cruz la Real of Negros Simerons, and most of them are imployed in your maiesties seruice, and they are 100. in number, and this towne is a league from this citie vpon a great riuers side, which is a league from the sea right ouer against the harbour of Pericos. But there is no trust nor confidence in any of these Negros, and therefore we must take heede and beware of them, for they are our mostall enemies.

There are three sundry wayes to come to this citie, besides the sea, where the enemy may assault vs. The one is at the bridge which is builded vpon the riuier: and on the one side of this, there lieth a creeke: so on this side the citie is very strong, because it is all soft muddy ground, for in no way they cannot goe vpon it. And right ouer against it there lyeth a riuier which is in manner like vnto a ditch or moate; and on the other side of the Riuier there lyeth a great Lake or Pond which is full of water all the Winter, and part of the Sommer, so that on this side the city is very strong, for with very small store of souldiers this place might bee kept very well.

The best way
to take Panama.

Perico.

The greatest danger for the surprising of this citie is the way that doth come from Nombre de Dios: for all this way is playne ground and no woods: and 2000. pards from this citie there lyeth a riuier called Lauanderas, where the women doe vse to wash their linnen: and this riuier doth goe into the creeke, according as I haue certified your maiestie: and being once past this ritter, there is a causey which goeth directly vnto them. The other way which doth go towards the citie is lower downe towards the sea at a stone bridge lying vpon the way which goeth to the harbour of Perico. These two wayes cannot be kept nor resisted, because it is all playne ground and medowes.

An Island in
the harbour of
Panama.

Vpon the East side of this citie there are your maiesties royall houses builded vpon a rocke ioyning hard to the Sea side, and they doe as well leane towards the sea as the land. The royall audience or chancery is kept here in these houses, and likewise the prison. And in this place all your maiesties treasure is kept. There dwelleth in these houses your maiesties Treasurer, the Lord President, and 3. Iudges, and master Atturney. All these doe dwell in these houses, and the rest of your maiesties officers: which are sixe houses besides those of the Lord President, the which are all dwelling houses, and all adioyning together one by another along vpon the rockes. And they are builded all of timber and boardes, as the other houses are. So where the prison standeth and the great hall, these two places may bee very well fortified, because they serue so fitly for the purpose, by reason they are builded towards the sea, and that there lyeth certaine small rocks, which at a lowe water are all discovered and drie, and some of them are seene at a high water. Right ouer these houses to the Eastwardes there lyeth an Island about five hundred pards from these houses, and the Island is in forme of a halfe moone; and in this order it runneth all along very neere the maine land: so ouer against these houses there lyeth the harbour

harbour where all the shippes doe vse to ride at an anker, after that they haue discharged and vnladen their marchandize. For when they haue their lading aboord, there can come in none but small Barkes, and at a lowe water the shippes are all aground and drie, and so is all the space some thirtie pades from those houses. Right ouer against them standeth the citie.

When newes were brought to this citie of those Pirates which were come vpon this coast, the Lord President and Judges commanded that there should a sconce bee made, and trenched round about, made all of timber for the defence of this citie against the enemy, and to keepe your maiesties treasure. So your officers caused Venta de Cruzes to be fortified, and likewise Chagre, and Quebrada, and fortified the garrison of Ballano: for all these are places where the enemy may land, and by this meanes spoyle all this countrey.

Places good to land in.

There are three sundry places, where this citie may without difficulty be taken, and spoiled by the Pirates. The first is on the North seas in a certaine place which lyeth foureteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the place is called Aele to the Eastwards, where once before certaine men of warre haue entred into those seas. The other place is Nombre de Dios, although this is a bad place and naughtie wayes, and full of waters and a very dirtie way: for three partes of the yeere the countrey people doe trauell vpon those waters, and an other very badde way, which is the going vp of certaine rockes and mountaines which they must climbe, called the mountaines of Capira, which are of height three quarters of a league, so in this place with very small stoze of souldiers wee can defend our selues from the fury of the enemy, so these dwellers doe say that in Sommer the wayes are very good without either dirt or water.

1. Place. This was Oxenham.
2. Place.

The other entrance is by the riuer of Chagre, which riuers mouth lyeth eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios to the Westwards falling into the North sea, and this is the place which the citizens of Panama doe most feare, for they may come by this riuer to Venta de Cruzes, and so from thence march to this citie, which is but fine leagues off. So by this riuer there goe boates and barkes which doe carry 320. Quintals waight. These are they which carry the most part of the marchandize which doe come from Spaine to be transported to Peru, and from Venta de Cruzes it is carried to Limaret which is three leagues off that place, and the dwellers doe repute that it is a very good way: and if any men of warre will attempt to come into these seas, they may very easily come by this riuer as farre as Venta de Cruzes, and from thence march vnto this citie, and if the enemy will, they may bring their pinnesses ready made in foure quarters, and so taken in sunder, may afterwards set them together againe: as it is reported that Francis Drake hath vsed it once before when he came that voyage; and so he may attempt vs both by sea and land. And forasmuch as the most part of these people are marchants, they will not fight, but onely keepe their owne persons in safetie, and saue their goods; as it hath bene seene heretofore in other places of these Indies.

3. Place.

The place of most aduantage for the English.

So if it will please your maiesty to cause these houses to bee strongly fortified, considering it standeth in a very good place if any sudden alarms should happen; then the citizens with their goods may get themselves to this place, and so escape the terrour of the enemy: and so this will be a good securitie for all the treasure which doth come from Peru. So all the Pirates and rebels, which haue robbed in these parts, haue gone about what they can to stoppe this passage, and so by this meanes to stoppe the trade of Spaine, and to set souldiers in this place, for to intercept and take your maiesties treasure, whereby none might be caried into Spaine. Therefore it behooueth your maiesty to fortifie these places very strongly.

These places being fortified in this maner, your maiesty shal haue al your gold and siluer brought home in safetie which cometh from Peru. And all those commodities which are laden in Spaine may come safe to this place. And if perchance any rebels should rise in these parts, which would rebel against your maiesty, which God forbid, if they should chace to toyne with any of these pirats, hauing this place so wel fortified, & Puerto Bello in the North parts, & so to send some garrison your maiesty needs not to feare: for here in this harbor are alwayes 10 or 12 barks of 60 or 50 tunnes apiece, which do belong to this harbor. So if any of these places shalbe intercepted, the your maiesty hath no other place fitter then this to land your maiesties souldiers, for then they haue but 18. leagues to march by land, & presently they may be shipped to supply these places which shal stand in most need of them. In al the coast of Peru there is no harbour that hath any shipping but onely this place, and the citie of Lima, where there are some ships and barks. The harbour being thus open without any defence, a man of war may very easily come to this place, as I haue certified your maiesty, thorow the streits of Magellane, & arrive at that instant, when those barks do come from Peru with your maiesties gold & siluer, for sometimes they bring 5 or 6 millions in those barks; so the enemy may come and take al their treasure, & not leese one man, because here is not one man to resist.

Rebellion feared in the West Indies.

5. or 6. millions of gold & siluer.

resist

resist him, therefore this place being thus fortified, the treasure may be kept in the fort. There is a trench made round about your maiesties houses which are builded of timber: the President and Judges did cause it to be made, for that here was newes brought that there were certaine men of warre, & pirats coming for these parts. So this trench is thus maintained until such time as your maiesties pleasure is to the contrary, & in such wise that your souldiers may fight lying behind the trench; so there is order given to build a platfoyme vpon the plaine ground, and so to plant such ordinance in those places, as shall be thought most conuenient.

The harbour
of Perico.

If it will please your maiestie, here we may make a sconce or fort toward the land side, & so trench it round about and build it with stone, because here is a place and al things readie for the same purpose; and by this meanes the citie would be securely kept: as for the sea there is no danger at al, by reason that the water doth ebbe & flow twice a day, and then when it is ebbing water it will be all dry & muddy ground & rocks, so that in no wise at a low water the enemy can wade ouer the mud to come to this city, and it reacheth from the Island til you come to the bridge called Paita. Two leagues from this city there lieth a harbor called Perico downe to the Westward: this is a very sure harbour by reason of 3. Islands which do ioyne in manner of a halfe moone; they lie halfe a league from the maine, the Islands do enclose the harbor round about, the harbour is a very high land, & the Islands are but reasonable high, there is good store of fresh water: also there hath neuer any ship bene cast away in this harbour, for there is 7. fathome water at ful sea, and 3 or 4 fathome at lower water, and very good ground for their ankering, and when they will trimme their ships they may hale them ashore. All those ships and barks which come from Peru with gold, silver or any other kind of commodities, do first come to an anker in this harbour, and if they haue a contrary weather they cannot come into the harbour of Panama; and for so much as the harbour hath no defence for the safegard of the ships, if a man of warre should chance to come into the harbour, all the barks with the treasure may be very easily taken. And likewise these barks & ships which do nauigate in the South seas carrie not so much as one piece of ordinance or a rapier to defend them withall. From this place to Venta de Cruzes is not passing 5 leagues; so that if any pinelle should happen to arrive there, no doubt but they might robbe and take al your treasure which is in those barks, by reason that from the shore they cannot be rescued nor holpen, because it is an Island and refuge for all ships and barks. If it would please your maiestie here might some force or defence bee made in the middlemost Island, and some ordinance planted, and this might bee made with litle charges, because in the said Island there are all kinde of necessaries fit for that purpose, so by this meanes your maiestie may haue both the harbour and the citie very well kept.

Nota.

20 new way
into the south
sea.

And likewise there is another entring into the South sea which is called the riuer of Francisca, which lieth on this side of the Cabeça de Carina, and this riuer doth come into another riuer which is called Caracol, and is five leagues from this citie; and once before these Simerons brought into this place certaine Frenchmen.

The riuer of Chagre.

These five
leagues are
very good
ground on
champion
countrey.

The riuer of Chagre lieth in 9. degrees and one tierce. The mouth of this riuer is in the North seas 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios, and 13. leagues from Puerto Bello: there is caried by this riuer certaine quantitie of those merchandize which are vnladen at Nombre de Dios which come from Spaine. From the mouth of this riuer to Venta de Cruzes are eightene leagues. From this place where the barks vnlade their commodities, they are carried vpon mules to Panama, which is but five leagues off from this place.

This riuer hath great store of water in the Winter. And the barks which belong to this riuer are commonly of 320. Quintals that is of 16. cunnes in burthen: but in the Summer there is but small store of water: so then the barks haue much to doe to get by this riuer: and in many places these barks are constrained to vnlade their commodities; and are drawn by mens strength and force a good way by the riuer, and therefore if it would please your maiestie to command that all those goods may bee first vnladen in Puerto Bello, and there to build a litle castle in the mouth of the said riuer, and at the foote of the caille to build a storehouse to vnlade and keepe all the said goods, and there to build other barks of lesse burthen: then these would serue for Summer, and the great barks for the Winter.

If it would please your maiestie, there might a very good high way be made on the one side of the riuer, and so they might bee tolwed, for it may bee made and not with much cost because it is all plaine ground, and there is growing vpon the said riuer great store of timber and trees which

doe lie ouerthwart the said Riuer; so that they are very cumbersome and great annoiance vnto the said boates, as well those that go by the said Riuer, as also that doe come downe the said Riuer.

And therfore if it might please your maiestie to command, that Puerto belo might be inhabited, and the towne made neerer the Riuer's side, euery thing would be a great deale better cheape, if the commodities were caried by the Riuer: for it is a great danger to cary them by land, for it is daily seene that the mules do many times fall and breake their neckes with their lading vpon their backs, as well the treasure as other kinde of commodities, because it is such a bad way. And your maiestie might be at this charges and spend of your reuenues of Nombre de dios and Panama, which do yerely yeild 12 or 14 thousand pezos, & this being once done it would be a great ayd and benefit to those, which doe trade and trafficke, and to those merchantes which doe send their goods ouer-land, and ease them much of paine and purse, because the other is a most filthy way, as any is in the worlde.

A brieue remembrance of a voyage made in the yeere 1589 by William Michelson Captaine, and William Mace of Ratcliffe, Master of a ship called the *Dogge*, to the Bay of Mexico in the West India.

The aforesaid ship called the *Dogge*, of the burthen of threescore and ten tunnes was furnished, and armed forth with the number of fortie men: it departed from the coast of England in the moneth of May, directly for the West India: It fell with the Bay of Mexico, and there met with diuers Spanish ships at sundry times, whereof three fel into her layle and were forced to yeeld vnto the mercie of the English: the last that they met within the Bay was a Spanish man of warre, whom the English chased, and after three seuerall fightes, vpon three diuers dayes, pressed him so farre that he entreated a parle, by putting out a flagge of truce: the parle was granted, and certaine of the Spaniards came aboard the English. There after conference about those matters that had passed in the fight betwixt them, they receiued reasonable intertainement and a quiet farewell. The Spanish, as if they had ment to requite the English courtesie, invited our men to their shippe, who perlwading themselves of good meaning in the Spanish, went aboard: but honest and friendly dealing was not their purpose, suddenly they assaulted our men, and one with a dagger stabde Roger King's nod the English Pilot to the heart and slewe him, and others were serued with the like sauce, onely William Mace the Master & others, notwithstanding al the prepared trappes of the enemy, leapt ouerboard into the sea, and so came safe to their own ship: and directing his course for England, arriued at Plimouth the tenth day of September 1589, laden with wines, yron, Roans, which is a kinde of linnen cloth, and other rich commodities, looking for the arriual of the rest of his consortes, whereof one and the principall hath not long since obtained his Port. Thus much in generall termes onely I haue as yet learned, and receiued touching this voyage, extracted out of letters sent from the aforesaid William Mace, to Master Edward Wilkin-son of Towre-hill in London. My principall intention by this example is to admonish our nation of circumspection in dealing with that subtile enemy, and neuer to trust the Spanish further, then that their owne strength shall be able to master them: for otherwise whosoever shall through simplicitie trust their courtesie, shall by tryall taste of their assured crueltie.

Spanish
treason.

CERTAIN SPANISH LETTERS INTER-

cepted by shippes of the Worshipfull Master John VVattes

written from diuerse places of the Islandes and of the maine land

as well of *Nueva España*, as of *Tierra Firme* and *Peru*, containing

many secrets touching the aforesaid Countreys, and the state

of the South Sea, and the Trade to the *Philippinas*.

A letter sent from *Hauana* in *Cuba* from the general of the fleet

John de Orimo to the king of *Spain* the 18 of October 1590, touching the

building of certaine excellent Frigats, &c.

It may please your maiestie that at the date hereof one of the Frigates was launched: and three more will be ready against the fleet depart from hence. They are very bigge and excellent of layle, which will carie 150 men a piece with soldiers and mariners. And hauing good ordinance, there are fewe or none of our enemies that can offend vs. For wee shall both leaue and take at all times when

Aaa.

we

we list. But it behooveth your maiestie to send both souldiers and mariners to man the Frigats. For we have great want of souldiers and mariners, with tackling, ankers, powder, shot, calivers, and all kinde of furniture for them. For these things are not here to bee had for money: and likewise to send some great ordinance for the Zabras. For the merchants ships are so weake and so vnprouided, that they haue almost none to defend themselves. Also we shall be constrained to giue the carena againe vnto al the ships; for they are very weake by reason of the long voyage: and the mariners and souldiers are wearie with their long travelling and keeping of them here. Thus if it would please your maiestie to command with all expedition that these souldiers and mariners with al kinde of other furniture might be sent vs, then the fleete may set forward and so procede on their voyage. God preserve your Catholike royal maiestie. At Hauana the 20 October 1590.

Your maiesties seruant, whose royall feet I kisse,
JOHN DE ORIMO General of your Fleete.

A Letter sent from the Gouvernour of *Hauana* *John de Trexeda*, to the King of *Spaine*, the twentieth of October 1590, touching the wants of that place.

By three shippes which departed from this Harbour since the Fleetes arriual here, I haue giuen your maiestie at large to vnderstand, what hath happened as much as I can, and what thing is here to be done in this citie, and what your maiestie must prouide. And now once againe I will returne to put your maiestie in minde thereof. I beseech your maiestie to command to be prouided and to be sent hither two hundred Negros, if you will haue this fortification to goe forwardes: because your maiestie is here at great charges with the master workman and the Officers. And for want of Pioners the worke goeth not forwardes. For as the worke goeth dayly forward and increaseth farther and farther, so we want men to worke, and to garde it, and likewise to keep it. We dare not meddle with those of the Galies. And likewise it may please your maiestie to send new working tooles of yron, according to a remembrance which I haue sent to your maiestie of late, which doeth signifie our wants more at large.

Likewise it is needefull that your maiestie should send powder and match to furnish these forts. And likewise to send money to pay those souldiers which are newly come hither, & for that companie of souldiers which were sent from Mexico to this place. For it behooveth your maiestie not to haue them as yet left, till such time as the defences about the forts bee finished, and that which is in building vpon the hill, which will be ended very shortly if you send the Negros, and yron tooles.

Likewise I haue certified your maiestie, that with all speed I am making ready of the five Frigates, that they may cary all the treasure. Also John de Orimo seeing that it is of so great importance to haue them dispatched, doeth furnish mee with some money, although somewhat scantily, vntill such time as your maiestie doth send him some order therefore. I beseech you to command it to bee done; considering the great charges and expences that we are at here, as by the accounts your Maiestie shall more at large perceiue, what hath bene spent. These Frigates will be made an end of without all doubt by the moneth of Februarie: but as yet their tackling and sayles are not here arriued: but I doe stay the coming thereof euery day, according as the Duke of Medina and John de Ibarra haue written vnto me, that those ships which should bring the same were ready to depart from thence. All these things it behooveth your Maiestie to send in time: for I can assure your Maiestie that you shall not haue vpon the sea such good shippes as these are. For as touching the othere ships of the fleete, which are in this harbour, it is not conuenient to venture the silver in them. This counsell your Maiestie shall not take of mee, for I am a souldier, and haue but small skill in nauigation. But euery day it is tolde me openly and in secret by many of the pilots, captaines, masters, and mariners.

As touching the copper, I haue put it in practise twise more, and haue made prooue thereof: wherein there hath bene more spent, then I was willing there should haue bene, because I haue gotten no fruit thereof: I know not the cause, but that it is not done effectually by those that haue the working thereof. Therefore I beseech your Maiestie to send me that same souldier which I wrote to your Maiestie heretofore of. Our Lord keepe your Maiestie many yeeres. From Hauana the 20 of October, 1590.

Your Maiesties seruant, whose royall feet I kisse,
JOHN DE TREXEDA gouernour of *Hauana*.

A letter

The newe fortification in Hauana.

Souldiers sent to Hauana, to fort vpon an hill.

Five Frigates made at Hauana. John de Orimo General of the Fleete.

The excellency of the great Frigates built in Cuba.

Copper mines newly found in Cuba.

A letter sent to Don Petro de Xibar one of his Maiesties priuie Counsel of the West Indies, from Don Diego Mendez de Valdes Gouvernour of S. Iuan de Puerto Rico the 20 of Nouember 1590, touching the state of that Citie and Island.



Recieued your honour's letter the 20 of Februarie, whereby I receiued great content, to heare that your honour is in good health. As touching the imprisonment of our cousin Don Pedro de Valdes, it doeth grieue me to the very soule. I beseech God to send him his libertie: and likewise the imprisonment of Diego Flores de Valdes grieueth me very much: I pray God to send good iustice. The *P.* of the fiesle Iuan de Texela, and the *P.* workeman

Pedro de Valdes, prisoner in England.

Iohn Baptista Antonio the generall Iuge, honr of the West Indies.

Iuan Baptista Antonio arriued here in safetie, and haue bestowed this Citie with all the circuit round about and the situation as I haue informed his maiestie thereof. They haue marked a place to build a strong Fort, whereat the countrey remaineth very well contente. And it standeth in a good situation, and in a conuenient place on a high mount which doeth lye vpon the entering in of the Harbour, & so cutteth ouer to a point of land, leauing in the Fort as much space as will containe 3000 persons, without toyning thereunto any part of the coast. So the *P.* del campo hath named the fort Ciudadela. He left me great store of yron worke, tooles, eight workemen, and 200 Negros, which are the kings. And the Island doth finde 400 pioners, which are continually at worke. His maiestie hath sent me a warrant to spend the prouision of the Island, & to take those rents which his maiestie hath here, & to certifie his maiestie what there is wanting for the maintaining of the workmen & that they may haue all things necessary. So I haue sent to Nueva Espanna, for such things as are here wanting. I haue writte to the *P.* of the fiesle, which is gone to Hauana, informing him that it doeth greatly import that the worke with all expedition should go forward, seeing that it is begun for the defence of the Island. And we doe defend it as well as we can from the enemy, in respect of the great danger which otherwise might happen, if the enemy should come and finde it begun, and not ended. And likewise that his maiestie would send me that which I do request. And the most principal thing of al is, to send more Negros. And sending me all these things which be needful, I trust in God I shal in short time build up the fort, to defend vs from the enemy. The fort must be builded triangle wise: for it will reach into the bay: and we shal be able to plant in the same 40 pieces of good ordinance, Canon, Demi-canon, and Coluerine. The *P.* of the fiesle, hath promised to send me some from Hauana, for that he is determined to cast some there, by reason of the great store of copper, which now of late is found in Hauana: for here we haue as yet but small store of ordinance to defend vs. I looke for 5 Canons which his maiestie should send from Spaine, with shot and powder, and al kinde of weapons, because that here is great want in the Island. His maiestie hath sent the whole number of 200 souldiers, and in the companie there came two capitaines. The corps de Guard is kept in the market place: and twise in a moneth I muster all the men in the Island, and finde very nere 1500 fighting men, and 80 horsemen. The forte when it is ended will be the strongest that his maiestie hath in all the Indies. And now the people of the countrey sleepe in security. For commonly before, the Englishmen would come and beard vs to the hauens mouth. God keep your honour, and send you long health. From Puerto Rico the 20 of Nouember 1590.

A strong fort newly builded in S. Iuan de Puerto Rico.

This Fort was taken by the Earle of Cumberland, 1598.

Copper mines found nere Hauana, 200 souldiers sent to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico.

1500 fighting men in S. Iuan de Puerto Rico Island. The boldnes of the English.

The Gouvernour DIEGO MENDEZ DE VALDES.

A letter to Iohn Lopez Canauate, Alderman in the towne of Canauate in Spaine written from his seruant Iuan de Porua Canauates, from Hauana the seuenteenth of October 1590, touching the state of the said place.



This is to giue you to vnderstand, that since my departure from S. Lucar I haue writte vnto you twise of mine arriual here, and what successe I haue had. And now you shall vnderstand that I am determined to goe for Nueva Espanna. For I stay but opportunity of time. For here is great watch dayly kept and great looking to the souldiers in keeping of them together, for running away. But neuerthelesse I hope in God, to finde some friend to conuey mee away from hence. This countrey is so close and narrow, that if a man steale not away hidden in some shippe, it is not possible for him to escape, nor to goe a league out out of the towne, no way but by sea. And because the harbour is so close, it is the best harbour and the surest in the world. The harbour is made in this order. The entrie in towarde the land is by a narrow streight chanel, which continueth as long as a calluer shot, and from that place the riuer openeth broader and broader: There are in the entring in, two points which make with the land, whereupon are newly builded two strong forts, which are fortified with very great store of ordinance:

The souldiers run away from Hauana.

The boldnes
of the English.

18 ships built
in Cuba a-
gainst England.

ordinance: besides another strong and famous Forte which is in the Citie, so that it is impossible to take it. There are in these three Fortes, a thousand souldiers in Garison. And likewise here are two gallees to keepe the coast. Yet for all this, the audacious Englishmen being without all shame are not afraid to come and dare vs at our owne doores. Our iourney to goe for England is most certaine in the yeere 1592. Here are making with great expedition 18 ships, which are called Frigats for that effect. They are very strong shippes, and will drawe but very litle water, whereby they may enter amongst the shouds on the bankes of Flanders: they are builded the higher because here is great store of timber and excellent good and incorruptible. It is reported that the fleet will depart from hence in February, by reason that at that time the Englishmen are not departed out of their owne countrey. And thus I rest. From this Island of S. Christopher in Hauana this present day on S. Lukes euen; the 17 of October 1590.

Your Worships seruant, JOHN DE PORVA CANAVATES.

A letter from Mexico, of Sebastian Biscaino to his Father Antonio Biscaino in Corchio in Spaine, touching the great profit of the trade to China, and somewhat of M. Thomas Candish. Written the 20 of Iune 1590.

Acapulco the
harbour where
the ships lie
that goe for
China.



Having written to your worship by a friend of mine at large, now I will bee somewhat short. And this is onely to giue you to vnderstand, that foure moneths past, I came from China, and landed in Acapulco, 70 leagues from Mexico, which is the harbour where the ships that goe downe to China lye: and all the marchants of Mexico bring all their Spanish commodities downe to this harbour, to ship them for that countrey. It is one of the best harbours in all Nueua Espanna; and where the ships may ride most safely without all kinde of danger. For it lyeth vnder a necke of land, and behind a great point. And in this harbour here are foure great ships of Mexico of 600 and 800 tunnes a piece, which onely serue to cary our commodities to China, and so to returne backe againe. The order is thus. From hence to China is about two thousand leagues, farther then from hence to Spaine. And from hence their two first ships depart at one time to China: and are 13 or 14 moneths returning backe againe. And when those two ships are returned, then the other twaine two moneths after depart from hence. They goe nowe from hence very strong with souldiers. I can certifie you of one thing; That 200 ducates in Spanish commodities, and some Flemish wares which I carped with me thither, I made worth 1400 ducates there in the countrey. So I make account that with those silkes, and other commodities which I brought with me from thence to Mexico, I got 2500 ducates by the voyage: and had gotten more, if one packe of fine silkes had not bene spoiled with salt water. So as I sayd, there is great gaine to be gotten if that a man returne in safetie. But the yeere 1588 I had great mischance, comming in a ship from China to Nueua Espanna: which being laden with rich commodities, was taken by an Englishman which robbed vs and afterward burned our ship, wherein I lost a great deale of treasure and commodities.

From Acapulco
to China about
2000 leagues.

Flemish
wares good in
China.
A wonderfull
gaine.

M. Thomas
Candish.

Gold mynes
silver mynes
and pearles,
in China.
Fine linnen
cloth greatly
esteemed in
China.

Not above
one thousand
Spaniards in
the Phillipinas.

If I should write to you of the state of this countrey of China, and of the strange things which are there, and of the wealth of the countrey, I were not able to doe it, in an whole quier of paper. Onely I may certifie you, that it is the goodliest countrey, and the richest, and most plentiful in all the world. For here are great store of golde mynes, silver mynes, and pearle. great store of coten cloth: for the countrey people weareth nothing else but fine coten cloth, which is more accepted then silkes. For here is great store of silkes, & they are good cheape. All kinde of victuals, as bread, flesh, wines and hennies and all kindes of foules, are very plentifull. Here are great store of freriuers. The people are very louing. Here are very faire cities and townes with costly buildings, better then those in Spaine. And the countrey people go very richly apparelled, both in silkes and gold. But here we haue order from the king of Spaine, that a Spaniard may not dwell in China, about 3 yerres, and afterwards they must returne again into Nueua Espanna, and other souldiers must come in their places. The countrey is very vnwholesome for vs Spaniards. For within these 20 yerres of 14000, which haue gone to the Phillipinas, there are 13000 of them dead, and not past 1000 of them left aliue. There is a place in China which is an harbour, called Macaran, which the king hath giuen to the Spaniards freely: which shall be the place where the ships shall come and trafficke. For in this harbour there is a great riuer which goeth vp into the maine land, vnto diuers townes and cities, which are neere to this riuer. And thus troubling you no farther I rest. From Mexico the 20 of Iune 1590.

Your obedient sonne, SEBASTIAN BISCAINO.

A letter

A Letter of Bartholomew Cano to Peter de Tapia in Sinill, from Mexico the 30 of May 1590, touching the state of *Nueva España*, and the Fleet of that yeere.

BEcause I haue answered your letters which I haue receiued in the last Fleet, as touching that matter I haue no more to say. The occasion of my writing vnto you at this time, is to giue you to vnderstand, that those commodities which came in the last Fleet, were sold at the first good cheape, and those that bought them, got much by them. For now at this instant white Roan cloth is solde for 8 or 9 reals a bare. The cause of this was, by reason there came a carauel of Aduise from Hauana; which brought vs newes, how the armie that his maiestie did send for England, was all spoiled and cast away: and therefore they of Spaine did write that there would come no Fleet from Spaine hither this yeere: And this is the cause that all linnen cloth is very deere in these parts. Wines also are very deere: for they are sold for 90 and 100 deninas a pipe. When the Frigats departed from hence in August last 1589, Cochinilla was sold at that instant for 50 pesos the quintall; and now it is sold for 55 pesos. And since that newes came from Spaine in a carauel of S. Lucar, that it was solde there for 72 ducats the quintall, there are laden in this Fleet 14000 Arouas of Cochinilla, and 7000 Arouas more were laden in the Frigats which departed before the Fleet. There is laden in the Fleet great quantitie of treasure, more then hath bene sent to Spaine these many yeres, both for the Kings and the Vice-royes account. And the marchants and gentlemen of all these prouinces doe send great quantitie to supply the Kings wants: for that his maiestie hath written to the Vice-roy and to the gentlemen of these countreyes to ayde him with much money towarde the maintenance of his warres against France and other places, & therefore they haue sent good store: God send it well to Spaine. There are likewise laden aboard the Fleet to the number of 100000 hides, and great store of other kindes of this countrey commodities. So that the Fleet goeth very richly laden. Quicke siluer is here very deere, for here is almost none to bee had for any money to worke in the gold mynes: for without Quicke siluer wee cannot refine our gold. And no man vpon paine of death may bring any from Spaine hither; but all must come for the Kings account: and so the King doeth sell it here: there is exceeding great gaine therein. And thus I rest:
From Mexico, the 30 of May 1590.

BARTHOLOMEW CANO.

A letter of Frier Alonso new elected Bishop of Mechuacan, to the king of Spaine, written in Peru in the citie de los Reyes the first of March 1590, touching the state of Arica a chiefe Hauen in Peru.

Vpon Christmas euen the yere 1589, I receiued your maiesties commission in Potossi. For which I am and shall be continually bound to pray for your maiesties long health, for the great benefites which your maiestie hath bestowed vpon me, in sending me to Mechuacan: whereby my great trauell and paines may be recompenced, which I haue taken with that vngateful and desperate people of the riuer of Plate, which they haue bene the occasion of, in dealing so badly with me their Pastour, which haue counselled them, that they should haue a great care to serue God, and be dutifull to your maiestie, according as euery good and true subject ought to do. Now for this gift which your maiestie hath bestowed on me, I most humbly kisse your maiesties handes a thousand times. Thus presently I departed from Potossi somewhat sickely, to accomplish that which your maiestie hath commanded me. So I arriued at Lima in safetie the first of February by the way of Arica, which is an hauen towne, where they imbarke all the barres of siluer. And there I haue seene what is done, & what they haue prouided against the Englishmen in that hauen: which is, That there is a litle fort made hard by the waters side, with certaine small pieces of ordinance in the said fort to offend the enemy, if occasion should serue that they should offer to come into the harbour and offer any violence. But the principall thing of all that we want is to haue souldiers, foote men, and horsemen. For according as I am informed, here want 100 men which should keepe the coast, if they should offer to land and march by into the countrey. And likewise the people of this countrey haue told me, that if vpon an high mount which is here in the harbour neere to the hauens mouth, on the Southside of the harbour where the sea doth beat, ther were two or three great Canons planted on the top of the hill, (where very good watch is continually kept) from that place they may reach to doe the enemy great hurt, a league into the sea. The new Vice-roy Don Garcia Verrado de Mendoza, worthy of that dignitie, is in great fauour with al those of these

The people of the Riuer of Plate.

100 men wanting.

Good watch continually kept.

realmes : for that he is a great solliciter both by sea and land in all kinde of diligence, not loosing one houre in your seruice, and that which he hath in charge. With as much speed as may be I will depart from hence to Mechuacan, to serue that church and your maiesty : and there I will remaine according to your maiesties commandement, with the bulles or indulgences. Our Lord keepe your maiesty many yeres in his holy seruice. From the city de los Reyes the first of March 1590.

Frier Alonso bishop of Mechuacan.

A letter of Don Iohn de Miramontes Suasola to Don Iohn Garcias de Penafloa from Arica on the coast of Peru the tenth of March 1590.



After my long trauell and hadde successe, my fortune brought mee to the Indies; where being void of all hope, and full of griefe, I am become a souldier : a thing in this countrey which is most hated of all other things, not onely of men, but of the wilde beasts : and is an occupation which is chosen of idle persons. The occasion of this is, that there haue bene in these seas, and yet are certaine English rouers : and in seeking of them I haue trauelled these thre yeres : the one of the yeres a souldier, and the other two yeres I haue gone for captaine and ensigne-bearer. And at this time here is arriued Don Garcias Vrtado de Mendoza viceroy of these realmes : who hath chosen me to be chiefe ensigne-bearer of an army which departed from hence to scoure the coast. For here we haue newes of the enemy, which is comming vpon the coast : for wee haue stayed for their comming these foure moneths the same way which they must come, in a haven called Arica, which is the first entry of Peru. So I haue 90 pezos a moneth, besides other profits, at nine reals the pezo; & foure shares at nine reals the pezo. So that I haue 1800 pezos euer yere of pay : for the viceroy is my vere friend, and maketh great account of me. And I haue alwayes 400 ducats in my chest to goe like a man. I beseech God send vs quietnesse. But yet it is the part of a gentleman to serue the king his master in these actions. And thus I rest. From the harbour of Arica the tenth of March 1590.

I kisse your worshipps hands, and am at your commandement

Don Iohn de Miramontes Suasola.

There are foure great galeons of 350 tunnes a peece, which are in Arica men of warre, with a Generall, Admirall, Viceadmirall, with great store of souldiers which keepe this haven : for the viceroy hath intelligence that there are certaine Englishmen of war comming thither. This haven of Arica is the best harbour in all the South sea : for all the siluer which cometh from the mines of Potosi, is shipt in this harbour, and so brought to Lima. And likewise all the commodities which come from Spaine, and all the kings quicksiluer, is unladen in this harbour, and so carried to the city of Lima and other places, where the mines of siluer are.

A letter of the Licenciado Christopher Vslano to Gonfalu de Solana in the city of Encisa in Spaine, written from the city of Potosi in Peru the 20 of Iuly 1590, touching a great plague in Peru, and the shortnesse of the passage from the riuer of Plate into Potosi in Peru.



The last yere 1588 I receiued letters from your worship and from my sister : and since that time I haue receiued none, nor in the fleet which came to Cartagena 1589. And this yere 1590 there hath bene great want of corne in this kingdome of Potosi : for that there hath bene no raine in this kingdome of long time. For in March the husbandmen vse to sowe their corne : and in Aprill Winter doth begin. And if in April there be no raine, the corne which is sown will consume away : and so for want of raine we haue had two hadde yeres of corne. And likewise here hath bene in these countreys of Potosi, and in the city De la paz, great sicknesse among the Indians, Mullatos, and Mesticos, called the small pocks, and a certaine plague, which hath destroyed all this countrey. And there haue no olde people died, nor Spaniards, but onely this countrey people, from one yere to 30 yeres of age : so for want of Indians we can not worke in the mines. This sicknesse runneth al along the coast of Peru, and hath passed into the streights of Magalanes, whence we haue newes that those souldiers which were sent from Spain thither to build those forts are most of them dead, & especially the workemen which came to make the forts. The Generall Don Diego de Abols hath written to his maiesty to send more souldiers and more workemen, whereby these three forts might be builded according to the kings commandement. This sicknesse came first from Cartagena to this countrey, which is 1000 leagues distant : and, as I sayd, it hath gone all Peru ouer,

English men
in the South
sea fought 3
yeres.

This was
Chidleys fleet,
whereof the
Delight was in
the streights
of Magellan in
January and
Feb. 1589.

This was
Ad. Iohn Chid-
leys fleet.

Famine.

Plague.

to the utter undoing of this countrey: I pray God to cease it. I pray you when you write any letters to mee, send them in those shippes which come to Sain& Thomé, and take in Negros. And there are great store of ships which goe to Sain& Thomé for Negros, and it is but 15. dayes sailing ouer a gulfie to Brasill. And from Brasill their shippes bring their Negros to a haven called The haven of Buenos Aeres, which is within the entrance of the mightie river of Plate. And from this harbour all kinde of Spanish and Portugall commodities are caried to this citie of Potosi in carts and on horses: for it is but 10. or 12. dayes iourney, and the countrey is very plaine for carts to trauaile. And from Potosi to this harbour is great store of treasure brought to buy that countrey commodities, and so they are shipped for Portugall: and the ships go and come againe in short time. If his maiestie will consent that we may haue traffique from Spaine to this harbour, it will be very profitable: and in five or sixe moneths I shall heare from you, & you shall doe the like from me. And by the way of Cartagena it is sometime 2. yerres before we can receiue your letters from Spaine. By this way my brother may write, and so by this meane the letters may speedily come to my hand. And thus I rest. From this citie of Potosi the 20. of July 1590.

Peru utterly
vndone with
the plague.

20 short pas-
sage from Bue-
nos Aeres in
the river of
Plate to Peru

The tedious-
nesse of the
way by Carta-
gena to Peru.

The Licenciado CHRISTOPHER

VSLANO.

A letter of Steuen de Tresio to Alonso Martines Vaca in Siuil from Pa-
nama the 21. of August 1590. touching the kings desire to borrow money
vpon priuie seales, and the want of the countrey.

It may please your worship to vnderstand, that I haue receiued a packet of letters from you, wherein you write vnto me of the great miseries and the calamities of Spaine. And I promise you that these countreys are in no lesse. For here is great want of corne and other kind of prouision: for here is almost none to be had for any money, by reason that from Lima there is no shipping come with maiz. Here wee haue had newes from Spaine of the great prouision which is making ready for those great wars which his maiestie is in preparing, & of the great sums of money that his maiestie standeth in neede of: So that it doth put vs all that are dwellers here in such a perplexitie and confusion, that we know not what we shall doe. I pray God his maiestie take not away our money which wee haue sent to Spaine in the flecte. For here are marchants that haue sent some 200000. pezos, some 100000. pezos, some 60000. some more some lesse, to haue it imployed in commodities of that countrey. Although the king hath sent hither his scedule or bill of assignement signed and sealed by his maiestie, which hath bene proclaimed here: The contents whereof are, That what man soeuer marchant or other will lend their money into Spaine in that flecte, his maiestie will not take away any part or portion thereof, (which in so doing will bee a great comfort vnto vs all) yet here we were in doubt that hee would take it from vs all. Newes from the citie of Lima as yet we haue none: But I can certifie your worshippe, that all things are very deere here, and that we stand in great extremitie for want of victuals; and likewise we haue great want of money. Also here is order come from the king with certaine priuie seales for to lend his maiestie money, for that hee hath great neede thereof. This countrey at this instant is very poore, and there are none that can lend the king at this time any money at all, by reason that this lande is left so vnprouided of money: But we are looking for great store of money, which is to come from Lima and from The Valles.

White seales
to borrow mo-
ney sent into
Peru.

Abundance of
money to come
from Lima and
from The Val-
les.

From Panama the 12. of August 1590.

STEVEN de TRESIO.

A letter of the Licenciado Iohn de Labera to the Licenciado Alonso
Sapata de Henao in Castile in Calamea de la Sorengo, written from S. Fee de Bogo-
za in the new kingdom of Granada, the 10. of May 1590. touching therich siluer mines
of Marequita newly found out, and the long way thither by the river of Magdalena.

In other letters which I dispatched fro hence in August 1589. I wrote vnto your wor-
ship by 2. or 3. wayes: but I know not whether you haue receiued them or no. Presently
after I departed to the gouernment of Popayan, which ioyneeth with the citie of Quirio
in the coast of Peru, in companie of the gouernours lieutenant Don Diego Ordenez de
Lara

The citie of
Santa Fee in the
new kingdom
of Granada.

Great store of
metal found
in the newe
mines of Ma-
requita.
The great ri-
uer of Magda-
lena.

The richest
mines in all
Peru.

Lara of Salamanca. But I was faine to forsake his companie by reason I fell sicke in the citie of Marequira, where they haue discovered the great siluer mines: which citie is about 200. leagues from Cartagena: where I remained a certaine time very sicke. And because this countrey is extreme hotte, and I euery day grewe worse and worse, I was faine to traualle 30. leagues further by into the maine land to a citie called S. Fee in the new kingdom of Granada, being on the coast of Peru: which is a cold countrey: where I am admitted a procurator, for that the Roial audience is kept in this citie. So I finde my selfe very healthy of bodie, by reason this countrey is full of all kind of victuals, very good and very plentifull, as bread, cheese, bacon, beefe, great store of hennes, and great store of comfiteures. Onely here is want of golde: so that this countrey will be utterly vndone, if the mines of Marequira help not to restore the same again: whereof there is good hope: for here is great store of metall already found, and the workmen are in hand to refine the said metal: so that we are in good hope that great store of siluer will be found in these mines of great value and profite to his maiestie. This riuer is called The great riuer of Magdalena. There is a fish in the riuer called Cayman, which followeth after the canoas: and if it can reach any man in the canoa, it will haile him out and deuoure him. All night they lie in the sand on shore. In this riuer as we are going by, there is at certaine seasons great store of lightning and thunder, with such abundance of raine, as though the skies would fall downe: and so it doth continue from midnight vntil morning: so that we are faine to go aboard the canoas, & with certaine broad leaues which grow in the countrey, the mariners make a couering to cast ouer the wares which are laden in the canoas: and it doth keepe both the raine & sunne from vs which are passengers. The canoas are drawen by this riuer of Magdalena by maine force of the mariners in rowing and haling them with ropes. There are 7. or 8. Indians commonly which guide these canoas, besides the Master which keepeth the helme, and the passengers. We are commonly two moneths in going by this riuer. It is 150. leagues to the landing place. And there the marchants vnlade their marchandise, which serue for all the cities and townes which are in this newe kingdom of Granada. And the marchants lade the canoas backe againe from thence with great store of siluer and golde which is gotten out of the mines for Cartagena, and there it is shipped for Spaine. And likewise here is great quantitie of treasure laden in the sayd canoas which is for the kings custome and other dueties which are paid: But they are but a moneth or three weekes going downe the riuer to Cartagena. These are the richest mines in all Peru. And thus I rest.

From Santa Fee de Bogota in the new kingdom of Granada in Peru the 10. of May 1590.

The Licenciate IOHN de
LABERA.

A letter of Hieronymo de Nabares to the licenciado Iohn Alonso dwelling in Valladolid, written from Panama to Siuil the 24. day of August 1590. touching the gainefulnes of the trade to the Philippinas, and the extreme feare they haue of the Englishmen.



At long agoone I wrote to your worship from Panama by the way of Hauana: giuing you to vnderstand of my being here, & of the state of these countreys. After I departed from Spaine, in 37. dayes wee arrived at Cartagena: and from thence I tooke shipping to goe to Nombre de Dios, which is 80. leagues from Cartagena: and in 4. dayes wee got thither. And from thence I went to Panama: where I haue remained these 20. dayes, till the shippes goe for the Philippinas. My meaning is to carie my commodities thither: for it is constantly reported, that for euery hundred ducats a man shall get 600. ducats cleerely. Wee must stay here in Panama from August till it be Christmasse. For in August, September, October and Nouember it is winter here, and extreme foule weather vpon this coast of Peru, and not nauigable to goe to the Philippinas, nor to any place else in the South sea. So that at Christmasse the shippes begin to set on their voyage for those places: and then in these parts the summer beginneth with very faire weather, and alwayes we shall haue the windes with vs. For in July vntil October here is terrible thundering and lightening with extreme raines, so that it is not possible to go any way in this countrey. Here are in Panama 10. great shippes of 500, 400, 300, & 200. tunns apiece, & some 15. barkes which vse commonly to saile in the South sea to Lima, to the Valles, to Arica, and to the Philippinas. This countrey

The great pro-
fite of the trade
to the Philippi-
nas.

countrey in the summer is so extreme hotte, that it is not possible to trauele in the day time: it standeth in 8. deg. & 1. and all this coast is in 9. and 10. deg.. Here is great store of adders, snakes and toades, which are in the houses, but they doe but small hurt. Here bread, wine, and bacon are very deere, by reason the countrey doth not yeeld it: for it is brought from Peru. A li. of bread is worth here 2. rials of plate: a quart of wine is solde for 4. rials: for none groweth here. Here are very few sheep, and those extreme deere. The only food here for flesh, are oxen, kine, buls & heifers: you may buy 20. li. of beefe for one rial of plate. Their smallest money of siluer is a rial of plate, & very few of them, but all pieces of 4. & 8. For the siluer mines which dayly be found in Peru be wonderfull to bee spoken of. If a man did not see the siluer made, hee would neuer beleue it: for the very earth which commeth out of the mines, & is afterward washed, being but 3. or 4. peres on a mount, yeeldeth great store of siluer afterwards againe. But as here we get much, so our charge in meat, drinke and apparell doth cost very much. As for fruite here is none that is good, but onely mulke melons, and they are sold for 6. or 8. rials apiece. I can certifie your worship of no newes, but only, that all this countrey is in such extreme feare of the Englishmen our enemies, that the like was neuer seene nor heard of: for in seeing a saile, presently here are alarmes in all the countrey. I pray you to write vnto me as touching the wars that his Maiestie hath with our enemies, and howe his Maiestie doth preuaile. And thus I rest. From Panama in the firme land the 28. of Aug. 1590.

Twenty li. of
beefe may bee
bought for five
pence in Peru.

The English-
men extremely
feared in Peru.

HIERONYMO de
NABARES.

A relation of a memorable fight made the 13. of Iune 1591. against certaine Spanish ships & gallies in the West Indies, by 3. ships of the honorable sir George Carey knight, then marshall of her Maiesties household, and capitaine of the Ile of Wight, now lord Hunsdon, lord Chamberlaine, and capitaine of the honourable band of her Maiesties Pensioners.

The 13. of Iune 1591. being Sunday, at 5. of the clock in the morning we descried 6. saile of the king of Spaine his ships. Four of them were armadas, (viz. the Admirall and viceadmirall of 700. tuns apiece, and the other 2. of 600. apiece) and the other 2. were small ships, each of them about 100. tuns. We met wth them off the Cape de Corrientes, which standeth on the Iland of Cuba. The sight of the foresaid ships made vs ioyfull, hoping that they should make our voyage. But as soone as they descried vs, they made false fires one to another & gathered their fleet together, lying all close by a wind to the Southwards. We therefore at 6. of the clock in the morning (the wind being at East) hauing made our prayers to almighty God, prepared our selues for the fight: And (in hope they had bene of the Cartagena fleete) wee bare vp with our admirall and viceadmiral, to determine of the combate for the better directio therof. Our parle being ended, our admirall, viceadmiral, & the Hopewell gaue their admirall the prow, bringing themselves to leeward of him. We in the Content bare vp with their viceadmiral, and (ranging along by his broad side aweather of him) gaue him a volley of muskets and our great ordinance: then comming vp with another small ship ahead of the former, wee hailed her in such sort, that shee payd roome. Thus being in fight with the little ship, we saw a great smoke come from our admirall, and the Hopewell & Swallow forsaking him with all the sailes they could make: whereupon bearing vp with our admirall (before we could come to him) we had both the small ships to windward of vs, purposing (if we had not bene too hotte for them) to haue layd vs aboard. Thus (the fight continuing between vs and them 3. houres) we were forced to stand to the Northwards, the Hopewell and the Swallow not comming in all this while to ayd vs, as they might easily haue done. Our admirall by this time being in fight with their viceadmiral, and another great ship of theirs, stood off to sea with his topgallant saile, and all the sailes he could make: then might the Hopewell & the Swallow haue payd roome to second him, but they failed him as they did vs, standing off close by a wind to the Eastward. All this time we were forced to the Northwards with 2. of their great ships and one of their small. They hauing a loom gale (wee being altogether becalmed) wth both their great ships came vp faire by vs, shot at vs, and on the sudden furled their spritsailes & mainsailes, thinking that we could not escape them. Then falling to prayer, we shipped our oars that we might rowe to shore, & anker in shallow water where their great ships could not come nie vs. for other refuge we had none. Then 1. of their small ships being manned from 1. of their great, & hauing a boat to rowe themselves in, shipped her oars likewise & rowed after vs, thinking wth their small shot to haue put vs to our oars, until y^e great ships might come vp with vs: but by y^e time she was within musket shot, the

the Lord of his mercie did send vs a faire gale of wind at the North-west off the shore. What time (they being all to leeward of vs) wee stood to the East. The small ship was vnder our lee within Falcon shot, and another great shippe lay to the Westward, so that wee could no way possibly escape them vpon that boord: then (we thinking to auoyd them by casting about to the Westwards) the other great shippe gate vnder our lee, and the small ship on our weather quarter, purposing to make vs pay roome with the great ship, by force of her small & great shot. Then (we being lea boord tacked, and they sterboord) we made her spring her loofe, and by a fortunate shot which our gunner made, pierced her betwixt winde and water. Hereupon shee was forced to lay herselfe vpon the carena, and to stand with one of the other ships for ayde. Afterward (commending our selues to almightie God in prayer, and giuing him thanks for the winde which he had sent vs for our deliuerance) we looked forth and descried two saile more to the offen: these we thought to haue bene the Hopewell, and the Swallow that had stood in to ayde vs: but it prooued farre otherwise, for they were two of the kings gallies. Nowe hauing a loome gale of winde, wee shipped our oars, and rowed off the shore: and our watch was no sooner set, but wee espied one gallie vnder our lee hard by vs, boging vp with vs. Then (because it was euening) one of the great ships discharged fire great shot at vs, to the ende the gallies should knowe that wee were the shippe they looked for. Then the gallie came vp, and (hauing vs of whence our shippe was) a Portugall which wee had with vs, made them answere, that we were of the flecte of Tierra firma, and of Siuil: with that they bid vs amaine English dogs, and came vpon our quarter star-boord: and giuing vs fise cast pieces out of her prow, they sought to lay vs aboord: but wee so galled them with our muskets, that we put them from our quarter. Then they winding their gallie, came vp into our sterne, and with the way that the gallie had, did so violently thrust in the boordes of our captaines cabbine, that her nose came into it, minding to giue vs all their prow, and so to sinke vs. But wee being resolute, so plyed them with our small shot, that they could haue no time to discharge their great ordinance: and when they began to approach, wee heaued into them a ball of fire, and by that meanes put them off: wherupon they once againe fell asterne of vs, and gaue vs a prow. Then hauing the second time put them off, wee went to prayer, and sang the first part of the 25. Psalm, prayling God for our safe deliuerance. This being done, we might see 2. gallies and a frigate all three of them bending themselves together to encounter vs: hereupon we (eetsoones commending our estate into the hands of God) armed our selues, and resolved (for the honour of God, her Maestie, and our countrey) to fight it out till the last man. Then shaking a pike of fire in defiance of the enemy, and weauing them amaine, we had them come aboord: and an Englishman in the gallie made answer, that they would come aboord presently. So managing our selues to our furniture, and euery moment expecting the assault, wee heard them parle to this effect, that they determined to keepe vs companie till the morning, and then to make an end with vs: then giuing vs another shot from one of the gallies, they fell asterne. Thus our fight continued with the shippes and with the gallies, from seuen of the clock in the morning till eleuen at night. Howbeit God (which neuer faileth them that put their trust in him) sent vs a gale of winde about two of the clocke in the morning at Eastnortheast, which was for the preuenting of their crueltie, and the sauing of our liues. Also (the Lord be praised for it) in all this dangerous fight, wee had not one man slaine, and but 2. hurt: but our sayles and ropes were so rent with their shot, that it was wonderfull to behold: our maine mast also was shot cleane through, whereby wee were in exceeding great danger. Thus our confortes forooke vs, and left vs in these extremities. The next day being the 14. of June in the morning, wee saue all our aduersaries to lee-ward of vs, and they espying vs, chased vs till 10. of the clocke, and then seeing they could not preuaile, gaue vs ouer. So that day about 5. of the clocke in the afternoon, we bare vp to the South-west, in hope to finde our confortes, but we had no sight of them at that time, nor afterward. Then stood we in all that night for the Cape of S. Anthonie, hoping there to see our Admirall according to his direction. The 15. day of June early in the morning, we descried the Spanisch flecte againe, being within 5. leagues of Cape S. Anthonie. Then (hauing no sight of our confortes) wee stood for the place according to the direction of our owner sir George Carey, where we did plie for the space of 23. dayes, and neuer could see any sayle but two frigats, which wee gaue chase vnto the 24. of June, and could not fet them vp. Thus wee giue God most humble thanks for our safe deliuerance from the cruell enemy, which hath bene more mightie by the prouidence of God, then any tongue can expresse: to whom bee all prayse, Honour, and glorie, both now and euer, Amen.

Appendix.

The barke called The Content had but one Pinion, one Falcon, one Saker, & 2. port-bales. She continued fight (from seuen in the morning till sunset, with 3. armadas of 600. and 700. tunnes

the fight from
7. in the morn-
ing till 11. at
night.

tunnes aptee, and one small shippe of 100. tunnes, not being aboute musket shot from any of them. And before the sunne was set, there came vp to her two of the kings gallies. Besides, the Armadas shot their great ordinance continually at her, not so few as 500. times. And the sides, hull, and mastes of the Content were sowed thicke with musket bullets. Moreouer, all their sheats, tops and shrowdes were almost cut insunder with their great & small shot. There passed from the gallies (each whereof came thise vp to her, & discharged fise great pieces at a time, out of euery their prowes forthright, within three yards of her poope) through her maine saile 19. great shot, through her main top-saile foure: through her fore-saile seuen: through her fore-top-saile fise: and through her maine maste one. The vpper part of the Content was hurt in fise places. Onely 13. men continued this fight, the rest being in holbe.

A frigate of the Spaniards (being afterward taken) confessed, that there were in the gallies about 40. Spaniards slaine, and many were hurt in that combate.

The names of those 13. persons that continued the fight.

Nicolas Lisle, Capitaine,	}	Charles Creame.
M. Major, Lieutenant.		Thomas Godfrey.
William King, Master,		Giles Thornton.
Iohn Barwick, Mrs. mate,		Iohn Pells.
William Clement, gunner.		Iohn Bourel.
Thomas Houldships,		Ralph Grey.
Bote-swaine.		William Heore.

The names of the rest be these following.

Iohn Pic.	}	Iohn Twopenie.
Iohn Smith.		Edmund Giggs.
Iohn White.		William Bateman.
Iohn Butcher.		William White.
Iohn Brooke.		Laurence Shellie.

A true report of a voyage vndertaken for the West Indies by M.

Christopher Newport Generall of a flete of three shippes and a pinnesse, viz. *The golden Dragon* Admirall, whereof was Capitaine M. *Newport* himselfe; *The Prudence* Vice-admirall, vnder the conduct of Capitaine *Hugh Merrick*; *The Margaret* vnder Capitaine *Robert Fred*; and *The Virgin* our pinnesse vnder Capitaine *Henry Kidgil*: Begun from London the 25. of Ianuarie 1591. Written by M. *Iohn Twitt* of *Harewich*, Corporall in the *Dragon*. In which voyage they tooke and burnt vpon the coast of *Hispaniola*, within the bay of *Honduras*, and other places, 3. townes, and 19. saile of shippes and frigats,



On the 12. day of February An. 1591. we set saile from Douer roade, and hauing a prosperous winde, the 27. day of the same moneth wee fell with Cape Cancin on the coast of Barbarie, and on the 28. wee arrived at Santa Cruz roade, where hauing refreshed our selues some 3. or 4. dayes, we put off to sea againe, and about the 5. of March wee passed by the Islands of the Canaries: and hauing a fauourable wind, the 4. of April An. 1592. we fell with Dominica in the West

Indies: where making stay a day or two, wee bartred with the Saluages for certaine commodities of theirs, viz. Tabacco, hemmes, Potato rootes, &c.

Passing from thence to a watering place on the other side of the cliffe, wee tooke a Portugall ship of Lisbon of 300. tuns, which came from Guinie, and was bound for Cartagena, wherein were 300. Negros young and olde. Which ship we tooke along with vs to S. Iuan de Puerto rico, where we landed the marchant and one Spaniard more within a league of the towne, and landing some 20. or 30. musketers, some 20. horsemen made towards vs; but wee retired to our boates without any seruice done.

The 9. we lay houerling all day before the towne, the castle making a shot or two at vs.

The reason why wee set the Portugall marchant aland there was, for that he hoped to helpe vs to some money for his Negros there, but he falsified his worde with vs, so that passing along to the Westermost ende of the layde Island, about some 9. or 10. leagues from the towne wee landed the Negros, and sunke their ship.

The

The 11. of Aprill we passed from thence to Mona some 15. leagues off, where we landed: there were on the Island about 19. soules, the children of an olde Portugall, and his wife who afforded vs such fruits as their Island yeelded, viz. swines flesh, Potato rootes, &c.

From thence along wee passed to Saona, a long Island and very fruitfull, replenished with store of wilde beastes and swine, where we landed, hunted, and trained our men.

Passing from hence Westward along the South coast of Hispaniola, wee descryed a frigate, which wee chased and tooke; wherein were 22. farres of copper-money, being bound for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, to buy wine there.

The next day we tooke 2. small frigats more, but nothing of any value in them.

The 15. of Aprill at night wee sacked a towne in the sayde Island of Hispaniola called Ocoa, where was an Ingenio, wherein we found sugar & poultrie great store, but the people had discovered our ships ouer night, and were fled into the mountaines. This towne standeth a league from the seaside, consisting of some fortye or fiftie houses. They brought vs much cattell, and two wayne loades of sugar, to ransom the towne. While this action was perfourmed, Robert Freed of Harwich, captaine of the Margaret, tooke two frigats with certaine Spaniards on the other side of the bay, which came to lade sugar there at an Ingenio.

After we had here refreshed our selues, wee stode along for Cape Tiburon, where we watered: and making no stay there, about the 23. of Aprill wee left our shippes in a faire road-sted vnder an Island not inhabited, and with our frigats which wee had taken before, wherein wee shipped all our strength which possibly wee could afford, leauing onely so fewe aboard our shippes as could hardly if neede had bene, haue wrought them; we passed along by the sayd Island to the North-west part of Hispaniola, to a towne called Yaguana; where the 27. in the morning 2. houres before day we landed; but wee were discovered by meanes of a frigate that lay laden with victuals, bound for Carthagena, the men of which frigate recovering on lande before vs, gaue an alarme to the towne, who were presently vp in armes to the number of a hundred & fiftie hozles. Wee marched notwithstanding along to the towne, hauing a Spaniard for our guide, where by that time the day brake, we were before the towne, where vpon a faire greene making a stand, we were encountered by the hozlemen hauing no strength of foote, but certaine few loose shot which lay in a low valley at the entrie of the towne. The hozlemen charged vs very fiercely, but seeing they could not preuaile, brought in a droue before them of two hundred beastes or more: and so forcibly thinking to haue broken our array, it pleased God to cause their cattell to retorne backe vpon themselves: and thus their owne deuice sorted out to their owne detrimēt. In this skirmish wee slew their gouernour, a man very hardy, and of great valure.

In the end, by reason of the Spaniards brags which they gaue out, (as by the life of their wiues and children, &c. that not one of vs should goe aboard againe) a greater doubt of intercepting of vs and of our boates was stroken into our captaines hearts then needed: and so for that time we retired to our boates not entring the towne, and so passed with our boates to our ships againe; where the same night our captaine determined to goe vp with our shippes, but it fell so calme, that all the next day untill night we could not get vp, and they hauing discovered vs, baricaded vp their way, and conueyed all that they had into the mountaines, leauing their houses chely bare and naked; notwithstanding we landed, and with great difficultie wee passed their baricados with the losse of two men at both conflicts, entred their towne and fired it, leauing not an house vnburnt, being a towne of threestreets hauing about 150. households.

The same night wee passed with our boates to a small village called Aguaua, where we found excellent fruites of the countrey, which by reason of their cowardly brags wee also set on fire.

Being thus frustrated of our pretended voyage, we stode for the bay of Honduras, and about the ninth of May we discovered in the afternoone a saile thwart of the bay of Truxillo, with whom we stode, and hauing a Spanish flagge out, they mistrusted vs not, untill we had almost set them vp: and then wee went off with our boate, and tooke them within shot of the castle, and with our boates wee went and set thre or foure frigats which rode afore the towne, the castle playing vpon vs with their ordinance.

Our captaine hauing vnderstanding by the Spaniards, that there were thre shippes more at Puerto de Cauillos, stode along that night for that place, but it fell out to bee so calme, that it was the fifteenth day of May or euer wee came there, the shippes hauing peraduenture discovered vs, stole alongst the shoare towards Truxillo, so that being voyde of that hope, we landed; the inhabitants forsaking the towne, fled into the mountaines. Wee remained in the towne all night, and the next day till towards night: where we found 5. or 6. tuns of quick siluer, 16. tuns of old sacke, sheepe, young kids, great store of poultrie, some store of money, & good linnen, silkes, cotton-cloth, and

This towne
standeth from
the waters
side a league.

They thought
some here had
bene come
from Spaine,
for so they ex-
pected.

and such like; we also tooke three belles out of their church, and destroyed their images. The towne is of 200 houses, and wealthy; and that yere there were foure rich ships laden from thence: but we spared it, because wee found other contentment. And hauing taken our pleasure of the towne, as aforesayd, wee returned aboard our ships, standing backe againe for Truxillo, we discovered one of the shippes which was laden at Puerto de Cavallos: but they had espied vs before, as it should seeme; for they had conueyed away as much as possibly they could ashore, and set their ship on fire; which so soone as we had discerned, we made to her with our boats, and quenched the fire, and loaded by with hides the shippe which we tooke at our first comming; for she had but a thousand hides in her, and certaine tarres of ballamum: which being accomplished, wee sunke the shippe with the rest of the goods, and so stood alongst againe for Truxillo. It fell out to be so calme, that we were two and twenty dayes sailing backe that we had sailed in five dayes, which was about forty leagues: so that when we came before Truxillo, which was about the fifth of June, we found another of the ships there, but close vnder the castle, her rudder vnchanged, her sailes taken from the yards, &c. notwithstanding we entered her, but they had placed such a company of musketiers vnder a rampire, which they had made with hides and such like, that it was too hote for vs to abide, and so betaking vs to our shippes againe, and standing out of the bay into the sea, wee discovered great store of shot intrenched in those places where they suspected we would haue landed. That night there fell such a storme of raine, thunder, lightening and tempestuous weather, that our ships were disperled either from other. And hauing determined all of vs to meet at a certaine Island, where wee purposed to water and refresh our selues; by meanes of the storme and other contagious weather which followed, we were frustrated of that hope.

We had lost our prize, and certaine frigats with the men. Two of our shippes went to seeke our prize and our men: and other two of vs came homeward. And so we parted, not hearing either of other vntill we came into England.

Our place of meeting should haue bene at the Tortugas neere vnto the point of Florida, but the Golden dragon and the Prudence were put to leeward of this place: neuertheless we fell with certaine islands within the point of Florida, where the captaine of the Dragon M. Christopher Newport sent his pinnesse on shore with certaine shot to seeke for fresh water, where wee found none; but found the Sauages very courteous vnto vs, who came by a high into the sea, and brought vs a line to hallow in our boat on shore, and shewed vs that by into the land. Northward was fresh water, and much golde. And one Michael Bagge of Ipswich boatswaines mate of the Dragon, had giuen him by one of the Sauages for an olde rusty hatchet, a piece of golde wound hoilow, and about the bignesse and value of an English angell, which the Sauage ware hanging about his knee, with two pieces of fine siluer plate, whereof one the sayd Sauage gaue Iohn Locke, masters mate of the Dragon, being foureteene groats in value, for an olde knife; the other piece he gaue to one William Wright a sailer, for an olde knife: which pieces of siluer were in forme like vnto the bolle of a bible. These Sauages were farre more ciuill then those of Dominica: for besides their courtesie, they couered their priuities with a platted mat of greene straw, about three handfuls deepe, which came round about their waste, with the busk hanging downe behinde.

The next day in the morning very early, there came a frigate of the island of Cuba of 30 tunnes, put in by weather, which was bound for Hawana, wherein were fifty hogges; to which we gaue chase all that day, passing the gulfe of Bahama, and about five of the clocke in the afternoone, after a shot or two made at her, shee peeled vnto vs: wee hoisted out our boat, and went aboard, where we found some five Spaniards, five and fifty hogs, and about some two hundred weight of excellent tabacco rolled up in seynes. We lightened them of their hogges and tabacco, and sent the men away with their frigate.

In this voyage we tooke and sacked foure townes, seuenteen frigats, and two ships, whereof eight were taken in the bay of the Honduras; of all which we brought but two into England: the rest we sunke, burnt, and one of them we sent away with their men. And to make by the full number of twenty, the Spaniards themselves set one on fire in the bay of the Honduras, lest we should be masters of it.

We shaped our course from Florida homeward by the isle of Flores one of the Acores, where we watered, finding sir Iohn Burgh there, who tooke vs to be Spaniards, and made vp vnto vs; with whom wee toynd in the taking the mighty Portugall caracke called Madre de Dios, and our captaine M. Christopher Newport with diuers of vs was placed in her as captaine by the Generall sir Iohn Burgh to conduct her into England, where we arrived in Dartmouth the seuenth of September 1592.

The voyage made to the bay of Mexico by *M. William King* Cap-
taine, *M. Moore*, *M. How*, and *M. Boreman* Owners, with the *Salomon* of 200
tunnes, and the *Lane Bonaventure* of 40 tunnes of *Sir Henry Palmer*, from *Ratcliffe* the 26
of January 1592.



The *Salomon* was manned with an hundred men, all mariners, and the *Lane*
with fire and twenty, all likewise mariners. We came first to the Downes
in Kent, and neuer strooke saile in passing thence, vntill we came to Cape S. Vin-
cent on the coast of Portugall. From thence we shaped our course to Lancerota
one of the Canarie islands, where we landed threescore men, and fetched a cara-
uell out of an harborow on the South side, and from a small Island we tooke a
bemp-canon of brasse in despight of the inhabitants, which played vpon vs with their small shot
at our first landing: of whom we slew three; and gaue them the repulse. Thence we went to the
Grand Canaria, where wee boorded a barke lying at anker: out of which wee were driuen by
great store of shot from the Island. From thence wee directed our course for the West Indies,
and fell with the isle of Dominica about the tenth of April. There at a watering place we tooke
a shippe of an hundred tunnes come from Guiny, laden with two hundred and seuentie Negros,
which we caried with vs to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and there comming thowow El passage, we
gaue chase to a frigate which went in to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and in the night we sent in our
shallope with foureteene men. And out of the harborow we tooke away an English shippe of se-
uentie tunnes, laden with threescore tunnes of Canarie-wines, in despight of the castle and two
new bulwarks, being within caluer shot. These two prizes we caried away to the Westermost
part of the island, and put the Negros, except fiftene, all on land in a Spanish carauell which the
Lane Bonaventure tooke: and we caried away one of the former prizes, and set fire on the other.
We passed thence by the isle of Mona, where we watered, and refreshed our selues with potatoes
and plantans, and so came to the isle of Saona: and from thence arriued at the mouth of the ri-
uer of Santo Domingo. And as we sailed to Cape Tiburon, thre leagues to the Westward of
Santo Domingo we tooke a boat of fiftene tunnes, which had certeine farres of malosses or vn-
refined sugar, with three men; which men with their boat wee caried with vs to Cape Tiburon,
which, in respect of seruice done vnto vs in furnishing vs with fresh water, we dismissed. Thus
contrary to other Englishmens courses we shaped ours to the Southward of Iamaica, and our
shallop with 12 men ranged the coast but found nothing. Thence we ranged the three islands of
the Caimanes, and landed at Grand Caiman, being the Westermost, where we found no people,
but a good riuer of fresh water; and there we turned by threescore great tortoises; and of them
we tooke our choise, to wit, fiftene of the females, which are the best and fullest of egges, where-
of two serued an hundred men a day. And there with stones we might kill turtle doues, wilde
geese, & other good fowles at our pleasures. Thence we came to Cape de Corrientes on Cuba to
water, and from thence to Cape S. Antonio, and so went ouer for the Tortugas, without taking
of any new prize: and thence cut ouer to Rio de puercos on the coast of Cuba. There we tooke
a small barke of twenty tunnes, with foure men and forty liue hogs, with certeine dyed porke cut
like leather ierkins along, and dyed hogs tongues and neats tongues, and 20 ope hides. Then
passing thence, within foure dayes we tooke a ship of 80 tunnes laden with hides, indico, & salsa-
perilla, North of an headland called Corugna: thence the current set vs to the East to the old chan-
nel. There we tooke a frigate of 20 tunnes, hauing certeine peeces of Spanish broad cloth & other
small pillage: there continuing off the Marañcas 12 dayes, with the winde so Westerly that we
could hardly recouer Hauana in the moneth of May. Here we tooke two boats laden with tortoi-
ses, which we sunke, sauing some of the tortoises, & setting the men on shore. Then at length we
recovered by to Hauana, where we came so neere to the forts, that for one houres fight they over-
reached vs with their long ordinance. Then came out the two gallies, hauing 27 banks on a side,
and fought with vs another houre; which for that time left vs by reason of the increasing of the
winde. Then passing alongst nine leagues to the Westward we found out an excellent harbour,
hauing three sadome water at the flood, able within to receiue a thousand saile, where we found
hog-houses, which they terme coralles, and tooke away certeine hogs and pigs. As we came out
of this harbour, the weather being calme, we were incountered by the gallies, which had follow-
ed vs, and fought with them three houres, oftentimes within caluer shot: but wee made such
spoile of their men and oares, that they beganne to be weary, and gaue vs ouer, with their great
losse. Here within foure dayes after, as we lay to the Northward five leagues off this harbour of
Cauannas, we met with master capitaine Lane, Generall of master Wars his fleet, and capitaine
Roberts

Iamaica.

A good riuer
of fresh water
in Grand Cai-
man.

Preseruing of
hogs-flesh.

The excellent
harbour of Ca-
uannas.

Roberts, in the Exchange, a ship of Bristol, of an hundred and forty tunnes, and master Benjamin Wood with his foure ships which were set out by my lord Thomas Howard with captain Kenel of Limehouse captaine of the Cantar of Weymouth. All we being heere together espied a ship of some 50 tunne, which we chased with their boats; but myshallope first boozed her, and tooke her: which had in her sacke, Canary-wine, muscadell, tent in iarres, and good store of oile in iarres. The ship we unladed and burned: the men ran on shore. Hence wee came all together, being about 13 sailes, before Hauana; but passing by we gaue chase to a ship of 60 tun, which entered into an harbour a league to the Northwest of Hauana, which with boats was boozed, and found to be of Puerto de Cavallos in the bay of Honduras, laden with tanned hides, salsa perilla, Indico, raw hides, and good store of balsamum: and she had foure chests of gold, which they got on land before we could come to them. We brought this ship into England. Thus spending a seuennight in lping off and on for purchase, and finding nothing come, I set saile for England, and arrived at Douer about the tenth of Nouember 1592.

A briefe note of a voyage to the *East Indies*, begun the 10 of April 1591, wherein were three tall ships, the *Penelope* of Captaine Raimond, Admirall, the *Merchant royall*, whereof was Captaine, Samuel Foxcroft, Viceadmirall, the *Edward Bonaventure*, whereof was Captaine, M. James Lancaster, Rereadmirall, with a small pinnesse. Written by Henry May, who in his returne homeward by the *West Indies* suffied ship wracke vpon the isle of *Bermuda*, wherof here is annexed a large description.

The tenth of April 1591 we departed from Plymmouth with the ships aforesayd. In May following wee arrived at Grand Canaria one of the fortunate Islands. Also toward the end of this moneth we tooke a Portugall shippe being bound for Brasil, within thre degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, which serued greatly to our refreshing. The 29 of July following we came to Aguada Saldania a good harbour neere the cape of Buona Sperança, where we stayed about a moneth with the Merchant royall, which by reason of sicknesse in our fleet was sent home for England with diuers weake men. Here we bought an oxe for a knife of thre pence, a sheepe for a broken knife or any other odde trifle, of the people which were Negros, clad in cloaks or mantles of raw hides, both men and women. The 8 of September the *Penelope* & the *Edward Bonaventure* weyed anchor, and that day we doubled the cape of Buona Sperança. The 12 following we were taken with an extreame tempest or huricano. This euening we saw a great sea breake ouer our admirall the *Penelope*, and their light strooke out: and after that we neuer saw them any moze. In October following we in the *Edward* fell with the Westermost part of the isle of S. Laurence about midnight, knowing not where we were. Also the next day we came to an anchor at Quitangone a place on the main land of Africa, which is two or thre leagues to the Northward of Mozambique, where the Portugals of the isle of Mozambique fetch all their fresh water. Here we tooke a pangaia, with a Portugall boy in it; which is a vessel like a barge, with one mastsail of Coco nut leaues. The barge is sowd together with the rindes of trees, and pinned with wooden pinnes. In this pangaia we had certeine coyne called millio, hennes, and some fardels of blew Calicut cloth. The Portugall boy we tooke with vs, and dismissed the rest. From this place we went for an island called Comoro, vpon the coast of Melinde, which standeth about 11 degrees to the South of the equinoctial: in which island we stayed all Nouember, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and cruell: for the day before we departed from thence they killed thirty of our men on shore, among whom was William Mace our master, and two of his mates; the one of them being in the boac with him to fetch water, the other being on shore against our ship; they hauing first betrayed our boat. From hence we went for the isle of Zanzibar, on the coast of Melinde, whereas wee stayed and wintered vntill the beginning of February following.

The second of February 1592 wee weyed anchor, and set saile directly for the East Indies; but hauing calmes and contrary winde, wee were vntill the moneth of June before wee could recouer the coast of India neere Calicut; whereby many of our men died for want of refreshing. In this moneth of June we came to an anchor at the isles of Pulo pinaom, whereas we stayed vntill the first day of September, our men being very sicke, and dying apace. This day we set saile, and directed our course for Malaca: and wee had not bene farre at sea, but wee tooke a shippe of the kingdome of Pegu of some fourescore tunnes with wooden anchors, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinnesse of some eightene tunnes at her stearne, both laden with pepper.

A Portugall
ship taken.

They double
the cape of
Buena Espe-
ranza.

Quitangone
neere Mozam-
bique.

The isle of Co-
moro.

They winter
at the isle of
Zanzibar.

The isles of
Pulo pinaom.

But their pinnesse stole from vs in a gulf in the morning. Here we might haue taken two shippes more of Pegu laden likewise with pepper and rice. In this moneth also we tooke a great Portugall ship of six or seuen hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, chests of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Besides this we tooke another Portugall ship of some hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, Calicos, pintados, and other commodities. These ships were bound for Malaca with victuals: for those of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall it, because that victuals there are very scarce.

The isle of
Nicubar.

In the moneth of Nouember 1592 we shaped our course for the island of Nicubar lying certaine leagues to the Northwest of the famous island of Sumatra; whereas within short time wee came to anker: and here wee had very good refreshing: for after wee arrived there, the people (whom we found in religion Mahumetans) came aboard vs in their canoas, with hennies, cocos, plantans, and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs reals of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which reals they found by diuing in the sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China, & were cast away there. This was the furthest place that we were at to the Southeast: and heere because our company by this time was much wasted and diminished, we resolved to turne backe to the isle of Zeilan. Wherefore we weyed anker in the moneth of Nouember, and arrived at Zeilan about the end of the same moneth. In this island groweth great store of excellent cinamom, and the best diamonds in the world. Here our captaine meant to stay to make vp our voyage: whereof hee conceiued great hope, by certaine intelligence which wee had receiued; but the company, which were in all but 33 men and boyes, being in a mutiny, and euery day ready to go together by the eares (the captaine being sicke and like for to die) would not stay, but would needs go home.

They returne
homeward.

The 8 of December 1592 we set saile homeward, but some 15 dayes before we had sight of the cape of Good hope, we were forced to share our bread, by reason we had certaine flies in our ship, which deuoured most part of our bread before we were aware: so that when we came to sharing, we had but 3 1 pound of bread a man to cary vs into England, with a small quantitie of rice a day.

They double
the cape of Bo-
na Speranza.
The isle of S.
Helena.

The last of March 1593 we doubled the cape of Bona Speranza.

In April next ensuing we came to anker at the island of S. Helena, whereas we found an English man a tailor, which had bene there 14 moneths before we came thither: so we sending our boat on shore with some ten men, they found this English man in the chapell; who by reason of the heat of the climat was enforced to keepe himselfe out of the Sun. Our company hearing one sing in the chapell, supposing it had bene some Portugall, thrust open the doore, and went in vnto him: but the poore man seeing so many come in vpon him on the sudden, and thinking them to be Portugals, was first in such a feare, not hauing seene any man in 14 moneths before, and afterwards knowing them to be Englishmen, and some of them of his acquaintance, in such ioy, that what betwene excessive sudden feare & ioy, he became distracted of his wits, to our great sorowes. Here we found of his dying some 40 goats. The party had made him for want of apparell two suits of goats skinner with the hairy side outwards, like vnto the Sauages of Canada. Here we stayed all this moneth. This man liued vntill we came to the West Indies, and then he died.

The strange
force of sub-
den feare and
sudden ioy.

The isle of Tri-
nidad in the
West Indies.

In the moneth of Iune 1593 we arrived at the island of Trinidad in the West Indies, hoping there to finde refreshing: but we could not get any, by reason that the Spanyards had taken it. Here we were imbayed betwene the island and the maine; and for want of victuals the company would haue forsaken the ship: whereupon the captaine was enforced to sweare euery man not to forsake the ship vntill we should see further occasion. Out of this bay, called Boca de Dragone, it pleased God to deliuer vs; from whence we directed our course for the isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, but fell with the small isle of Mona, where we abode some fiftene dayes, finding in that place some small refreshing. And heere arrived a ship of Caen in Normandy, whereof was captaine one Monsieur Charles de la Barbotiere, who greatly refreshed vs with bread and other provision, which we greatly wanted. And so we tooke our leaues the one of the other.

The isle of
Mona.

Cape Tiburon.

In Iuly hauing foule weather at Mona, we were forced to wey anker, and to set saile, directing our course for Cape Tiburon: and in doubling of the cape we had a gulf from the shore, which caried away all our sailes from the yards: so that we had left but one new forecourse to helpe our selues withall: which canuas the aforesayd Frenchman did helpe vs withall. Also hauing doubled the foresayd cape in the distresse aforesaid, the foresayd capitan de la Barbotiere with his pinnesse gaue chase vnto vs againe; who being come nere vnto vs, I went aboard him, certifying him what distresse we were in. The gentleman replied to me againe, that there was not any thing in his shippe, but what he could spare he would helpe vs withall. So to conclude, we agreed with him for canuas. Moreover, he sayd that if we would go with him to an harbour called *Gonnauy, which

Of Guanaba.

which is to the Northward of Cape Tiburon, that then he would helpe vs with fresh victuals enough. Whereupon I returned aboard our ship, and certified our captaine of all: who made it knowne vnto the company; which no sooner heard of it, but they would all go in. So here we staid with the aforesaid Frenchman 15 dayes: but small refreshing we could get, because the Spaniards stood in some feare of the Frenchman of warre, supposing our ship to be a Portugal, and that we were his prize: neuertheless hee certified them to the contrary. And in staying so long with him, and hauing little refreshing, our company began to be in a mutiny, and made report that the captaine & I went aboard the Frenchman but to make good cheere, and had not any care of them: but I protest before God, that our care was to get victuals wherby we might haue bene gone from him. But in the meane time a great part of our company had conspired to take away the Frenchmans pinnesse, and with her to boord the man of warre. While these things were in plotting, one of their consoorts went aboard the Frenchman, and certified him of all the conspiracy. Whereupon the captaine of the French ship sent for our captaine and me, to come aboard to dinner: and we staid with him all the afternoone, being invited vnto supper: and being at supper, he himselfe would not a great while come to vs: but at length hee came. At his comming wee asked of him what newes. Who answered vs, that either we must depart from him, or els he must goe seeke some other harborow. Whereupon I tolde captaine Lancaster; who prayed me to tell him that rather then we would be any hindrance vnto him, we would be gone. But in the mean time, while we were thus talking together, the Frenchman weyed & set saile: which we perceiued, and asked him what he meant by it. He replied to the captaine & me, that he kept vs for his security, and that our men had purposed as is aforesayd. When he came thwart our shippe, it blew a pretty gale of winde: the boat being asterne of them, hauing in her two Boozes & two men of Pegu, which we had giuen them, brake away. Then was the Frenchman worse then before, & did threaten vs very sore that we should pay his voyage. In the meane time the Edward seeing vs past, weyed and set saile to go for England: and they did share among them all the captaines victuals & mine, when they saw the Frenchman keepe vs as prisoners. So the next morning we went to seeke out the Frenchmans pinnesse: which being at Laguna we shot off a piece, & so she came to vs, hauing in her three more of our company, Edmund Barker our lieutenant, and one Iohn West, and Richard Lucland one of the mutinous crew. The which I told the Frenchman of; & he could not deny, but that there was such a thing pretended. Then I was put into the French pinnesse to seeke their boat: and in the meane time they would go to see if they could ouertake our shippe. And the next day we should meet againe at Cape S. Nicolas: so the next morning we met together all three of vs, but heard no newes of his boat. So he hauing Spaniards and Negros aboard of vs, requested to haue them. Our captaine desired him to send his boat aboard our shippe, and he should haue them with all his heart. So with much adoe he sent his boat and had them. Then he demanded of them, if his boat were not aboard the ship. They answered no. So that then Monsieur de la Barbotiere was satisfied: and then we were great friends againe, to all our ioyes.

The 12 of August 1593 our captaine was sent aboard our ship: but before his departure he requested the captaine of the French ship that he would giue mee passage home with him, to certifye the owners what had passed in all the voyage, as also of the unrulinesse of the company. And this day we tooke our leaues the one of the other; the Edward for England: and we bare in for Connauy, where afterwarde we found the Frenchmans boat.

The last of Nouember 1593 Monsieur de la Barbotiere departed from a port called Laguna in Hispaniola. The 17 of December next insuing it was his fortune to haue his ship cast away vpon the North-west part of the isle of Bermuda about midnight; the pilots making themselves at noone to be to the Southward of the island twelue leagues, certified the captaine that they were out of all danger. So they demanded of him their wine of heighth: the which they had. And being, as it should seeme, after they had their wine, carelesse of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were cast away: and I being but a stranger among 50 and odde Frenchmen & others, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them that were saued, I hope to his seruice & glory. We made account at the first that we were cast away hard by the shore, being hie cliffs, but we found our selues seuen leagues off: but with our boat and a raft which we had made & towed at our boats sterne, we were saued some 26 of vs; among whom were no more English but my selfe. Now being among so many strangers, & seeing not roome for the one halfe, I durst neither presse into the boat, nor vpon the raft, for feare lest they should haue cast me ouerboord, or els haue killed me: so I staid in the ship which was almost full of water, untill the captaine being entred the boat, called me vnto him being at hand, for that it stood vpon life or death: and so I presently entred, leauing the better halfe of our company

They wracked
vpon Bermuda
the 17 of Dec-
ember 1593.

The description
of the Isle of
Bermuda.

The saving of
the carpenters
tools was
their prefer-
vation.

A bark stragg-
le built & fur-
nished.

Hogs in Ber-
muda.

Good harbours
in the East part
of Bermuda.
An excellent
fishing for
pearles in
Bermuda.

The people
here Cape Bri-
ton like traffike
of rich furs.

to the mercy of the sea. After this we rowed all the day until an houre or two before night yet we could come on land, towing the raft with the boat. When we came on shore, being all the day without drinke, every man tooke his way to see if he could finde any: but it was long before any was found. At length one of the pilots digging among a company of weeds found fresh water to all our great comforts, being only raine water: and this was all the fresh water that we found on shore. But there are in this Island many fine bays, wherein if a man did dig, I thinke there might be solid store of fresh water. This Island is divided all into broken Islands: and the greatest part I was upon, which might be some 4 or 5 miles long, and 2 miles & a halfe ouer; being all woods, as Cedar & other timber, but Cedar is the chiefeft. Now it pleased God before our ship did split, that we saved our carpenters tooles, or els I thinke we had bene there to this day: and hauing recovered the aforesaid tooles, we went roundly about the cutting downe of trees, & in the end built a small barke of some 18 tun, for the most part with cronels and very few nails. As for tackling we made a voyage aboard the ship before she split, and cut downe her shrouds, and so we tackled our barke, and rigged her. In stead of pitch we made lime, and mixed it with the oile of tortoises; and as soon as the carpenters had calked, I and another, with ech of vs a small sticke in our hands, did plaister the mortar into the seams, and being in April, when it was warm and faire weather, we could no sooner lay it on, but it was dry, and as hard as a stone. In this moneth of April 1594, the weather being very hot, we were afrayd our water should faile vs; and therfore made the more haste away: and at our departure we were constrained to make two great chests, and calked them, and stowed them on ech side of our maine mast, and so put in our provision of raine-water, and 13 liue tortoises for our food, for our voyage which we intended to Newfoundland. In the South part of this Island of Bermuda there are hogs, but they are so leane that you can not eat them, by reason the Island is so barren: but it yeeldeth great store of fowle, fish and tortoises. And to the Eastward of the Island are very good harbours, so that a shippe of 200 tun may ride there land-locked, without any danger, with water enough. Also in this Island is as good fishing for pearles as is any in the West Indies, but that the place is subiect to foule weather, as thundering, lightning and raine: but in April and part of May we had very faire and hot weather. The 11 of May it pleased God to set vs cleere of the Island, to the no little ioy of vs all, after we had liued in the same almost the space of 5 moneths. And the 20 of May we fell with the land nere to Cape Briton, where we ran into a fresh water riuer, whereof there be many, and tooke in wood, water, and ballast. And here the people of the countrey came vnto vs, being clothed all in furs, with the furred skin vnto their skins, & brought with them furs of sundry sorts to sell, besides great store of wild ducks: so some of our company hauing saved some small beads, bought some of their ducks. Here we stayed not about foure houres, and so departed. This should seeme to be a very good countrey. And we saw very fine champion ground, and woods. From this place we ranne for the banke of Newfoundland, whereas we met with diuers, but none would take in a man of vs, until it pleased God that wee met with a barke of Falmouth, which receiued vs all for a litle time; and with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left capitan de la Barbotier my deere friend, and all his company, and stayed myselfe aboard the English barke: and hauing passage in the same, in the moneth of August I arrived at Falmouth 1594.

A voyage of the honourable Gentleman M. Robert Dudley, now knight, to the Isle of *Trinidad*, and the coast of *Paria*: with his returne home by the Isles of *Granata*, *Santa Cruz*, *Sant Iuan de puerto rico*, *Mona*, *Zacheo*, the shoalds called *Abrejos*, and the isle of *Bermuda*. In which voyage he and his company tooke and sunke nine Spanish ships, wherof one was an *armada* of 600 tunnes. Written at the request of M. *Richard Hakluyt*.



aving ever since I could conceiue of any thing bene delighted with the discoueries of nauigation, I fostered in my selfe that disposition till I was of more yeres and better ability to vnder take such a matter. To this purpose I called to me the aduise of sufficient seamen, and principally vnderooke a voyage for the South seas; but by reason that many before had miscaried in the same enterprize, I could not be suffered to hazard more of her Maiesties subiects upon so vncertaine a ground as my desire: which made me by constraint (great charges already by me defrayed) to prepare another course for the West Indies, without hope there to doe any thing woorth note: and so common is it indeed to many, as it is not woorth the registring. Neuerthelesse, I haue yeilded to your former importunity, and sent you this my iournall to supply a vacant roome amongst your more important discourses.

Now

Nowe being prouided for this last enterprize, rather to see some practise and experience, then any wonders or profice, I weighed anchor from Southampton roade the sixth of Nouember 1594. But the winde falling scant, it was the 17. day of the same moneth before I could put into the Sea. Upon this day my selfe in the Beare a shippe of 200. tunnes my Admirall, and Captaine Munck in the Beares whelpe vice-admirall, with two small pinnelles called the Frisking and the Barewig passed through the Needles, and within two dayes after bare in with Plimmouth. My busines at this port-towne dispatched, I set saile; whither againe by contrary winds to my great misfortune, I was enforced to retorne backe. I might call it misfortune; for by this meanes I vtterly (for all the voyage) lost my vice-admirall; which was the cause likewise of loosing mine owne pinnelle, which three were the principall stay of my voyage. For at this last leauing of England in a storme I lost mine owne pinnelle, as is before said. Notwithstanding all these crosses all alone I went wandering on my voyage, sailing along the coast of Spaine within view of Cape Finister, and Cape S. Vincent, the North & South capes of Spaine. In which space hauing many chales, I could meet with none but my countrey men or countreys friends. Leauing these Spanish hopes I directed my course the 14. of December towards the isles of the Canaries. Here I lingered 12 dayes for two reasons: The one, in hope to meete my vice-admirall: The other, to get some vessel to remoue my pestered men into, who being 140. almost in a ship of 200. tunnes, there grew many sicke. The first hope was frustrated, because my vice-admirall was returned into England with two prizes. The second expectation fell out to our great comfort: for I tooke two very fine Carauels vnder the calmes of Tenerif and Palma, which both refreshed and amended my company, and made me a flete of 3. sailes. In the one Carauel called The Intent, I made Benjamin Wood Captaine, in the other, one Captaine Wentworth. Thus cheared as a desolate raueller with the company of my small and newe erected flete, I continued my purpose for the West Indies, and first for Cape Blanco in Africa vpon the deserts of Libya. My last hope was to meete my lost ship, and withall to renew my victuals vpon the Canchers, which are Portugal fishermen: but the Canchers had bene so frightened by Frenchmen, as I could get none. Riding vnder this White Cape two daies, and walking on shoze to view the countrey, I found it a waste, desolate, barren, and sandie place, the sand running in drifts like snow and being very stony; for so is all the countrey sand vpon stone (like Arabia deserta, and Petrea) and full of blacke venemous lizards, with some wilde beasts and people which be tawny Moores, so wilde, as they would but call to my Carauels from the shoze, who roade very neere it. But not desirous to make any longer aboad in this place, by reason of the most infectious serenias or dewes that fall all along these coasts of Africa, I caused my Master Abraham Kendall to shape his course directly for the isle of Trinidad in the West Indies; which after 22. dayes we descried, and the first of February came to an anker vnder a point there of called Curiapan, in a bay which was very full of pelicans, and I called it Pelicans bay. About 3. leagues to the Eastwards of this place we found a mine of Marcasites which glister like golde (but all is not golde that glistereth) for so we found the same nothing worth, though the Indians did assure vs it was Caluori, which signifieth golde with them. These Indians are a fine shaped and a gentle people, al naked & painted red, their commanders wearing crownes of feathers. These people did often resort vnto my ship, & brought vs hennes, hogs, plantans, potatos, pinos, tabacco, & many other pretie commodities, which they exchanged with vs for hatchets, knives, hookes, belles, and glasse buttons. From this bay I fell downe lower to a place called Paracoa, where I desired rather to ride, because it was a couenient place to water, ballast, ground, & graue my Carauels. Then I commanded al my men to lye on shoze, after I had caused to be made for them a little skonce like an halfe moone for their defence, being iealous of the Spaniards, of whose estate I could gather no certaintie, till frō Margarita Antonie Berreo for his defence had gotten some 300. souldiers, a greater number then I was able to encounter withall, hauing then but 50. men, because my Carauels before their comming were sent away. The Simerones of the yland traded with me stil in like sort. And the Spaniards now prouided for me, began to send messengers to me in kindnesse. Notwithstanding though I had no reason to assault them, because they were both poore & strong, yet for my experience and pleasure I marched 4. long marches vpon the yland, & the last from one side of the yland to the other, which was some 50. miles: going and comming through a most monstrous thicke wood (for so is most part of the yland) and lodging my selfe in Indian townes. The country is fertile, and ful of fruits, strange beasts, and foules, whereof munks, babions & parats were in great abundance. Being much delighted with this yland, and meaning to stay here some time about discouering the maine right against the same (the entrance into the empire of Guiana) being shewed the discouery thereof by Captaine Popham, who receiued the discouery of the saide empire frō one captaine Harper, which being a prisoner learned of the Spaniards at the Canaries

This M. Benjamin Wood was in the end of the yeere 1596. sent forth with two ships, and certaine pinnelles vpon a voyage for the South seas and for China, at the charges of this honorable gentle man Sir Robert Duddleley. A description of Cape Blanco in Africa.

The isle of Trinidad descried.

Punta de Curiapan.

Paracoa, or Parico.

They inthroned themselves.

A reasonable practise of the Spaniards.

They march from one side of the yland to the other.

Captaine Harpers intelligence of Guiana.

His two Caravels sent to range the Indies.

Seawano called perhaps in Sir Walter Raleighs discovery of Saima, and Wikeri in his discovery.

This Indians name was Balchazar, who afterwards gave our men the slip at their greatest need.

A river called Cabota. The river of Amara and the kingdom of Tiucias are both mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh.

A people sprinkled with powder of gold.

Captaine Pophams arrival.

in the selfe same maner almost, as Sir Walter Raleigh very discreetly hath written. The intelligence of Harper, I conceive, the Captaine hath yet to shew in Spanish. This discovery of Guiana I greatly desired: yet least I should adventure all occasions upon it onely, I sent my two Caravels from me the 17. day of February, to try their fortunes in the Indies, not appointing any other place to meet but England, furnishing them with all the provision that I could spare, and dividing my victuals equally with them, knowing they were able to do more good in the Indies then greater ships. The Caravels being gone, I began to enquire privately of the Sauvages concerning the maine over against vs, and learned that the names of the kingdomes adjoining to the Sea-coast were in order these. The kingdom of Morucca, the kingdom of Seawano, the kingdom of Waliame, the kingdom of Caribes, the kingdom of Yguiric, and right against the Northernmost part of Trinidad, the maine was called The high land of Paria, the rest a very lowe land. Morucco I learned to bee full of a greene stone called Tacarao, which is good for the stone. In Seawano I heard of a Mine of gold to be in a towne called Wackerew, the Captaines name Semaracon. Of Waliame I will speake last, because therein I made most discovery. The Caribes I learned to be man-eaters or Canibals, and great enemies to the Islanders of Trinidad. The kingdom of Yguiri I heard to be full of a metall called by the Indians Arara, which is either copper (as I could learne) or very base gold. In the high land of Paria I was informed by diuers of these Indians, that there was some Perora, which with them is silver, and great store of most excellent Cane-tabacco. But lastly to come to Waliame, it is the first kingdom of the empire of Guiana. The great wealth which I understood to be therein, and the assurance that I had by an Indian, mine interpreter, of a golden Mine in a towne of this kingdom called Orocoa, in the River (as he called it) of Owirinoicke was much to be esteemed. This Indian spake Spanish, and whatsoever he knew, he reueiled it to my selfe onely by a private interpreter, not in words alone, but offered vpon paine of life to be guide himselfe to any place that he spake of. This discovery of the Mine I mentioned to my company, who altogether mutined against my going, because they something feared the villany of Abraham Kendal, who would by no means go. I then wanted my lost pinnesse, and was constrained to send 14. men in my ship-boat for this discovery, with most of the discreetest men in my ship, & gave them their directions to follow, written vnder mine owne hand. They went from me, and entred into one of the mouthes by the broken lands, which river goeth vnder the name of the great River Orenoque, the foreland wherof was called Capulio bearing South & by West, wanting a fourth part, from the point of Curiapan aforesaid, being 4. leagues distant. They found the maine (as China is reported) full of fresh Rivers running one into another, abounding with fish, and a land all woody, seeming to haue great store of strange beastes and foules, & very populous. They entred into a small river called Cabota, the people named Veriotaus, a courteous people. The next river they passed was called Mana in the kingdom of Tiucias, where the king offered to bring a Canoa full of this golden ore, and to this purpose sent a Canoa, which returned and brought my men this answer, that Armago Captaine of the towne of Orocoa and the Mine refused them, but if they would come thither, hee himselfe would make them answer. Upon this my boat went, and at his appointed place hee met them with some 100. men in Canoas, and tolde them that by force they should haue nothing but blowes, yet if they would bring him hatchets, knives, and Jewes-harps, he bid them assure me, he had a Mine of gold, and could refine it, & would trade with me: for token wherof he sent me 3. or 4. Croissants or halfe moones of gold weighing a noble a piece or more, and two bracelets of silver. Also he tolde them of another rich nation, that sprinkled their bodies with the powder of golde, and seemed to be guilt, and farre beyond them a great towne called El Dorado, with many other things. My men being satisfied, and thinking their company too fewe to stay among these Sauvages, and their victuall spent, returned. This Balchazar my Indian their guide ranne from them: which distresse caused them to borrow of Armago newe guides, who brought them home another way through a River called Braha by the high land of Paria, and so to my ship. They accompted Orocoa 150. miles distant, so they rowed in my boate about 250. miles. Their absence from mee was 16. dayes, making but one nights aboad any where. The report of this made mee attempt my company to goe with them againe. But now they were worse then before; for vnlesse I would haue gone my selfe alone, not one man would goe with me (no albeit I had had commission to hang or kill them) for my men came home in very pitifull case almost dead for famine; and indeed such was their misery, as they dranke not in thzee dayes, for so long they were out of the fresh Rivers, before they recovered the shippe, and yet the boat was filled with as much victuall, as it could holde.

In this time of my boates absence there came to me a pinnesse of Plimmouth, of which Captaine Popham before named was chiefe, who gaue vs great comfort. And if I had not lost my pinnesse,

pinnesses, wherein I might haue caried victuals and some men, we had discouered further the secrets of those places. Also this Captaine and I stayed some five or eight dayes longer for Sir Walter Raleigh (who, as wee furnished, had some purpose for this discouery) to the ende, that by our intelligence and his boates we might haue done some good: but it seemed he came not in five or eight weekes after. So Captaine Popham and I helde it not conuenient to stay any longer: therefore new watering our selues at Paracoa, we set saile to see further of the Indies, leauing the yle of Trinidad the 12. day of March. The 13. I tooke a small prize of sackes 25. leagues to the Northward of an yland which I sailed by, called Granata. This prize refreshed vs well: yet meaning to sel her at the yle of Sant Iuan de Puerto rico, and shaping our course thither by the ylands of Santa Cruz and Inferno, I coasted all the South side of the said yle of S. Iohn, till I came to an anchor at Cape Roxo: where riding 14. dayes to expect S. Domingo men, which oftentimes fall with the yland of Mona, and finding none (neither would the Spaniards of S. Iuan de puerto rico buy my prize) I vnladed her, tooke in the goods, and after burned her. This ended, I dis-embarked (where se we Englishmen had done before, by reason of the great dangers betweene this yland of S. Iuan de puerto rico and Hispaniola) by a little yland called Zacheo. And after carefully doubling the shoulde of Abrejos, I caused the Master, (hearing by a Pilot, that the Spanish fleet ment now to put out of Hauana) to beare for the Meridian of the yle of Bermuda, hoping there to finde the fleet dispersed. The fleet I found not, but foule weather enough to scatter many fleets; which companion left mee not in greatest extremitie, till I came to the yles of Flores and Cuernuo: whither I made the more haste, hoping to meete some great fleet of her Maiestie my souereigne, as I had intelligence, and to giue them aduise of this rich Spanish fleet: but finding none, and my victuals almost spent, I directed my course for England.

Returning alone, and worse manned by halfe then I went forth, my fortune was to meete a great Armada of this fleet of some 600. tunnes well appointed, with whom I fought board and board for two dayes, being no way able in all possibilitie with fiftie men to board a man of warre of six hundred tunnes. And hauing spent all my powder I was constrained to leaue her, yet in such distresse without sailes and masts, and hull so often shot through with my great Ordnance betweene winde and water, that being three hundred leagues from land, I dare say, it was impossible for her to escape sinking. Thus leauing her by necessitie in this miserable estate, I made for England, where I arriued at S. Iues in Cornwall about the latter ende of May 1595, scaping most dangerously in a great fogge the rocks of Silly.

Thus by the prouidence of God landing safely, I was kindly intertained by all my friends, and after a short time learned more certaintie of the sinking of that great shippe, being also repared rich by diuers intelligences out of Spaine: which we then supposed not, & were doubtfull whether she had bin of Biscay or S. Iohn de Luz in France laden with fish onely from Newfoundland.

In this voyage I and my fleet tooke, sunke and burnt nine Spanish ships; which was losse to them, though I got nothing.

Here follow certaine wordes of the language of *Trinidad* which I obserued at my being there.

G Vttemock.	A man.	Dacutti	The fleet.
Tabairo, Daba-	The heare of	Cattie	The moone.
rah, Dz Dabarra.	ones head.	Tauraroth	A rope.
Dessie	The forehead.	Arkeano	A paire of rizers.
Dasereth, or Dacofi	An eye.	Wecuah	The heauen.
Dalacoack	The mouth.	Harowa	A stone good for
Areheh	The teeth.	Mointiman	the head ache.
Daria	The gummies.	Howa	Iron or Steele.
Desire	The lips.	Carotta	Munkets in generall.
Dill	The tongue.	Sakel	A thing like pappe.
Dudica	The eares.	Techir	It is well, or I am well.
Dacan	A hand.	Bodad	A bracelet.
Dacabbo	The palme of the hand.	Mentinie	A bore or chest.
Dadena	The wrist.	Addhegaeno	A tree.
Dacurle	A knee.	* Calcouri	A glasse.
Daddano	The calfe of the legge.	Perota	Gold.
Dabodda	The toes.		Silver.
			Tacotao

Then departed from the yle of Trinidad. A prize taken North of the yle of Granata. The yles of Santa Cruz and Inferno. Cape Roxo.

Then disembarked by the yle of Zacheo. The shoulde called Abrejos; that is open the eyes, of look out. Bermuda, Flores and Cuernuo.

A fight of two dayes with a Spanish Armada of 600. tunnes.

Then arrived at S. Iues in Cornwall in May 1595.

It is before in this voyage called Calmaris.

Tacorao a green stone, } Arrara copper.
 Caulpiri } A white stone.
 Casparo A sword, } Tibetebe cockles.
 Marrahabo a bow, } Semaro an arrow.
 Huculle } A bow-string.
 Halete } A potato roote.
 Caerwoda } A sweete root.
 Maurisse Wheat, } Queca A basket.
 Yeddola A knife, } Sambolers A hat.
 Beyou A pipe, } Callit Bread.
 * Oronuie } Water.
 Arguecona } A paire of cizzers.
 Heldaro } A spoone.
 Hemachugh A bread which they eate.

Hicket Fire, } Walrowa A parrot.
 Vreit Tabacco, } Barudda A combe.
 Addoth } A nicke.
 Barrennaire } A button, or beads.
 Curaballa & Sibath, for 2 sundry stones;
 but Sibath in general signifieth a stone.
 Tollerillero bels, } Vllasso a Tuny-fish.
 Bohery A flying fish, } Bara Water.
 Haddalle } The Sunne.
 Babage-Canoaseen The manner of
 the Indians hailing of a ship, calling
 it after the name of their Canoas.
 Non quo, Or } I know not, Or
 Non quapa } I cannot tell.

* The name of
 the river Ore-
 noque may
 seeme to be de-
 rived from
 this word.

The victorious voyage of Captaine Amias Preston now knight,
 and Captaine George Sommers to the West India, begun in March 1595.
 Wherein the yle of *Puerto Santo*, the yle of *Coche neere Margarita*, the fort and towne
 of *Coro*, the stately city of *S. Iago de Leon* were taken sacked and burned, and the towne
 of *Cumana* ransomed, & *Jamaica* entered. Written by *Robert Danie* one of the company.



Captaine Amias Preston, and captaine Sommers, both valiant gentlemen & dis-
 creet commanders, lying ready with two tall ships, the *Ascension* and the *Gift*,
 and a small pinnesse at *Plimmouth*, for the space of a moneth attending the com-
 ming of captaine Iones their consort, which in al that time, through the bad dea-
 ling of those which he put in trust, could not make his ship in readines, according
 to his appointment, the 12. of March 1595. set forward on their voyage for the
 West Indies. He with captaine Iones in the *Derling*, and Captaine Prowse in the *Angel*, fol-
 lowed after them the 19. of the said moneth. The last of March, captaine Preston by giuing chase
 to a saile, was separated from captaine Sommers, and his pinnesse, so that they vterly lost sight ech
 of other: whereupon captaine Preston in his ship alone, resolved to surpise the yle of *Puerto Santo*,
 and shortly after came before the same. This yland standeth in the Northerly latitude of 33. de-
 grees, and lieth to the Northward of the yle of *Madera*, and is inhabited by old souldiers, which the
 kings of Portugal were wont to reward for their former olde seruices, by placing of them there.
 This yland is rich in corne, wine, & oile: and hath good store of sheep, asses, goats & kine: they haue
 also plenty of fowles, fishes & fruits. Captaine Preston coming before this yland with one ship only
 fought with 2. long boats to land his men & to force the same: but the people were on thore in war-
 like array, with baricados & trenches made, ready to withstand them. Whereupon, considering the
 great danger, and disadvantage of the place, he caused his people to returne aboard againe. And the
 next morning 3 or 4 houres before day, he landed in a place of greater security, with 60 men onely,
 who lay closely in a chapel, to defend themselves from the raine til break of the day, and so marchen
 forward vpon the backs of their enemies, which kept their baricados vpon the thore. By this time
 the enemy was 500 strong. But, being so suddenly surprised, after some resistance of our mus-
 kets, when they saw our pikes appoch, and had tasted somewhat of their force they began to flee in-
 to certaine thickets & shrubs, thinking from thence to gall our men: but with very litle or no losse
 at all, our men dislodged them of that place also. Whereupon, they all fled toward the chiefe towne of
 the yland: but once againe they thought to make a new stand at a certaine house by the way, from
 whence they were repulsed by captaine Roberts. So in the flight part of them were slaine, and an
 ensigne, which one captaine Haruey an English man had lost not long before, was recovered: and
 the chiefe towne it selfe was by our men wholly woon and possessed. But before the entrance of our
 men they had conueighed their wiues, their children, and the rest of their goods into an exceeding
 high hill which standeth neere the towne, and could not be conquered, but with exceeding losse. Al-
 though they sent diuers times to redeeme their towne, which was very faire and large, yet in re-
 gard of their crueltie and treachery, which they vsed towards captaine Haruey and his people,
 captaine Preston would shew them no fauour, but vterly burnt their towne to ashes, and sent his
 men to wast the rest of their villages of the yland, preferring the honour & iust reuenge of his coun-
 try men, before his owne priuate gaine, & commodity. And so with small pillage and great honour
 he retired in safetie and all his small company with him, from the conquered yland vnto his ship.
 But we in our ship met not with him, vntill the 12. of April following. We therefore in the *Der-*
ling

The yle of
Puerto Santo tak-
 en and the
 chiefe towne
 in it burnt.

ling pursuing our voiage, had sight of the ples of the Canaries the 6 of April, and the 8 of the same, we watered on the Southeastside of the grand Canaria. There we met with capt. Sommers, & his pinnesse, & 3 ships of Hampton, in one whereof was cap. Willis. The 9 of April we al departed for Tenerif to seeke captaine Preston: and standing ouer towards Tenerif, the 9 day at night I came into captaine Sommers ship. The 10 in the morning we brake our maine yard, yet we recovered Tenerif, & the same day towards night we ankered vnder the southside of the same. There I went a land in our boat, & found 3 or 4 fisher boats, and brought one of them off. The rest bulged themselves. Here we rode to mend our yard til the 11 at night: then we set saile to find captaine Amias Preston: and standing towards Gomera, the 12 in the morning we had sight of him. Then we thought to haue landed in Gomera: but the wind blew so much, that we could not. So we departed altogether with toy the 13 of April, & set our course for the West Indies. And the 8 of May next ensuing, we arriued at the pland of Dominica. In all which time nothing happened vnto vs sa- uing this, that the 18 day of April at midnight, our admiral lost her long boat in towing. We staid at Dominica til the 14 of May, to refresh our sicke men. Here the Indians came vnto vs in canoas made of an whole tree, in some wherof were 3 men, in some 4 or 6, & in others 12 or 14, & brought in them plantans, pinos, and poratos, and trucked with vs, for hatchets, kniues, & smal beadstones. Here in refreshing of our men, we found an hot bath hard ioyning to a cold riuer side: wherein our sick men bathed themselves, and were soone recovered of their sicknelles. This is a goodly pland, and something high land, but al ouergrown with woods. The 14 we departed from thence, & the 16 sailing Southwestward, we had sight of Granada, but landed not there. The 17 we arriued at the Testigos & ankered there, and consorted with the 3 ships of Hampton, wherin captaine Willis was. The 18 we landed our men & tooke view and muster of all, & the same night set saile away. The 19 we had sight of Margarita, where the Spaniards by their Indians fish for pearles: we stood in very neere the rode, but saw nothing there. Therefore we went no further in, but stood from it againe. The same day toward night, we had sight of a litle pland, betweene Margarita & the maine, called Coche. We came neer it in the night with our ships within some 3 leagues, & there ankered vnder the maine side, and about midnight we manned our pinnesles & boats, and in the morning about break of day, we landed on the pland, wherin are few or none inhabitants, but they comonly come fro Margarita in boats on the munday, and remaine there fishing for pearles vntill the saturday, and then returne & cary al that they haue taken to Margarita. Here we tooke some few Spaniards and Negros their slaues with them, and had some smal quantitie of pearls. We remained on this land the 20 and 21, in which time we went a fishing with our seine, and tooke good stoze of mullets and other fish, and amongst the rest drew a shoze in the seine a fish called by the Spaniards Lagarto, and by the Indians Caiman, which is indeed a Crocodile, for it hath 4 feete and a long taile, and a wide mouth, and long teeth, & wil deuour men. Some of these Lagartos are in length 16 foot, some 20 foot, and some 30 foot: they haue mulke in them, and liue as wel on the land, as in the water. The 21 of May we departed for Cumana, thinking to haue gotten in that night to haue landed: but the current striketh so strong out of the bay that we could not recover the towne till day light. In the morning we espied 2 sailes befoze the towne, but could not fetch them. Here we plied too and againe in the sound all the forenoone, but could not get by so farre as the towne. These 2 sailes came roome to vs, after they saw that we were at an anker, & came somewhat neere vs, and sent their skypys aboyd our admiral. They were 2 flieboats of Middleburgh which traded there, & had secretly aduertised the counry of our coming, to our great hinderance: but we knew it not at our first arriuall. Here they of Cumana perceiuing that we would land, came to parle with vs, and tolde vs, if we would land, we might easily take the towne, for they ment not to withstand vs, but that they had caried all their goods into the mountaines, but, if we would not land to burne and spoile the towne, chey would giue vs some reasonable ransome, and any victuals that we wanted. So our general agreed with them, receiued their ransome, and departed without landing. But at our first arriuall in this bay, our generals long boat was sent forth wel manned, and tooke 3 Carauels, but found litle or nothing of value in them: sauing in one were some sides of bacon, and some maiz and Guiny-wheat. Here we staid til the 23 of May, & in the euening we set saile, and departed fro thence. And the 26 of the same we thought to haue landed at a fozt that standeth by the sea-coast in the Caracos, as you go for S. Iago. This is a marueilous high land, as high as the pike of Tenerif, we could not land here ouer night, by reason of the roughnes of the sea, which goeth in that place, & there is but one litle creeke against the fozt, to come in with your boat. So, we perceiuing no fit place to land, by reason of the sea, stood away some league to the West-ward, about a litle head-land, there we ankered al night: and the 27 in the morning we all landed in safety, none resisting vs. Then we presently set our selues in aray, and marched toward the fozt, & tooke it with-

They water
upon the grand
Canaria.

Dominica;

An excellent
hole some hot
bath iound in
Dominica,

The ples cal-
led Testigos.

Certaine Spa-
niards and
Negros taken
in the yle of
Coche where
they fish for
pearle.

Two flieboats
of Middleburgh
forwarne the
Spaniards of
our coming.

The towne of
Cumana rans-
omed.
Three Car-
uells taken.

A fozt nere the
Caracos taken.

our

all our actions
betrayed by
dangerous
spies out of
England.

The Citie of
S. Iago de Leon
taken the 29.
of May.

out any resistance. Here we remained all the rest of this day until the 28, about 3 of the clock in the afternoon. We found nothing in this fort but a little meale, or 2 or 3 tunnes of wine, which by reason of some disorder amongst the company overcharging themselves with the wine, our general for the most part caused to be spilt. While we remained here, some of our company ranging the woods, found the gouernor of the fort where he lay asleepe, brought him to our general: who examined him touching the state of the citie of S. Iago de Leon. Who declared vnto vs that they had newes of our coming a moneth before, and that they of the towne had made preparation for our coming: and that if we did go the common beaten way, it was neuer possible for vs to passe, for that they had made in the midst of the way betweene this fort and the said city, an exceeding strong baricado on the top of a very high hill, the passage being not about 25 or 30 foot in breadth, & on each side marueilous steep, vpright, and the woods so thicke that no man could passe for his life: which indeed at our returning backe we found to be true. Upon which speeches our general demanded of him if there were not any other way: who answered, there is another way marueilous bad and very ill to trauel which the Indians do commonly vse: but he thought that the Spaniards had stooped the same, by cutting downe of great trees and other things, as indeed they had. The Spaniard was a very weake and sickly man not able to trauel, so our general sent him aboard his ship, & there kept him. In the taking of our 3 small Carauels at Cumaná, we had a Spaniard in one of them that had traueiled these wayes to the citie of S. Iago. He told vs he would carry vs thither by any of both these wayes, if after ward we would set him at libertie: the which was granted. While we remained at the fort by the waters side, the Spaniards came downe vnto vs by the great & beaten way on horsebacke, who being discovered, our general sent out to meete them captaine Roberts with some 40 or 50 musketeers, who came to skirmish with them, but they would not stay. The same day in the afternoon we marched forth toward S. Iago, & tooke the Indians way called The yeknownen way. In our march we came to diuers Indians houses, which we neuer hurt, but passed by and left them vntouched: but the Indians were all fled into the woods, and other places, we know not whither. We marched vntil it was night ouer such high mountaines, as we neuer saw the like, and such a way as one man could scarce passe alone. Our general being in the foreward, at length came where as a riuer descended downe ouer the mountaines, and there we lodged all that night. Here in going this way, we found the Spanish gouernours confession to be true: for they had baricadoed the way in diuers places with trees, & other things in such sort, that we were driven to cut our way through the woods by Carpenters, which we carried with vs for that purpose. The next day being the 29 of May early in the morning we set forthward to recover the tops of the mountaines: but (God knoweth) they were so extreme high and so steep vpright, that many of our souldiers fainted by the way: and when the officers came vnto them, and first entreated them to goe, they answered, they could goe no further. Then they thought to make them goe by compulsion, but all was in vaine: they would goe a little and then lie downe, and bid them kill them, if they would, for they could not, yor would not goe any further. Whereby they were enforced to depart, & to leaue them there lying on the ground. To be short, at length with much ado we gat the top of the mountaine about noone: there we made a stand til all the company was come vp, and would haue stayed longer to haue refreshed our men: but the fogge and raine fell so fast, that we durst not stay. So wee made hast to descend towards the towne out of the fogge and raine: because that in these high mountaines by report of the Spaniards themselves, it doeth almost continually raine. As soone as we were descended downe nere halfe the way to the towne the raine ceased, and going downe a little further, on the toppes of a hill we saw the towne not farre distant from vs. Here we all cleared our muskets: and when our colours came in sight, we discharged a second vollee of shot to the great discouragement of the enemy. Thus we marched on a round pace. The enemy was in readinesse a little without the towne to encounter vs on horsebacke. Being now fully descended from the mountaines wee came into a faire plaine champion fielde, without either hedge, bush or ditch, sauing certaine trenches which the water had made, as it descended from the mountaines. Here we set our selues in a readinesse, supposing the enemy would haue encountered vs: but hauing pitched our maine battell, and marching forthward a good round pace, captaine Beling, and captaine Roberts tooke ech of them some loose shot, and marched in all hast toward the enemy before the maine battell, wherein was our general with capt. Sommers and came to skirmish with them: but it was soone ended: for the enemy fled. One Spaniard was slaine in this skirmish, and not any one of our companies touched either with piece or arrow, God be thanked. We soone marched into the towne, and had it without any more resistance: but there we found not the wealth that we expected: for they had conueyed all into the mountaines, except such goods as they could not easily carry, as wine, and iron, and such things. By three of the clocke

clocke in the afternoone the 29 of May, we entred the citie. Here we remained until the 3 of June without anie great disturbance, saving sometime by night they would come on horse-backe hard vnto our Corps du guard, and finding vs vigilant, and readie for them, would depart againe.

The first of June, there came a Spaniard neere vnto vs alone: the Corps du guard perceiuing him, called our General, who soone came towards him: but before he approached, the Spaniard made signes that he should lay aside his armes: which he refused to doe, but promised as he was a souldier, if he would come, hee should haue free passage. Upon which promise hee came to him on horse-backe, and our General brought him within the towne, and there communed with him. Who demanded what he ment to do with the towne: he answered that he meant to remaine there and keepe it; or if he did depart from it he would burne it. The Spaniard then demanded, what the rancome of it should be. Our General required 30000 ducats. Whereunto he replied that it was very much. So hauing had some other conference together, hee shewed him that hee had bene a souldier in Flanders a long time, and now was sent thither by his kings commandement. Among other things our General demanded of him, what the reason was they had not walled the citie, being so faire a thing as that was. The Spaniard replied, that hee thought it to bee stronger walled then anie citie in the world, meaning, by those huge & high mountaines which the enemy must passe ouer before he can approach it; which we found very true. Thus with many other faire speeches, heooke his leaue for that day, and told our Generall, that he would go speake with the gouernour: (but it might be himselfe, for any thing we know) howbeit because our General had granted him free comming and going, he suffered him to depart: who before his departure, requested to haue a token of our General, that he might shew to the Gouernour how he had spoken with vs, or else he doubted, that he would not beleue him. Whereupon our General gaue him a piece of 12 pence: so he departed and promised the next day by ten of the clocke to returne vnto vs with an answer: in which meane time nothing befel. The next day being the 2 of June, at his houre appointed, he returned to his Indian running by his horses side. So he was brought to the General, and there remained till after dinner, and dined in his company in the gouernours house that was. The dinner ended, with the best entertainment which could be giuen him, they communed again about the rancome of the citie. Our General proposed his old demand of 30000 ducats. The Spaniard first proffered him 2000, then 3000, last of all 4000, and more he would not giue. Our General counting it a small summe of money among so many, did utterly refuse it. So the Spaniard departed. But before his departure our general told him, that if he came not to him again before the next day noone, with the rancome which he demanded, he would set all on fire. That whole day past, and the night also without any thing of moment, except some shew of assault, by their approaching towards our Corps du guard, and retiring backe againe. The 3 day being come, in the morning some of our company went forth, a league or more from the towne, & some two leagues and more vnto certaine villages thereabout, & set them on fire: but the enemy neuer came to resist them, so they returned backe againe safe into the towne, and brought certaine Indian prisoners with them, among whom there was one which spake broken Spanish, which being examined, confessed vnto vs of his own accord, how the General had sent to the other towns thereabout for aide, and that he thought they would be there with him that day. When we understood this, we grew into some distrust of the Spaniards trechery, and thought vpon the messenger, how he had vied long delayes with vs: whereupon we were commanded presently, euery man to make ready to depart, and to fire the citie: which forthwith was done. And after we had seene it all on fire, & burnt to ashes, we tooke our leaues and so departed, & marched away that day being the 3 of June, not that way we came, but by the great beaten way. And when we had marched halfe the way towards the waters side, we came vnto that strong baricado which they had made, and there lay all that night. Here we found the Spanish captaines word to be true which we tooke at the fort by the waters side: for this baricado was of such force, that 100 men in it well furnished, would haue kept backe from passing that way 100000: first by reason of the huge and high mountaines, next the steepenes of them, on both sides, last of all in regard of the fine contriuing of it with the large trenches, and other munitions, which I cease to recite. The fourth day of June in the morning wee departed from thence: but before our departure, wee ouerthrew on the one side of the steepe hill two bales of yron, which we found there planted by the enemy, and so set forthward toward our ships, and by 12 of the clocke came to the waters side, and there remayned in the fort which wee had taken before, vntill the fift day at night: in which time we laded some small quantity of hides, and Salsa-perilla, which we found there at our first landing. So the fift day at night we departed from thence, to goe to a towne called Coro: but before wee departed, wee set fire in the fort, and all the Indians houses that were about it, and burnt them. Then we set sayle,

Ccc

Certaine villages about Sant Iago fired.

The citie of S. Iago burned.

the fort and certain Indians houses by the waters side burnt.

and

Three Span-
ish ships
burnt.

A baricado
woon.

The towne of
Coros taken &
burnt.

The bay of La-
guna.

Hispaniola.

Jamaica.

The death of
captaine Iones.

Cape de Corri-
entes.

and standing along the coast, our Spanish guide signified unto vs, that there were foure sayles of ships about five leagues from thence, in a place called Checherebiche, and Caio, and Maio. So the 6 day in the morning we were thwart of the place, and there our generall sent away his long boate with captaine Sommers, unto those places, where they found 3 of the ships: but the Spaniards had conueyed their sailes ashore into the woods, so that they could not bring them off, but set fire in them and burnt them. From hence we stood along the shore, sailing untill the ninth day of June, on which day toward the evening we embarked our selues in our pinnesses and small carauels, to land at Coros: but we had none that knew the place certainly: wherefore we anchored that night some two leagues to the Eastward of it, and in the morning I went on land, and nine more with me, to see if we could discover the towne, but we could not, wee went aboue a league vp into the countrey, but could not see any village or towne. So returning backe, wee met our Generall, with diuers others which came ashore with him, with whom we marched into the countrey againe, but could see nothing, & so returned. At the water side captaine Prowse died. There we remained all that day on land, by reason the wind blew so much that wee could not get aboard untill the evening. After our comming aboard a boat which we sent into the bay, returned and brought vs newes, that there rode a barke within the bay, and by all likelihood the towne should be there. So presently our Generall went into the bay with the Derling and some of the small carauels. The tenth day in the morning, the rest of our shipping came into the bay, and our men landed the same day, about 10 or 11 of the clocke in the night, & so marched on toward the towne: but in the way they had made baricados, and kept them very strongly. Notwithstanding the courage of our men was such, as that they feared nothing, and forced them to leaue their forces, and flie. Having wonne this baricado they there remained untill the next day being the 11 of June, and then early in the morning they marched on towards the towne, where by the way, the enemye often times came to skirmish with them, but alwayes fled. In fine they won the towne without any great losse of men, God be thanked. Having gotten the town, they found nothing in it at all; for they had intelligence from Sancto Iago, how wee had used them before, which caused them to conuey all their goods into the mountaines and woods: finding nothing in it, our Generall caused it to be set on fire, thinking it not good to remaine there, but to returne againe, backe to the ships: and the greatest cause was by reason of the departure of captaine Sommers: who the day before in a most furious tempest, being in the pinnesse, with some 50 men at anker, had his cables broken and lost all his ankers, and so was faine to put to sea to saue himselfe, otherwise they had bene in danger of perishing. Thus our General and his company, returned backe againe the twelfth day and embarked themselves, and departed away with all speede to seeke captaine Sommers. The 13 toward night, hee came where captaine Sommers was, and found him riding, but not by anie ankers, but by two bales, which they had made for to stay their barke by: at which meeting the company was very glad. Then they determined to go into a mighty great bay, to a towne called Laguna: but the bay was so deepe and should withall, that we returned backe againe, after wee had stood in two daies & a night. So we sayled ouer toward the Isle of Hispaniola the sixteenth of June: and the twentieth day we saw it. The 21 we anchored vnder Cape Tiburon. Here we watered, and stayed untill the 25 of the same. After our departure out of the bay of Laguna, a great sickness fell among our fleete, and there died about eighty men of the same. This sickness was the flure of the bellie, which is a common disease in that countrey. We remainyd about this Island untill the eight and twentieth of this moneth. Then we departed from thence, and the second of July arrived at the Island of Iamaica. Before our comming hither, the three ships of Hampton had forsaken vs, and left our company. And the Derling wherein was captaine Iones, was sent to discover some other secret matter, in which discovery the valiant gentleman ended his life. So our whole fleete was now but our generall, with captaine Sommers, and a small pinnesse. We stayed at this Isle of Iamaica until the sixt of July, in which meane time we landed to see if we could kill any beeuies, but we could not, they were so wild: here is great store of them, and great plenty of fresh-fish. We departed hence the 6 of July, and passed by the Islands, called Caimanes, and the Isle de Pinos, and the 12 of the said moneth by Cape de Corrientes where we watered, and the same night, wee set saile towards the cape of S. Anthony, being the westernmost part of the Isle of Cuba. The 13 day in the morning we were vnder this cape, and the same day we met with the honourable knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, returning from his painful, and happy discovery of Guiana, and his surprize of the Isle of Trinidad. So with glad hearts, wee kept him and his fleete of three ships company till the twentieth day at night, what time we lost them. In all which time nothing of moment fell out, save that we gaue chase to a couple of frigats, but could not fetch them.

After-

Afterward we plyed to recouer Havana, untill the five and twentieth of July: then we set our course for the head of the Martyrs, the 27 we were in sight of them. The 28 wee entred the gulfe of Bahama: then we set out course homeward toward Newfoundland, but we could not fetch it, but were on the Banke, and tooke fish there the 20 day of August. The same night we set sayle to come home, by reason the wind was contrary to goe in with Newfoundland. So the tenth day of September, we arrived in safety (God be thanked) in Milford haven in Wales, hauing performed so long a voyage in the space of five moneths, or somewhat lesse.

The Banke of Newfoundland.

The voyage truly discoursed, made by sir Francis Drake, and sir John Hawkins, chiefly pretended for some speciall seruice on the Islands and maine of the West Indies, with sixe of the Queenes ships, and 21 other shippes and barks, containing 2500 men and boyes, in the yeere 1595. In which voyage both the foresayd knights died by sicknesse.



We brake ground out of the sound of Plimmouth on Thursday the 28 of August, and that night ankozed againe in Caulson bay, where we rode till Friday. Then we set sayle and stood South-west: and about thre of the clocke the next morning the Hope, wherein sir Thomas Baskeruil went, strake upon the Edy Stone, and shot off a piece, but after cleared herselfe wel enough.

On Sunday at sixe of the clocke in the morning the landes end bare North-west and by North, and then we stood away South-west and by South for the coast of Spaine.

The 8 of September we tooke two small Flemish shiboats bound for Barbary; which we carried a while with vs and after ward dismissed them without doing them any harme: only we learned newes of them, and stayed them from discerning our fleet to the enemy.

The 26 we saw Fortenventura, being one of the Islands of the Canaries.

The 27 being Saturday by break of day we had ouer-shot the chiefe towne of Grand Canaria to the North-east, and then stood about for it againe, and by nine of the clocke were at anker sayle before the fort to the Eastward of the towne some league. At one of the clocke wee offered to land one thousand and foure hundred men in the sandie bay betwixt the fort and the towne: But by our detracting of the time they had made a bulwarke in the sandie bay and planted Ordnance: so that by reason thereof, and the great breach of the sea that went then on shore we were not able to land without endangering our whole forces, which our General would not doe. There were of Spaniards horsemen and footmen some 900. which played upon vs out of their trenches, most of them being shot. At the time of our landing there went by commandement of our Generals within musket shot of the shore, a rode there at anko some three hours; the Salomon, the Bonaventure, the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the Luell, the Little John, the Delight, the Pegasus, the Exchange, the Francis, the caratell, and the two catches: But when the Generall sir Francis Drake gaue ouer the landing being in his barge, the ships weighed being in some danger, and stood off againe to the great ships. Then we went to the West end of the Island and there watered: where captaine Grimston going by the hill with 6 or 7 in his company was set vpon by the herdmens, who with their dogs and stauers killed the captaine and thre or foure of his company: the rest were soze wounded: the Salomons Chirurgian taken prisoner, who disclosed our pretended voyage as much as in him lay: so as the Viceroy sent a carauel of aduiso into the Indies, vnto all such places as wee did pretend to goe to. Howbeit they had intelligence from the king of all our voyage the eight of August, which was thre weekes before we set forth of England: as also by a Fleming that had seene all our provision at London.

The 28 being Sunday at ten of the clocke at night wee set saile, and stood away South-west and South-west some 200 leagues, untill we came in the height of the Islands of Cape Verde, and then more Westerly for Martinino, one of the Islands of the West Indies, which we saw the 27 of October: but the night before we had a storme, in which sir Francis with foure or five other ships bearing on head of the fleet was separated. Then we stood for Dominica, an Island full of inhabitants of the race of the Canibals, not past ten leagues distant from Martinino. In it groweth great store of Tabacco: where most of our English and French men barter knives, hatchets, sawes, and such like yron tooles in trucke of Tabacco.

Dominica.

Before we came to Dominica our Generall Sir Francis Drake altered his course, and went for Marigalante, which we had sight of the 28 day, and came to an anker on the North-east side a saker shot off the shore in 12 fathomes water faire holding. There the Generall went on shore in his barge, and by chance met a Canoa of Dominicans, to the people whereof he gaue a pelton

wastcoate of flanel and an hankerchiefe; and they gaue him such fruits as they had, and the Dominicans rowed to Dominica againe. They came thither to fetch some fruits which they sowe and plant in diuers places of that Island, which they keepe like gardens.

The next morning by breake of day we weped and stode betweene the Todos Santos, which are 4 or 5 little Islands betweene Guadalupe and Dominica. There is nothing vpon these Islands but wood. We came to the Southeast side of Guadalupe and there ankered hard aboord the shoze: the Southwest side of the Island is deepe water and good ankoze: where that day sir Iohn Hawkins came to vs againe standing vp from the South side of Dominica. There we watered, washed our ships, set vp our pinnelles, and refreshed our souldiers on shoze.

The 30 captaine Wignol in the Francis, a barke of 35 tunnes, being the sternmost of sir Iohn Hawkins fleete was chased by five of the king of Spaines frigats or Zabras being ships of 200 tunnes a peece, which came of purpose with 3 other Zabras for the treasure of S. Iuan de Puerto rico: The Francis going roome with them, supposing they had bene our owne fleete, was by them taken in sight of our carauel. They left the Francis dying in the sea with 3 or 4 hurt and sicke men, and tooke the rest of our men into their ships, as the prisoners which wee tooke at S. Iuan de Puerto rico told vs.

The 4 of Nouember we began to vnlade the Richard, one of our victuallers, which was by the next day vnladen, vnrigged and then sunken. Then we stode North-west & by North: and the next morning saw the Islands of Monferrata, Redonda, Estazia, S. Christopher and Saba. The biggest of these Islands is not past 8 leagues long. There is good ankoze in 8, 7, and 5 fadomes water faire white sand. Then we stode away South-west, and on the 8 in the morning being Saturday came to an anker some 7 or 8 leagues off within certain broken Islands called las Virgines, which haue bene accounted dangerous: but we found there a very good rode, had it bene for a 1000 sails of ships in 14, 12, and 8 fadomes faire sand and good ankoze, high Islands on either side, but no fresh water that we could find: here is much fish to be taken with hockes and nets: also we stayed on shoze and fowled. Here sir Iohn Hawkins was extreme sicke; which his sickness began vpon newes of the taking of the Francis. The 18 day wee weped and stode North and by East into a lesser sound, which sir Francis in his barge discovered the night before, and ankoze in 13 fadoms, hauing hie steepe hills on either side, some league distant from our first riving.

The 12 in the morning we weied and set sayle into the sea due South through a small streit but without danger, and then stode West and by North for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, and in the after noone left the 3 small Islands called The passages to the Southward of vs, and that night came by to the Eastermost end of S. Iohn, where sir Iohn Hawkins departed this life: vpon whose decease sir Thomas Baskeruil presently went into the Garland. At 2 of the clocke we came to anker at the Eastermost side of the chiefe towne called Puerto rico in a sandie bay 2 miles off: where we receiued from their forts and places where they plantred Ordnance some 28 great shot, the last of which strake the admirall through the misin, and the last but one strake through her quarter into the sterage, the Generall being there at supper, and strake the stoole from vnder him, but hurt him not, but hurt at the same table sir Nicholas Clifford, M. Browne, captaine Straiford, with one or two more. Sir Nicholas Clifford and master Browne died of their hurts.

Then wee set sayle and stode to the Eastward, and at midnight tacked about to the West, and in the morning came to an anker before the point without the towne, a little to the Westwards by the 3 Islands.

The 13 we rode still vntill night, when in the beginning with twenty five pinnelles, boats and Challops manned and furnished with fire-wozkes and small shot wee went into the rode within the great castles, and in despite of them fired the five Zabras or frigats, all ships of two hundred tunnes the peece or more, quite burning the Rereadmirall downe to the water, which was the greatest shippe of them all, and also mightily spoiled the admirall and viceadmirall, notwithstanding the castles and ships gaue vs a hundred eightie and five great shot, besides small shot abundance. They had also sunke a great shippe in the mouth of the chanell and rafted it ouer with her mastes almost to the very fortres and castles, so as they thought it impregnable. The frigats had in each of them twenty peeces of brasse, and a hundred barrels of powder. Their chiefe lading that they brought thither was like, oyle, and wine. The treasure which they went to fetch, which was brought thither in a ship called the Vigonia, was conueyed into the strongest and surest castell of defence; being, as one of the prisoners confessed, three millions of ducats or five and thirty tunnes of siluer. Also they had sent all the women, children, and vnable persons into the woods, and left none but souldiers and fighting men in the towne. The fight on our side was resolute, hote, and dangerous: wherein wee lost some forty or fifty men, and so many

The death of
sir Iohn Haw-
kins.

The fight at S.
Iuan de Puerto
rico.

many were hurt. There was also great death of the Spaniards aboard the frigats, with burning, drowning, and killing, and besides some taken prisoners.

The 14 we rode still, being within shot of the uttermost castell: but they fearing the next night we would come in againe, began to warpe vp the other 4 frigats, beginning first with the Admirall: which whether by chance or their owne willes wee saw to sinke; and as wee suppose so did they with all the rest, or else by stealth got vp farther within their chiefest forces.

The 15 also we rode still, and at afternoone wee espied a carauell coming from the castell point: but befoze our pinnelles could fetch her vp, she ranne on shore, where our boates could not come at her because of the breach, and also many of the Islanders came downe to guard her with shot. The beginning of this night we weyed, and stood one houre to the East, and then tacked about to the West.

The 16 being Sunday, and the 17 also we were becalmed.

The 18 we ankered a litle to the Southward of the Southwest point of the Island, giuing the point a birch because of a shoale of sand that lieth some two cables length off: there we rode in foure, fise, and sixe fadomes faire white sand, where wee set vp more pinnelles, washed our ships, and refreshed our men on shore. Here the Generall tooke a pinnelle of Hispaniola with diuers letters, signifying that two Englishmen of warre had done great hurt along their Island.

The 20 the Generall rowed to the Phenix, the Delight and the carauell, and caused them to wey and anker right against the mouth of a fresh riuer in two fadomes water in ozie sand to the Southward of the other ships some league or more. The Generall went into this riuer three or foure leagues vp, and tooke horses in the countrey. Sir Thomas Baskervill rowed vp the riuer and stayed there all night, and went vp into the land three or foure leagues.

The 23 wee discharged a barke called the Pulpie and burnt her: and at three of the clocke that afternoone, when we were ready to set saile, there came aboard the Defiance our Admirall, a Spaniard with his wife, who feared some great torment for not hauing repaired to the towne according to the Generals commandement of that Island, who had commanded that all able men of the fleete should repaire to the towne to defend it against vs. Then we stood againe West and by North because of a ledge of rocks that lie sunke 4 or 5 leagues off the Southside of the Island.

The 25 we stood away Southwest, and saw Mona being a lowe flat Island betweene Hispaniola and S. Iuan de Puerto rico. That day the Exchange of captaine Winter spent her boult-spizite; and in the beginning of the night the Phenix was sent backe to seeke her: which by Gods help that night met with her, and kept her company vntil the next morning, then taking in a small cable from her for a tow: but by 9 that morning she spent her maine mast and split her foreyard, breaking also her tow: so as they were faine to saue some trifles out of her and the men, and to sinke the hull. Then we stood away South and South and by West after the fleete: and the 26 in the morning had sight of the fleete againe.

The 29 we had sight of the Island called Curacao within 8 leagues of the maine, and on the Northwest side came to an anker in very deepe water hard aboard the shore without any danger: but the Generall weyed presently and stood away Northwest and by West, and Northnorthwest for the maine, and that night saw Aruba, being somewhat a lesse Island then the other: we left it some three leagues to the Southward of vs.

On Sunday morning being the last of Nouember wee saw three or foure little Islands called the Monjes, betwixt Aruba and the next North point of the maine. At 12 of the clocke we sawe the maine, where we saw a great current setting to the Westward, and also the water changing very white. The Phenix, the carauell, and one of the catches kept within, and at midnight came vnder Cape de la Vela, and made a fire, whereby the rest of the fleete came to anker vnder the Cape, where is a very good rode, faire sholding and sandie ground, fourteene, twelue, and tenne fadoms neere the shore. Toe Cape is a bare land without trees or shrubs, and falleth in eight or ten leagues Southeast and Northwest: and a saker shot off the point standeth a litle Island like Mewestone neere Plimmouth, but somewhat bigger. In the morning the first of December wee imbarked all our souldiers for Rio de la Hacha, which is a towne twenty leagues to the Westwards, one of the ancientest in all the maine, although not very bigge: but it standeth in a most fertile and pleasant soyle. Our men tooke it by ten of the clock in the night. The ships bearing all that night and the day befoze in 5 and 6 fadomes, the lesser ships in 2 fadomes and an halfe water: the Phenix went so neere the shore by the Generals commandement, that shee strake on ground, but got off againe. There lieth to the Eastward of the towne a mile or thereabout a shoale of sand: therefore giue a birch some halfe league or more befoze you come right against the town. There wee came to anker in two fadomes, but the great ships rode off in fise and sixe fadomes.

A fresh riuer.

There is a fresh riuer about a bow-shot to the Eastward of the towne; whereinto our pinnesles could scarce enter by reason of a barre of sand in the riuers mouth, but within it is nauigable for barkes of twenty or thirty tunnes some sixe or eight leagues by.

La Rancheria taken.

The sixth day the Spaniards came in to talke about the ransome of the towne, but not to the Generall his liking: and that night Sir Thomas Baskeruil marched by into the countrey to ouer-runne those parts: and the Generall the same night with some hundred and fiftie men went by water sixe leagues to the Eastward, and tooke the Rancheria a fisher towne, where they drage for pearle. The people all fled except some sixteene or twenty souldiers, which fought a little, but some were taken prisoners, besides many Negros, with some store of pearles and other pillage. In the houses we refreshed our selues, and were all imbarked to come away, and then had sight of a brigandine or a bredger, which the Generall tooke within one houres chase with his two barges: she had in her Indie-wheat, which we call Maiz, and some silver and pearle, but of small value.

On Saturday the seventh, master Yorke captaine of the Hope dyed of sicknes, and then master Thomas Drake the Generals brother was made captaine of the Hope, and master Ionas Bodenhams captaine of the Aduenture, and master Charles Caesar captaine of the Amicie.

The tenth day the Spaniards concluded for the ransome of the towne for 24000 ducats, and one prisoner promised to pay for his ransome 4000 ducats.

The fourteenth day they brought in the townes ransome in pearles, but rated so deare as the Generall after conference with them, misliking it, sent it backe againe, giuing them foure houres respite to cleere themselves with their treasure.

The sixteenth the gouernour came into the towne about dinner, and vpon conference with the Generall told him plainly, that he cared not for the towne, neither would he ransome it: and that the pearle was brought in without his command or consent, and that his detracting of time so long was onely to send the other townes word, that were not of force to withstand vs, whereby they might conuey all their goods, cattell, and wealth into the woods out of danger. So the Generall gaue the gouernour leaue to depart according to promise, hauing two houres to withdraw himselfe in safety.

Tapia taken.

The seventeenth Sir Thomas Baskeruil with the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the carauel with foure or five pinnesles went some five leagues to the Westward & landing, marched some foure leagues by into the countrey to a place called Tapia, which he tooke & burned certain villages and ferme houses about it. He had some resistance as he passed ouer a riuer, but had but one man hurt, which he brought aboard alieue with him: he marched one league farther and burned a village called Sallamca, and so returned with some prisoners, the souldiers hauing gotten some pillage.

Sallamca burnt.

The 18 the Rancheria, and the towne of Rio de la Hacha were burnt cleane downe to the ground, the Churches and a Ladies house onely excepted, which by her letters written to the Generall was preserved. That day wee set sayle and fell to lee-ward, to meete with Sir Thomas Baskeruil.

Cape de Aguja.

The 19 we weighed and stood to leeward for Cape de Aguja, which the twentieth at sunne rising we saw. It is a Cape subject much to flawes, by reason it is a very hie land: and within the cape lieth an Island within the mouth of the sound, which hath a white cliffe or spot in the West-northwest part of the Island. The land all about the cape riseth all in homocks or broken steeple hills. A league South-west within that, (for so falleth the land thereabout) there standeth on the top of a cliffe a watch-house: and a little within that a small Island: you may goe in betweene the maine and it, or to leeward if you lust: and hard within that is the rode and towne of Santa Martha, which at 11 of the clocke we tooke, the people all being fled, except a few Spaniards, Negros & Indias, which in a brauado at our landing gaue vs some 30 or 40 shot, & so ran away.

Santa Martha taken.

That night their Lieutenant generall was taken and some little pillage brought in out of the woods: for in the town nothing was left but the houses swept clean. In all the maine is not a richer place for gold: for the hops were mixt with the earth in euery place, and also in the sand a little to the leewards of the towne. In the bay wee had a bad rode by reason of a small moone, for euery small moone maketh foule weather all the maine along.

The 21, the Generall caused the towne to be burnt, and all the ships to wey, and stood out, many of the souldiers being imbarked where the Generall had appointed, in the small ships which rode neere the shore. We lost that night the company of the Phenix, captaine Austin, Peter Lemon, and the Garland pinnesse, which stood along the shore, and being chased off by gallies out of Carthagea Peter Lemon with nine of our men was taken, the rest came safe to our fleet.

The

The 26 we saw the Islands some twelue leagues to the Eastward of Nombre de Dios standing in toward the shore, but toward night we stood to the off in untill the next day.

The 27 we came into the mouth of Nombre de Dios, and by one of the clocke tooke the towne, the people being all fled except some 100 Spaniards, which kept the Fort, and played vpon vs, hauing in the fort some 3 or 4 small pieces of ordnance, and one of them brake in discharging at vs. They gaue vs also a volley of small shot: but seeing our resolution in running vpon them they all fled and tooke the woods.

The towne was bigge, hauing large streetes, houses very hie, all built of timber, but one Church very faire and large wrought all of timber likewise. Nothing was left in the towne of value: there was a shew in their shops of great store of marchandises that had bene there. There was a mill about the towne, and vpon the toppe of another hill in the woods stood a little watch-house, where we tooke twentie sowes of silver, two barres of gold, some money in coyne, besides other pillage.

The towne was situated in a waterie soile, and subiect much to raine, very vnhealthy as any place in the Indies, hauing great store of Dyenges, plantains, cassay-roots, & such other fruites; but very dangerous to be eaten for breeding of diseases. To the Eastward of the towne within the bay runneth out a fresh riuer of excellent good water, with houses, and all about it gardens: halfe a league from hence due East into the countrey was an Indian towne, whither as we marched a little before our comming away with an hundred men they had broken downe a bridge to hinder our passage, where they lay in ambush with some twentie or thirtie small shot, and bowes and arrowes, set vpon vs, and killed Lieutenant Iones, hurt three or foure and so fled into the woods, ranne before vs and fired their owne towne, and then fled farther into the woods: our men fired diuerse other houses in pursuing them, and so returned againe: our Generall with Sir Thomas being in the Riuer's mouth with thirtie or fortie men filling water about some myle from vs.

The road of Nombre de Dios is a faire road: but on each side, as yet come to ride before the towne, lyeth a ledge of rockes, but there is no danger because they are in sight. You may ride betweene them in thre or foure fadome water, and without if you will in eight or ten fadomes, where neither Castle nor Fort can annoy you. The name of Nombre de Dios was greater then their strength. For they had no Castle nor Fort, but onely the little fort aforesaid standing on the top of an hill, although they might haue made it stronger if they would.

The 29 sir Thomas Baskeruil with 750 armed men, besides Chirurgicalians and prouand boyes, went for Panama.

The last of December the Generall burned halfe the towne, and the first of Januarie burnt the rest, with all the frigats, Barks & Gallies, which were in the harbour and on the beach on shore, hauing houses built ouer them to keepe the pitch from melting.

The second of January sir Thomas returned with his souldiers both weary and hungry, hauing marched more then halfe the way to the South sea. The Spaniards played diuers times vpon vs both outward and home ward in the woods, the way being cut out of the woods & rockes both very narrow, and full of myze and water. The march was so soze as neuer English man marched before. Hauing marched some ten leagues in a maruellous strait way, vpon the top of an hill, through which we must needes passe, the Spaniards had set vp a Fort and kept it with some 80 or 90 men, who played vpon vs as we came vp, before wee were aware of them, and so killed some twentie or more of vs, amongst whom was Captaine Marchant quarter-master Generall, and Ensigne Sampson, Maurice Williams one of her Maiesties guard, besides diuerse were hurt, as M. Captaine Nicholas Baskeruil a valiant gentleman, with diuers others. Then sir Thomas had perfect knowledge that they must passe two such Forts more, if he got that, besides Panama to be very strong, the enemy knowing of our comming long before.

Also our souldiers had no victuals left, nor any meanes to get more: which considerations caused sir Thomas to returne and giue ouer his attempt. As he marched thitherward he tooke an Indian and sent him to Nombre de Dios with letters of his returne and proceeding.

The 5 we set saile at 12 of the clocke, and stood to the Westward.

The 10 day we saw an Island lying Westward some 30 leagues called Escudo, where wee came to anker on the Southside in 12 fadoms water, faire sand and good ankorage. If you come into the Easterne point, giue it a birth, because of a ledge of rockes, that lyeth out there from the end of the Island: comming to anker we sawe a roader, who seeing vs, set sayle, but that night with our Pinnesses we tooke him, he had nothing in him but a little maiz. The men being examined by the Generall confessed him to be an Aduisor sent from Nombre de Dios to all the ports along

Nombre de Dios taken.

An Indian towne fired.

The Ile of Escudo.

along the coast Westward. This Island lyeth 9 or 10 leagues from the maine, & is not past two leagues long full of wood, and hath great store of fresh water in euery part of the Island, and that very good. It is a sickly climat also, and giuen to much raine: here we washed our ships, and set vp the rest of our Pinnesles.

The 15 day captaine Plat died of sicknesse, and then sir Francis Drake began to keepe his cabin, and to complaine of a scowring or flure.

The 23 we set saile and stood by againe for Puerto Bello, which is but 3 leagues to the Westwards of Nombre de Dios.

The death of
sir Francis Drake

The 28 at 4 of the clocke in the morning our Generall sir Francis Drake departed this life, hauing bene extremely sicke of a flure, which began the night before to stop on him. He vled some speeches at 2 a little before his death, rising and apparelling himselfe, but being brought to bed againe within one houre died. He made his brother Thomas Drake and captaine Ionas Bodenhams executors, and M. Thomas Drakes sonne his heire to all his lands, except one manor which he gaue to captaine Bodenhams.

Puerto Bello.

The same day we ankoied at Puerto Bello, being the best harbour we found al along the maine both for great ships and small. There standeth a saker shot off the shoie at the Easterne point a little Island: and there is betwixt the maine & that 5 or 6 fadomes: but the best comming in is the open mouth betwixt that Island & another Island that lyeth to the westward with a range of rocks.

In Puerto Bello were but 8 or 10 houses, besides a great new house which they were in building for the Gouvernour that should haue bene for that place: there was also a very strong fort all to the waters side with flankers of great trees and stones filled with earth betwene: and had not our comming disappointed their pretence, they would haue made it one of the strongest places in all the maine. There they ment to haue builded a great towne. We found there three pieces of brasse ordnance sunke in the sea, which we weighed vp, all the people were fled and their goods carried away.

Up within this bay there was a little village but of no force, where we found a great fresh riuer, our men rowing by some two leagues found pillage, as wine and oyle, and some small quantitie of yron. After our comming hither to anker, and the solemne buriall of our Generall sir Francis in the sea: Sir Thomas Baskervill being aboard the Defiance, where M. Bride made a sermon, hauing to his audience all the captaines in the flecte, sir Thomas commanded all aboard the Garland, with whom he held a Councell, & there shewing his Commission was accepted for General, & captaine Bodenhams made captaine of the Defiance, & M. Sauill captaine of y^e Adventure.

The 27 died captaine Iosias of the Delight, and captaine Egerton a Gentleman of the Foresight, and Iames Wood chiefe chirurgion of the flecte out of the Garland.

The 28 died Abraham Kendall out of the Saker. At this place we watered againe, washed our ships & made new sailes, it being by the Generall and all the captaines agreed, that if we could by any meanes turne by againe for Santa Martha, we should, if not, to goe directly for England. Here also we tooke in some ballast as our neede required.

The 6 of februarie the Elizabeth of M. Wares was discharged and sunke, and that day the Pegasus iolly was going on shoie for water, carrying no garde: The Spaniards perceiuing it came downe vpon them, killed two of them, and tooke 2 or 3 prisoners, and so ranne vp into the woods againe.

The seuenth the Delight and captaine Edens frigate were discharged and sunke because they were old and leaked, and the Queenes ships wanted saylers.

That day our men being mustered we had sicke and whole 2000. And the next day we set on shoie all our prisoners as Spaniards and Negros. But before at our first comming to Puerto Bello sir Thomas sent two of those Spaniards to Nombre de Dios and to Panama to fetch ransom for some of the chiefest prisoners, but they neuer returned againe. As we were setting saile there came one with a flagge of truce, and told the General that they had taken 18 of our men, and that they were well vled, adding that if he would stay 8 or 10 dayes longer they should be brought from Panama. We supposed this to haue bene but a delay to haue kept vs there while the kings forces had come about by sea, as they dayly expected. We set saile the 8 of februarie, turning by for Santa Martha, and the 14 day we saw the Islands of Baru some 14 leagues to the Westward of Carthagea: The Generall that night told vs he would stand in for the towne of Baru in the bay: but that night blew so much winde and continued that small moone, that the same night we lost the Foresight, and the next day standing againe to make the land which we had made, we lost companie of the Susan Parnel, The Helpe, and the Pegasus. Then the next day we put ouer for Cape S. Antonie, and gaue ouer Santa Martha.

The

The 25 we saw the Island of Grand Cayman some 30 leagues to the North-westward of Iamaica, being a low sandie Island, hauing many toztopsles about it.

The Grand Cayman.

The 26 we saw the hie land of Cuba to the Eastward of the broken Islands, to the East of the Island of Pinos, and were imbayed in among those dangerous places. But perceiuing it, we stood out againe South-southeast and so got cleere, and then stood away West and by North for the Ile of Pinos, which we saw the first of March. It is a low land with wood and fresh water to the Western end. If you come in with the middelt of it you shall see rise by about the rest of the land 8 or 9 round homockes, and the Westernmost hath three in one.

The Ile of Pinos.

Being shot forth with the West end, and standing in for to water we espied 20 sayle of ships about one in the afternone. This was a third part of the fleete which the king sent for Carthagena, the rest of the fleete being gone for the Honduras. They were in all 60 sailes sent onely to meete our fleete, being commanded wheresoeuer they heard we were, to come vpon vs with all their three forces. This fleete which we met withall came standing for Cape de los Corrientes, and had bene refreshed at Hauana.

Asloone as they discried vs, they kept close vpon a tacke, thinking to get the winde of vs: but we weathered them. And when our Admirall with all the rest of our fleet were right in the winds eye of them, sir Thomas Baskeruil putting out the Queenes armes, and all the rest of our fleet their brauerie, bare roome with them, and commanded the Defiance not to shoot, but to keepe close by to second him. The Viceadmirall of the Spaniards being a greater ship then any of ours, and the best sayler in all their fleet looked by and gaue the Concord the two first great shot, which she repayed presently againe, thus the fight began. The Bonauenture bare full with her, ringing her such a peale of ordinance and small shot withall, that he left her with tozne sides. The Admirall also made no spare of powder and shot. But the Defiance in the middelt of the Spanish fleet thundering of her ordinance and small shot continued the fight to the end. So that the Viceadmirall with 3 or 4 of her consoys were forced to tacke about to the Eastward, leauing their admirall and the rest of the fleet, who came not so hotly into the fight as they did. The fight continued two houres & better. At sunne set all the fleet tacked about to the Eastward, we continued our course to the Westward for cape de los Corrientes, supposing we should haue met with more of their consoys. In this conflict in the Defiance we had five men slaine, three English men, a Greeke and a Negro. That night some halfe houre after, their fleet keeping vpon their weather quarter, we saw a mightie smoke rise out of one of their great ships which stayed behind: which happened by meanes of powder as we thinke, and presently after she was all on a light fire, and so was consumed and all burnt, as we might well perceiue.

The fight betwene the English and the Spanish fleets.

One of the Spanish great ships burnt.

The next day being the second of March in the morning by breake of day we were hard aboord Cape de los Corrientes, which is a bare low cape, hauing a bush of trees higher then the rest some mile to the Eastward of the cape. All Cuba is full of wood on the Southside. The Spanish fleet which then were but 14 no more then we were, kept still vpon our weather quarter, but dared not to come roome with vs although our Admirall stayed for them. Asloone as we had cleered our selues of the Cape 3 of their best saylers came roome with the Salomon, which was so neere the land that she could not double the Cape, but tacked about to the Eastward, & so was both a sterne and also to leeward of all our fleet: But when we saw the Spaniards working, the Defiance tacked about to rescue her: which the Spaniards seeing, & hauing not forgotten the fight which she made the night before, they looked by into the middelt of their fleet againe, and then all the fleet stayed vntill the Salomon came by, and so stood along for Cape S. Antonio, which we came in sight of by two in the after noone, being a low cape also, and to the Southwest a white sandie bay where 3 or 4 ships may very well water. There is a good road for North & Easterly windes: there the Spaniards began to fall a sterne. That night we stood away a glasse or two North-west, and North-north-west, and Northeast, and in the morning-watch South, and in the morning had sight of Cuba about the East part of the Organes, which are dangerous rocks lying 8 leagues off vpon the North part of Cuba, presently asloone as you passe Cape S. Antonio: then we stood to the Eastward of the land, the winde at South-south-west, and at 6 at night had foule weather, but after were becalmed all night. The 5 the winde came scant. The 7 we sawe a hie land like a crowne, which appeareth so 13 or 14 leagues to the Westward of Hauana, and another place in Cuba called The Table, 8 leagues to the Eastward of the crowne. The land ouer Hauana maketh two small mountaines like a womans breasts or paps. Here we found no great current vntill we came to the Gulfe of Bahama.

Cape Sant Antonio.

The Crowne.

The 10 we saw the Cape of Florida being but a reasonable low land and broken Islands to the Southward of the Cape. And at two in the afternoone we lost sight of the land 12 leagues to the

The cape of Florida.

the Northward of the Cape. After we had disembogued, we stood West till midnight, and were in 28 degrees, and then stood Northeast till the 13 at night, when we were in 31 degrees. And after the wind scanted with a great storme, in which we lost the Bonaventure, and the Little John, they bearing on head. Then we stood with our larboard tackt Eastnortheast.

The 19 we were in 29 degrees our course Eastnortheast. The 21 we had a great stormie gale of winde and much raine but large. And then all the rest of our fleete fell a sterne except the Hope, which bare a head: so that there kept no more with the Admirall, but the Defiance, the Adventure, and the Phenix.

The 28 we were in 39 degrees, and stood away for Flores, which the 8 of Aprill we saw, and the 9 came to an anker on the Southside, where we watered because the Defiance when we came in had but two butts of water. We bartered with the Portugals for some fresh victuals, and set here on shore at our coming away out of the Admirall our two Portugall Pilots; which Sir Francis Drake caried out of England with him.

The 10 being Easter-eue at night we set saile the winde serving vs to lie some stent in our course. That night and Easter day we had much raine: the winde came by at Northeast, we beare it by some 30 leagues to the Eastward, & then about to the West, and so againe to the East, and tryed, and the next boord to the West. On Thursday towards night, being the 16 wee had sight of Coruo againe, we tryed all that night: and on Friday towards night we came to an anker to the Westward of the point of Santa Cruz vnder Flores: but before midnight we draue, and set saile the next day standing away Northeast. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came by againe at North. On Sunday the 19 by two of the clocke in the afternoone we had made 20 leagues an East way: and then the winde came by a good gale at Northwest, and so Northeast with a flowne sheete we made the best way we could: but being disperled by bad weather we arrived about the beginning of May in the West parts of England. And the last ships which came in together to Plimmouth were the Defiance, the Garland, the Adventure, and the Phenix.

A Libell of Spanish lies written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Armada, concerning some part of the last voyage of Sir Francis Drake; together with a confutation of the most notorious falsehoods therein contained, and a declaration of the truth by M. Henrie Savile Esquire: and also an approbation of both by Sir Thomas Baskerville Generall of her Maiesties Armada after the decease of Sir Francis Drake.

To the courteous Reader.



Hereas Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the Spanish fleete, hath by his printed letters published to the world diuerse vntruthes, concerning our fleete and the Commanders thereof, seeking thereby his owne glorie, and our disgrace; I haue taken vpon me (though of many least able) to confute the same, the rather for that the printed copie came first into my hands, hauing my selfe bene Captaine of one of her Maiesties ships in the same voyage. Take this therefore (gentle Reader) as a token of my dutie and loue to my countrey and countrey-men, and expect onely a plaine truth, as from the pen of a souldier and Nauigator: Which if you take in good part, you may draw me hereafter to publish some greater labour.

HENRY SAVILE.

The true copie of a letter found at the sacking of Cadiz, written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his Maie in the West Indies, sent vnto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contractation house for the Indies, and by him put in print with priuilege: wherein are declared many vntruthes, and false reports, tending to the disgrace of the seruice of her Maiesties Maie, and the commanders thereof, lately sent to the West Indies, vnder the command of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Iohn Hawkins Generals at the sea; and Sir Thomas Baskerville Generall at land: with a confutation of diuers grosse lies and vntruthes, contayned in the same letter: together with a short relation of the fight, according to the truth.

Copia

Copia de vna carta, que embio Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, General de la Armada de su Magestad, embiada al Doctor Pedro Florez, Presidente de la casa de la Contratacion de las Indias: en que trata del suceso de la Armada de Ynglatierra, despues que partio de Panama, de que fue por General Francisco Draque, y de su muerte.

DE Cartagena di cuenta a vuestra Merced como sali del puerto de la ciudad de Lisboa, en busca de la armada Ynglesa, aunque por la mucha priessa, no se pudieron reparar tambien los Galeones como fuera necessario, y con el tiempo se perdio uno, y por desgracia se quemo vn Filibote, y auiendo andado muchos dias en busca del enemigo, hasta que llegue a Cartagena, donde auiendo tomado el parecer de Don Pedro de Acunna Gouernador y capitán general de aquella ciudad, porque tenia mucha necesidad de agua, y reparar los Nauios por que venian faltos della, me detuue en aquel puerto, adonde tuve noticia por vn Auiso, que Francisco Draque murio en Nombre de Dios, de pena de auer perdido tantos Baxeles y gente, aunque despues se supo mas por estenso. Y auiendo dado a vuestra Merced cuenta de lo que hasta alli a sucedido, agora la doy de que sali de aquel puerto a dos de Março, y tome la derrota de la Hauana, donde entendi hallarlo: y auiendo hecho la diligencia posible, Lunes à onze del dicho mes, alas dos despues de medio dia, al salir de la Ysla de Pinos, en la ensenada de Guaniguanico, tope con el, que yua con catorze Nauios muy buenos: fueme arrimando a el, aunque tenia el viento por fuyo, y el Almiranta que yua mas al viento con otros dos Nauios commenço arrimarfele, y aunque vino sobre ella con todos los suyos tres vezes, no fue parte acercarle para que quiesse enuestir: los que estauamos mas apartados fuymos dando bordos acercandonos hasta jugar la artilleria, Mosqueteria, y Arcabuzeria de los mas dellos, en lo qual el recibio muy conocido danno, el lo hizo con el artilleria como suele, y particularmente el Almiranta, y en reconociendo la voluntad con que a el nos arrimauamos, con mas diligencia de lo que se puede creer se desembaraço de todos, poniendose en huyda, dando las velas, dexando en la mar todas las Lanchas que traya. Yo le seguí con nueue Nauios toda la noche, y con quatro mas todo el dia, hasta hazerle doblar el cabo de Sant Anton, y tomar la derrota de la Canal de Bahama, conforme a las instrucciones de su Magestad: siruio de poco el ver me con menos numero de Nauios, ni todas las diligencias que se hizieron, para que se inclinase a esperar ni abordar, ni tirar vn arcabuz, ni vna pieça, porque el se dio la diligencia que pudo, porque sus Nauios los auia reduzido a la mitad, y los mejores, y estos acabaua de reparar en Puerto Bello, donde se estuvo mas de quarenta dias, y así venian muy reparados; y yo saque los mios desbaratados, que no me dio el tiempo lugar para adereçarlos. A que nauego dos meses y medio, y traygo la capitana, que desde que parti de Cartagena no an parado las bombas, y el dia que sali se me lo arrimo vna Zabra con esta necesidad; la Almiranta y los demas Nauios vienen con el mismo trabajo, pero sin embargo, por lo que yo vi en los enemigos; era muy conocida la ventaja que nos hazia, y mucha dicha seria apoderarse del, sino es hallarlo sobre el Ferro. Con todo esso me an dexado vn Nauio muy bueno en las manos con muy buena gente, la qual dize como murio el Draque en Nombre de Dios, y que va por general de la dicha armada Ynglesa el Coronel Quebraran, y por el poco lugar que se a dado no an podido tomar Agua, lenna, ni carne, y van de manera que no se como an de llegar a Ynglatierra. Entre la gente deuen de ser ciento y quarenta, y quinze nobles capitanes de lo mejor de alli, y algunos ricos, segun se echa de ver en ellos. No se ofrece otra cosa: nuestro sennor guarde a vuestra Merced, como puede, y yo desseo. De la Hauana, 30 de Março, de 1596. Annos.

Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda.

EL Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudes y Figueroa, Teniente mayor de Asistente desta ciudad de Seuilla y su tierra, que hago officio de Asistente della por ausencia de su Sennoria del Conde de Priego, Doy licencia a Rodrigo de Cabrera, para que pueda imprimir la Relacion de la muerte de Francisco Draque. La qual haga por dos meses, y por ellos no lo imprima otro alguno. So pena de diez mil maravedis para la camara de su Magestad. Fecha en Seuilla a quinze de Mayo, de mil y quinientos y nouenta y seys annos.

El Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudez y Figueroa.

Por su mandado, Gregorio Gutierrez, Escriptano.

The

The Spanish letter Englished.

The Copie of a letter which Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his armie, sent vnto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contractation house for the Indies, wherein he maketh mention of the successe of the English armie, after they departed from Panama, whereof was Generall Francis Drake, and of his death.

From Cartagena I gaue relation vnto your Worship how I departed from the citie of Lisbon, in the pursuite of the English armie: although for the great haste the Galeons could not be so well repaired as was needfull, and with foule weather one was lost, and a Fly-boat was burnt. And hauing sayled many dayes in pursuite of the enemye, vntill I arriued at Cartagena, and there taking the aduise of Don Pedro de Acunna, Gouvernour of the citie, and Captaine generall (for wee had great neede of water, and to repaire our shippes) we staid in that port: whereas I had intelligence by an Indian that Francis Drake died in Nombre de Dios, for very griefe that he had lost so many Barkes and men, as was afterwards more manifestly knowne. Thus hauing giuen you a relation of all that happened hitherto, now I let you vnderstand, that I left this Port the second of March, and tooke our course towardes Hauana, where I thought to haue found the English fleet. And hauing vsed all the diligence possible, vpon Sunday the eleuenth of the said moneth, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, at the end of the Ile of Pinos, in the entrance of Guaniguanico, I met with the English fleet, being fourteene very good ships: I drew towardes them although they had the winde of vs, and our Admirall who boze vp towardes the winde, with other two ships beganne to draw neere them, and although we set thus vpon them, thre times with all their ships, yet would they not set againe vpon vs, and those of our men which were farthest off cryed to them amaine, being both within shot of artillerie, muskets, and caluers, where-by they receiued euident hurt by vs: They plyed their great ordnance according to their manner, and especially their Viceadmirall, and seeing our resolution how sharpe we were bent towardes them, they with all expedition and speede possible prepared to flie away, hoysing sailes and leauing their boates for haste in the sea: but I followed them, with nine ships all the night following, and with foure more the next day, till I made them double the Cape of S. Antonie, and to take the course towardes the Chanell of Bahama, according to the instructions from his Maestie. It little auailed vs to be seene, with lesse number of ships, neither yet all the diligence we could vse, could cause them to stay or come neere vs, nor to shoot off one harquebuz or peece of artillerie, for they fled away as fast as they could, and their shippes were halfe diminished, and that the best part of them; the rest they repaired in Puerto Bello, whereas they were about fortie dayes, and so by that meanes they were all well repayred; and our shippes were very foule, because the time would not permit vs to trim them: I haue sayled 2 moneths and a halfe in the Admirall, since we departed from Cartagena, we haue not repaired their pumpe nor clenched them: and the same day I departed thence, there came vnto me a small Winnesse in the like distresse: our Viceadmirall and the rest of our ships haue the like impediment, but no great hinderance vnto vs, for ought I could perceiue by our enemies: It is manifest what aduantage they had of vs, and by no meanes was it possible for vs to take them, vntlesse we could haue come to haue found them at an anker. Neuerthelesse they left vs one good shippe behinde for our share, well manned, which tolde me that Drake died in Nombre de Dios, and that they haue made for Generall of the English fleet the Colonel Quebraran: and also by meanes of the small time, being straightly followed by vs, they had no opportunitie to take either water, wood or flesh, and they are also in such bad case, that I know not how they will be able to arriue in England. The number of men we haue taken are about an hundred and fortie, and fiftene noble captaines of their best sort, and some of them rich, as well may appeare by their behauiour: I haue no other thing to write at this time. Our Lord keepe you who best can, and as I desire, From Hauana the 30 of March, 1596.

DON BERNALDINO DELGADILLO
DE AVELLANEDA.

The

THe Licenciat *Don Iohn Bermudes* of *Figueroa* Lieutenant of the Assistants of the citie of *Siull*, and the Prouince thereof, who doth supply the office of the Assistant in the absence of the Right honourable the Earle of *Priego*, giueth licence to *Roderigo de Cabrera* to imprint the Relation of the death of *Francis Drake*, which onely he may do for two moneths, and no other to imprint the same within the said terme, vpon paine of tenne thousand *Maravedis* for his Maiesties chamber. Given in *Siull* the 15 of May, 1596.

The Licenciat *Don Iohn Bermudes* of *Figueroa*.

By his Assigne *Gregorie Gutierrez*
Notarie.

THis letter of the Generall *Don Bernaldino* sent into Spaine declaring the death of Sir *Francis Drake* and their supposed victorie, was altogether receiued for an vndoubted trueth, and so pleasing was this newes vnto the Spaniards, that there was present comman- dement giuen to publish the letter in print, that all the people of Spaine might be partakers of this common ioy: the which letter printed in *Siull*, bearing date the 15 of May, 1596 came to the hands of *Henrie Saule* Esquire, who being employed in that seruice for the West Indies, and Captaine of her Maiesties good shippe the *Aduenture*, vnder the conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, hath caused the said printed letter to be translated into English. And that the impudencie of the Spanish Generall may the more plainly appeare, the sayde *Henrie Saule* doth answere particularly to every vnrueith in the same letter contayned, as hereafter followeth.

The answere to the Spanish letter.

First the Generall doth say, that *Francis Drake* died at *Nombre de Dios*, as he had intelli- gence by an Indian.



He Generall sent this newes into his countrey confirmed with his hand and seale of Armes: It is the first newes in his letter, and it was the best newes that he could send into Spaine. For it did ease the stomackes of the timorous Spaniards greatly to heare of the death of him, whose life was a scourge and continuall plague vnto them: But it was a point of great simplicitie, and scarcely befitting a Generall, to tie the credite of his report locally to any place vpon the report of a silly Indian slaue. For it had bene sufficient to haue sayd, that *Francis Drake* was certainly dead, without publishing the lie in print, by naming *Nombre de Dios*: for it is most certaine Sir *Francis Drake* died twixt the *Iland of Escudo*, and *Puerto Bello*: but the Generall being raiued with the suddaine ioy of this report as a man that hath escaped a great danger of the enemy, doth breake out into an insolent kinde of bragging of his valour at Sea, and heaping one lie vpon another, doth not cease vntill he hath drawn them into sequen- ces, and so doth commend them vnto *Peter the Doctor*, as censor of his learned worke.

The Generall first newes, & his best newes is in part ly- ing newes.

Secondly, The Generall doth write vnto the Doctor, that *Francis Drake* died for very griefe that he had lost so many barkes and men.

AThing very strange that the Generall or the Indian, whom hee doth bouch for his lie, should haue such speculation in the bodie of him whom they neuer saw, as to deliuer for truth vnto his countrey, the very cause of disease whereof hee died: and this second report of his is more grosse then the first. For admit the mistaking of the place might be tollerable; not- withstanding, this precise affirming the cause of his death doth manifestly prouue that the Ge- neral doth make no conscience to lie. And as concerning the losse of any Barkes or men in our Naue, by the valour of the Spaniards before Sir *Francis Drake* his death, we had none (one small *Pinnelle* excepted) which we assuredly know was taken by chance, falling single into a flecte of five frigates (of which was Generall *Don Pedro Telio*) neere vnto the *Iland of Do- minica*, and not by the valour *Don Bernaldino*: the which five frigates of the kings after- wardes had but ill successe, for one of them we burnt in the harbour of *S. Iuan de Puerto rico*.

Don Bernaldino doth lie impu- dently.

The successe of the kings five frigates.

Ddd

and

The certaine
cause whereof
Sir Francis Drake
died.

and one other was sunke in the same harbour, and the other thre were burnt amongst many other shippes at the taking of Cadiz. This I thinke in wise mens iudgements, will seeme a silly cause to make a man sorowe to death. For true it is, Sir Francis Drake died of the flure which hee had growen vpon him eight dayes before his death, and peeled by his spirit like a Christian to his creatour quietly in his cabbin. And when the Generall shall suruey his losse, he shall finde it more then the losse of the English, and the most of his, destroyed by the bullet: but the death of Sir Francis Drake was of so great comfort vnto the Spaniard, that it was thought to be a sufficient amends, although their whole fleet had bene utterly lost.

Thirdly, the Generall doth say of his owne credite, and not by intelligence from any Indian or other, that on the eleuenth of March last he met the English fleet at the Ile of Pinos, being foureene good shippes: who although they had the winde of him, yet he set vpon them three times with all their shippes: but the English fleet fled, and refused to fight, shooting now and then a shot, but especially the Viceadmirall.

A paye of
Spanish liers.

The Spanish
Viceadmirall
a man of bas
lour.

Chenmber
of Spanish
ships after the
fight.

* The transla
tion of the
Spanish word
Lanchas is here
mistaken.

This lie was
made in the
Generalls own
foige.

This third lie of the Generall Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda (whose name for the prolixitie thereof may be drawn somewhat neere the length of a cable) hath no colour of protection, but it hath a iust proportion in measure to the lies of olde Bernardino de Mendoza his countreyman, concerning the ouerthrowe of his Paletties Nauie in the yeere one thousand five hundred eightie and eight. For except Don Bernaldino the Generall did purpose to winne the wherstone from Don Bernardino de Mendoza the olde Spanish lyer; I cannot coniecture why he should write to his countrey for a truth, that he chased the English Nauie with nine shippes, and did three seuerall times giue the onset to the English fleet, who being foureene good shippes (as he saith) did flie and refuse to fight; considering that the Spanish Viceadmirall (if he be liuing) and many other, can witness the contrarie: who fighting like a true valiant man, departed from the fight with a torne and battered shippe to saue her from sinking. Neither can I imagine that there is any one in the Spanish fleet (Don Bernaldino excepted) that will say they were lesse then twentie sayle of shippes when they met the English fleet: and the Spanish Nauie can witness that they receiued such store of bullets from the English fleet, that they were glad to depart, and in despight of them the English nauie did holde their determined course: And taking a viewe of the Spanish fleet the next day, their number was not aboue thirteene ships, which did argue that they were either sunke or fled to harbour to saue themselves.

Fourthly, the General saith, that the English fleet fled away, and left their *oares for haist behind them in the sea.

It was strange that they should leaue behind them oares in the sea, since there was not in the English fleet either Galley or Galliasse, which required the vse of oares: as for the oares of their ship-boates and other such small vessels, they had stowed them aboard their shippes, and were no impediment vnto them, but most necessarie for them to vse, and therefore not likely they would cast them ouerboard: But it is more likely, that the Generall fell into some pleasant dreame at Sea, wherein he did see a false apparition of victorie against the English, and for lacke of matter did set this downe in his letter for newes to his countrey: It is sinne to belie the Deuill, and therefore the Generall shall haue his right: the letter is so well contriued, and yet with no great eloquence, but with such art, that there are not many more lines, then there are lies, which shewed that there are wonderfull and extraordinarie gifts in the Generall: but I am perswaded if Don Bernaldino had thought that his letter should haue bene printed, he would haue omitted many things contained in the letter: for the Doctor did vse him somewhat hardly in shewing the letter openly, and more in suffering it to bee printed: for friends may like good fellows send lies one to the other for recreation, and feed their friends with some small taste thereof, so it be kept close, without danger to incur the title of a lying Generall: But as the matter is now handled through the simplicitie of the Doctor, I cannot see but the Generall Don Bernaldino is like to carrie the title equally twixt both his shoulders.

Fifly,

Fiftly, the Generall doth say in his printed letter, that notwithstanding all the diligence he could vse, he could not cause the English fleet to stay nor come neere them, nor discharge one harquebuz or peece of artillerie, but fled away as fast as they could.

AND this lie also he doth not receiue by intelligence from any other, but himselfe was an eye-witnesse in the action, which made him bold to sende this with the rest into his countrey for current newes: but herein Don Bernaldino was more bolde then wise, for the toyme and battered sides of his Galeons, being compared with her Matesties shippes, and others that serued in that fight, doe declare, that his ships receiued at least two bullets for one. Neither can it be concealed but his owne countreyemen (if any do fauour truth) may easily see the losse, and late reparations, done vnto the kings fleet, since they did encounter with the English Nauie, whensoever they that remaine shall arriue in Spaine. But the Generall seemeth to be a very good proficient in his profession, and wareth somewhat bold, treading the true steps of olde Bernardino de Mendoza: and yet Mendoza was somewhat more warie in his lies, for he had sometime the colour of intelligence to shadowe them: but the Generall growing from boldnesse to impudencie maketh no scruple to say, that the English Nauie fled as fast as they could without discharging any harquebuz or peece of artillerie, when as the battered sides of his ships doe returne the lie to his face: For in this conflict Don Bernaldino do behaue himselfe so valiantly, that he was alwayes farthest off in the fight, and had so great care of his owne person, that he stood cleare from the danger of musket or any small shot, and durst not approach; whereas our Generall was the foremost, and so helde his place, vntill by order of fight other shippes were to haue their turnes, according to his former direction: who wisely and politickely had so ordered his vanguard, and reterward, that as the manner of it was altogether strange to the Spaniards, so might they haue bene without all hope of victorie, if their Generall had bene a man of any iudgement in sea-fights: I knowe no reason why the English Nauie should flie from him; for the Spaniards may put all the gaine in his eye that euer he did winne from the English: Peraduenture some silly nouice of our countrey meeting the Generall in Spaine, and hearing a repetition of so many sillables in one name, as Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, might thinke them to be wordes of coniuration, and for feare of rapsling a spirit, might flie from him as from the Deuill: or some simple Indian slaue hearing the like repetition of his long and tedious name, might suppose it to be an armie of Spaniards, and for feare runne away: but the commanders and captaines of the English Nauie were men of such resolution, that no Spanish bragges could dismay them (for they haue often met them with their pikes in their Spanish bearded) nor the countenance of Don Bernaldino quaille them, although hee were acowered in his gilt leather buskins, and his Toledo rapier.

The toyme sides of the Spanish ships doe conuenne Don Bernaldino of lying.

The order of the English Nauie.

The Spaniards cannot bragge of his game.

Spanish bragges are of no value with the English.

Sixtly, the Generall saith in his letter, that notwithstanding their flying away so fast, the English left them one good ship well manned, who tolde him that *Drake* dyed in *Nombre de Dios*: in which ship were one hundred and fortie men, and fiftene noble captaines of the best sort.

THE Generall Don Bernaldino, like a resolute Spaniard hauing already gone ouer his shoes, maketh no danger to wade ouer his booties also: and as he hath begunne, so hee doth conclude. I maruaile that he did not in writing his discourse remember this old saying: that is, A liar ought to haue a good memorie: It were much better for him in mine opinion to reuoke the testimonie which he saith he had from the Englishmen, concerning Sir Francis Drake his death at *Nombre de Dios*, and stand to the intelligence receiued from the silly Indian slaue, as it appeareth in his first lie: for without all doubt there is no English man that will say (if he haue his right senses) that he dyed at *Nombre de Dios*, for they all knowe the contrarie: neither can the General auouch that he receiued intelligence from any English man, that after the death of Sir Francis Drake they did elect for Generall Colonel Quebraran (as he doth most fallely affirme in the latter ende of his vaine and frivolous letter) seeing that this name was strange & vknownen to any in the English Nauie. Neither do I imagine that any of those which the Generall saith he hath taken, were so forgetfull, as not to remember their Generals name. But without all doubt this addition of so new and strange a name to the English Generall, doth proue that Don Bernaldino is not vnfurnished of a farge and storehouse of lies, from whence as fro an euerspringing fountaine, he sendeth forth lies of al sorts sufficient for his own store,

Don Bernaldino his rare gift in copying a new and strange name.

The schooleme
of modesty doe
use this kind
of reprehensi-
on, when they
doe thinke the
author to erre.

The difference
twixt Quebraran
and Baskervill.

The Generall
maketh great
brags in ta-
king a distres-
sed ship, which
is supposed
not to strike
one blow.
The 15 noble
Captaines con-
trary to the
Generals ly-
ing occupa-
tion, wil pzoone
but thye.

The first disco-
very of the Ge-
nerals printed
letter.

and great plentie to furnish his friends: the Generall was much beholding to his godfathers who gaue him the name Bernaldino, which we in English doe take to be plaine Barnard, which name hath as it were a kinde of priuilege from being sharply reprehended, when the partie is thought to erre: for it is a common saying amongst the schoolemen that Bernardus non videt omnia, viz. Barnard seeth not all things, (when he doth dissent from their opinions) the which fauour we could be content to yeeld to Bernaldino for the name sake, if he were not taken with so many manifest and impudent lies: neither doe I thinke that Sennor Bernaldino will say, that he sawe all that he hath written, be it spoken in councell for shaming the Generall: for is there any man so void of reason as to thinke, that any Englishman being demanded of his Generals name, would write or speake Quebraran for Baskervill. So much difference there is in the sound of the syllables, as there is no affinity at all, or likelihood of truth. But such are the Generals rare gifts, (be it spoken to his small prayse) that we Englishmen must of force confesse, that the Generall hath given a proud onset to carrie the whetstone from Sennor Bernardino de Mendoga: neither will the hundred and fortie men and fiftene noble Captaines (which he saith he did take, of whom he might haue bene rightly informed of their Generals name) acquit him of lying forgerie, for giuing the name of Quebraran to the English Generall. As for the good shippe well manned, which he saith the English left them after the fight, I am perswaded he hath no man to witnesse that lie, for the ship was separated by weather from the English fleet in the night, thirteene dayes before the fight with the Spanish Maie, and neuer to any mans knowledge came more in sight of the English fleet. If the Spanish ship by chance did take the saide well manned ship (as they call her) I doubt not but they haue the ship, the hundred and forty men, and the fiftene noble Captaines to shew: But euermore I gesse the Spanish reckoning will fall short when it is examined, for the fiftene noble Captaines will pzoone (as I take it) but thye, whose losse I griue to thinke on: Neither did the Spaniards gaine them by valour, or we loose or leaue them for cowardise, as most vntruely this bragging lier hath certified. But the Generall like a proud man, to make his fame and credite the greater with his Prince and countrey, taketh vpon him amongst other his miracles performed before the English fleet (by way of amplification to make small matters seeme great, as a little hooe to serue a great foote, and finding that it can hardly be brought to passe, he doth so stretch the leather with his teeth that it is readie to breake: and yet notwithstanding al this will not serue his purpose, for the printing of the letter doth marre the play, and bringeth such matter in question, as the Generall doth with might be concealed, and were he not of so drye and cholerick a complexion, as commonly Spaniards are, he would blush for very shame in publishing so impudently such manifest vntruthes. For sithence his meeting with the English fleet at the Ile of Pinos, there hath bene by the worthe English Generals an honourable expedition from England into the Continent of Spaine, where amongst other exploits hauing taken the citie of Cadiz, in the sacke thereof was found some of Don Bernaldino his printed letters: which comming to the handes of a captaine that serued in Sir Francis Drakes last voyage to the West Indies, he hath thought very fit (in regard of the slanders to the English Maie contained in the saide letter) to quote the errors, that the truely may appeare, to all such as haue a desire to be rightly informed of such accidents as befell them in this late voyage to the West Indies: and this may suffice to shew Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda his great iudgement in amplyfying small matters, or of nothing to make in shewe somewhat. And now hauing thus farre informed you of the truely in reproofe of the slanderous, false, and vntrue repozes of this glorious lying Generall, with a true disproofe to some of the grossest of his lyes, I will leaue him with the rest of his lying letter, and the circumstances therein contained to your censures: who in discretion may easily discern the same: And haue here following plainely and truely set downe the course and order of our whole fight after we met.

The meeting of our English Nauie and the Spanish fleet, and the order of our encounter.

The first disco-
very of the
Spanish fleet.



Monday the first of March, according to our computation, wee descryed the Island of Pinos, where haling in for the Westerne part thereof, thinking there to haue watered, being within foure leagues off it Southerly, we sent in thre of our Pinnesses to discover the harbour, and to sound afore vs, about one of the clocke in the afternoone; the same day we discovered a fleet of twentie sailes, and deeming them to be the Spanish fleet, we kept our loofe to get the winde, but their Viceadmirall with diuers other ships went about to cut off our Pinnesses; so that

that our Generall with some other of our shippes, was forced to tacke about vpon the harbour
 tacke, and so ranne in towarde the lande keeping the winde, so as we recovered our winnells;
 which forced the enemies shippes to tacke about, and to take the aide of their fleete, and bring
 come neere vnto them they shot at vs; we still approached, hauing our close fights vp, our flags,
 ensignes and streamers displayed, our men orderly placed in each quarter; but forbare our
 fight vntill our Generall beganne, and gaue vs warning to come in and fight, by shooting off a
 great peece, according to his former directions: so being within musket shot, the Viceadmirall
 of the Spanish fleete came neere vnto vs, to whom our Viceadmirall Iohn Traughton Cap-
 taine of the Elizabeth Bonadventure gaue fight, betwixt whom there was the greatest voley
 of small shot changed that lightly hath bene heard at Sea, which continued a long halfe houre.
 In which time the Spanish fleete came in to fight. Our Generall sir Thomas Baskerville being
 in the Garland (whereof Humphrey Reignolds was Captaine, being the next shippe vnto the
 Elizabeth Bonadventure) bare vp to the enemye, playing with his great ordinance hotly vntill
 he came within musket shot. Ionas Bodenham Captaine of the Defiance, and Henrie Saule
 Captaine of the Adventure, came likewise in to fight with them. After the Garland being with-
 in musket shot played her part, and made good fight for the space of an houre. The Defiance
 bare vp likewise and had her turne: after came the Adventure againe within musket shot, who
 hauing changed many a great bullet with them before, renewed his fight, & continued it an houre
 with small shot. Then came Thomas Drake Captaine of the Hope, who last of all had his turne.
 Thus had all the Queenes shippes their course: The marchants shippes with other small vessels
 being without the Queenes shippes, shot when they saw opportunitie. After the enemye finding
 no good to be done (being well beaten) fell from vs, the Adventure playing vpon them with
 her great ordinance, made three of the last shot at them: their Viceadmirall with diuers others
 of their shippes, were so beaten that they left off the fight, and were forced to lie in the winde,
 for that they durst not lie of either boord by reason of their many and great leakes, which they
 had receiued by our great shot. The Generall with the rest of their fleete tacking about, fell in
 our wake, thinking to get the winde, which in the beginning wee sought to hinder. But our
 Generall seeing that in holding the winde we should shoot our selues into the bay, gaue them the
 winde. All that night they kept themselves vpon our boord side, notwithstanding our Admi-
 ral carried his cresset-light all night, hauing great care of our smallest shippes. This fight conti-
 nued about foure houres till it was neere night, in the which fight, thanks be to God, there were
 slaine so few persons of our English fleete, as I thinke the like conflict hath not bene performed
 with so little losse of men: What harme befell the Spaniards in their fleete I leaue to your
 iudgements. Yet our eyes can witnesse their shippes were soze beaten and raked thorough, where-
 by there was such falling backe and lying by the lee to stoppe their leakes, as some of them were
 driuen to haste away, and rather to runne on shore to saue themselves then sinke in the Sea:
 besides within two houres after our fight with them, we sawe one of their great shippes on fire
 which burnt into the Sea, and all the sterne of another of their shippes blown vp: And in the mor-
 ning a shippe of our fleete was runne so neere the land, that to double the Cape de los Corrien-
 tes he must of necessitie tacke about and fall in the wake of the enemye, which caused our Ge-
 nerall in the Garland and the Defiance to tacke about; which two shippes forced the three shippes
 of the enemyes (which were put forth to take our shippe, or else to cause her runne on ground)
 to returne to their fleete to saue themselves, hoysing all their sayles for haste: This morning
 they were faire by vs hauing the winde of vs, being but thirteene sayle of their twentie to be
 seene: then we strooke our toppe sayles thinking to haue fought with them againe, which they
 perceiuing tacked about from vs, and after that neuer durst nor would come neere vs: What
 became of the rest of their fleete wee knowe not, but true it was that they were in great di-
 stress mightily beaten and toze, by hauing receiued many bullets from vs. All this day wee
 had sight of them, but they shewed little will to fight or come neere vs, so we keeping our course
 West, and by North, about sixe of the clocke at night lost the sight of them. And this is a true
 discourtse of our fight with the Spanish fleete. The which the authoꝝ hereof will iustifie with
 the adventure of his life, against any Spaniarde seruing in that action, that shall contradict
 the same.

The encounter
betweene the
English and
the Spanish
ships.

The Spanish
Viceadmirall
can witnesse,
what successe
they had in
this fight.

The English
Admirall car-
ried his cresset
light, notwith-
standing the
enemye was
vpon his
broad side.

The English
received little
losse in this
conflict.

The remain-
der of the
Spanish fleete
were but thir-
teene sayles.

HENRY SAVILE.

Ddd 3

Thomas

Thomas Baskervill knight, his approbation to the former two-fold discourse of Captaine Saule.



Thomas Baskervill knight, Generall of her Maiesties late Indian armada in the late conflict had betwene the Spanish fleet and vs, hauing perused the Spanish letter written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Maie, and also hauing perused captaine Henrie Saule his answers vnto the five exceptions in the Generals letter, with his discourse of the manner of our fight with the Spanish fleet, doe say that the said Henrie Saule hath answered the letter, and set downe the order of the fight sincerely according to truth, for testimonie of which I haue hereunto set my hand.

And if Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda the Generall shall take any exceptions to this my approbation, or stand in the iustification of his lying letter written to Doctor Peter Florez, President of the Contratacion house for the Indies, and by him for Bernaldinos glorie lately put in print: I then say that he falsely lyed, and that I will maintaine against him with whatsoever armes he shall make choyce of. And because the kingdomes wherein we abide are enemies (by reason of which there is no meanes in either of them, to maintaine that I haue written) let him make choise of any indifferent kingdom of equall distance from either realme, and I will there be readie to maintaine as much as I haue written: But if by my employments into France I be so stayed by her Maiesties commandements, that I cannot out of that realme meete him in any other, I cannot see why he should take any exception to that, considering the equalitie of the place, and that the Armies of both our Princes be there resident.

THOMAS BASKERVILLE.

A true relation of the voyage vndertaken by Sir Anthony Sherley

Knight in Anno 1596. intended for the Ile of *San Tomé*, but performed to *S. Iago*, *Dominica*, *Margarita*, along the coast of *Tierra firma*, to the Ile of *Jamaica*, the bay of the *Honduras*, 30 leagues vp *Rio Dolce*, and homewarde by *Newfoundland*. With the memorable exploitcs atchieued in all this voyage.



We departed from Hampton the 23 of Aprill with nine ships and a gallie. The Beuice Admirall being 300 tunnes, the Galeon Viceadmirall being 240 tunnes. The George Rereadmirall being 160 tunnes. The Archangel being 250 tunnes. The Swanne 200 tunnes, the George Noble being 140 tunnes, the Wolfe 70 tunnes, the Mermayde 120 tunnes, the Little John 40 tunnes the Galley and a Pinnesse. All which ships we sufficiently victualled and furnished for ten monethes, with all necessaries fit for the voyage. They were also manned with souldiers and saylers, exceeding well appointed with all furniture necessarie for the intended purpose of our Generall to the full number of 900. ratably & orderly distributed into euery ship. We arriued at Plimmouth the 29 of Aprill, where wee found the Right honourable Earle of Essex readie for the attempt of his Cadiz Action, with whom our Generall left three ships and 500 souldiers well victualled and furnished. So the 21 of May we departed from Plimmouth with the Beuice, the Gallion, the George, the George Noble, the Wolfe and the Galley and Pinnesse, determining our voyage for the Ile of *S. Tomé*. But if our whole force had remained with vs our Generals purpose was to haue first sackt the *Madera* Ile, and so to haue proceeded for *S. Tomé*. The 27 of May we arriued vpon the coast of Spaine, coasting all the shore, hoping to meete with some of the kings ships. From thence we past in sight of the coast of *Barbary*, and came to *Malagant*, within shot of the Fort, which our Generall reported to be an excellent fortification, where the Spaniard is in strong garrison. And bending our course for the *Canarie* Isles there purposing to water, our galley lost her rudder; so our Generall directed the *George Noble* to goe for the Ile *Mogador*, there to repaire the Gallies wants. Betwene which place and the *Canarie* Isles we tooke a fly-bote of two hundred tunnes bound for *Brasill*, hauing nothing aboard her but some small portion of victuals for their reliefe. The Captaine of this fly-bote tooke vpon him to be a perfect Pilot of *S. Tomé*, and willingly consented to stay with vs, being a Fleming. Hauing watered at the *Canaries*, by the counsell of this Fleming we shaped our course for the Isles of *Cape Verde*, he assuring vs that we should there meet the fleet of *Saint Tomé*, for the peere was so farre past, that we knewe they were all departed from *S. Tomé*.

The Fort of
Malagant.

A Flyboat
taken.

The

The first of July we fell with the Isle Maio, where wee saw small hope of any fleet to bee expected, & therefore departed for Cape Verde, the appointed place for the George noble to meete us: where we arrived the first of July, and there found him. And so instantly we proceeded for our voyage, because the peere was farre spent. At this place most unfortunately our General fell exceeding sicke, and we wanting water were enforced to goe with a place named Pescadores in 10 degrees of North latitude, where we had many skirmishes with the barbarous Negros. Our Generall now hopelesse of life, and we all dismayed and comfortlesse through that his exceeding extremity, having his memory very perfect, he called all his Captaines, Masters, and officers unto him, unto whom he made a very pittie and brieve speech, tending to this purpose: That as we were Christians and all baptised and bred by vnder one and the true faith, so wee should live together like Christians in the feare and service of God: And as we were the subiects of our most excellent Souveraigne, and had vowed obedience unto her: so we should tend all our courses to the advancement of her dignity, and the good of our countrey, and not to enter into any base or vnfit actions. And because we came for his loue into this action that for his sake we would so loue together as if himselfe were still living with vs, and that we would follow (as our chiefe commander) him, unto whom vnder his hand he would giue commission to succede himselfe: all which with solemne protestation we granted to obey. Then for that the peere was past, and finding the coast of Guynoa most tempestuous, hee saw in reason that the bay of Ethiopia would be our vtter overthrow, and infect vs all to death: whereupon he aduised vs to be respectiue of our selues, and to diuert our purpose from S. Tomé, either for Brasil or the West India, yeelding many reasons that it was our best course: but we all with one voice desired to proceede for S. Tomé. And so departing from this contagious filthy place, we directed our course for S. Tomé, but could by no means double the holds of Madrabomba, but very dangerously ran into shold water, still hoping of the best. In fine we were enforced to beare by & take some other course; for the time wasted, our men fell sicke, and the coast was contagious alwayes raging & tempestuous. The water falling from the heauens did stinke, and did in 6 houres turne into maggots where it fell either among our clothes, or in wads of Dcombe.

The Isle of Mayo.

A most contagious & filthy place.

So by a general consent it was held to be our best course to goe for the West India; & so much the rather, because we had good pilots for that place, who undertooke more then was after performed. So we bent our course for the Isles of Cape Verde, & arriving at the Isle of S. Iago the 30 of August, we presently landed at Praia, where we found a smal barke in the rode laden with wine and meale.

After we were departed from this vile coast of Guyny our General to our great comforts began to recouer strength; so that being now at Praia, he was able to land with vs. In our landing the people made a shew of great resistance, but we entred the towne without hindrance, being a very pperie towne, hauing a small fort in it, with 6 or 8 cast pieces.

The towne of Praya vpon the Isle of S. Iago taken.

Being here on shore, and finding nothing left in the towne, diuers of our company were very importunate with our Generall, that he would go to the citie of S. Iago being 6 miles off: through their importunitie he yeelded consent, and so we marched towards the citie with 280 souldiers. As we passed by the Negros and herds men, they would crie vnto vs Guarda S. Iago. That night we lost our way, & lay vnder a hedge. The next morning the Ordinance of S. Iago was shot off to giue vs notice where the towne was: so wee marched towards it at the breake of the day. The countrey then being all spred ouer with people made shew of feare only to draw vs into the towne: but we farther marched with our colours flying by the drumme. The gentelmen would come gallopping by vs and biewing vs very much. But when we came in sight of the towne, we could see no way how to get into it, but by one little path downe a very steepe hill, only man by man to go downe. The strength and situation of this towne was sufficient to haue daunted a man of very good courage, for it standeth between two steepe cliffes strongly bouled, & thre exceeding good forts commanding the whole, the chiefe and best standing vpon the top of the hill right ouer the towne: so that from thence with muskets they command euery streete, the other 2 forts standing by the waters side, all thre commanding the rode, and these two euery streete in the towne. Upon the front of the towne the sea beate, the rest standeth betweene two mighty cliffes, not accessible but by one small path, by which wee were enforced to goe. Our Generall seeing himselfe thus straitened, and perceiuing the drift of the Portugals was to draw him into this trench, and knowing wel that he could not returne as we came, by reason of many straights and aduantageable places, with an excellent resolution (like vnto himselfe) cryed out, all courage my hearts: assure your selues that the deuice of the Portugals shall serue our turne this day: for they will suffer vs quietly to passe downe into their supposed trappe, and then will pursue vs, then which nothing can

A description of the towne of S. Iago: taken by Sir Francis Drake 1585.

The towne of
S. Iago taken by
Sir Anthony
Sherley.

can happen better. The day is ours now shew your selues as I know you will: and so presently we descended into the trench, And being downe the enemy pursued with a mightie crye, and all the cliffes on both sides were beset full of men; shot, and stones we wanted none from them on e- uery side in great plenty; for this naturall trench was not halfe a musket shot ouer. Those that attempted our Receward by our Generals policie were so receiued that they made a stand, and neuer moze came neere vs. We had nowe halfe a mile to the towne, into the which when wee came, wee were receiued with the streetes full of souldiers, who toynd with vs at the push of the pike. But their captaine and diuers of them being slaine (feare possessing them) they fled: and our Generall pursuing with such furious speede, did so dismay them that they fled the towne, and the thirde of August we possessed both the lower forts.

Being now masters of the towne, we presently by the Generals direction (whose skill, spirit, and diligence can neuer haue sufficient commendation) baricadoed vp all the streets, and brought our selues into a very conuenient strength. After we had bene sixe houres in the towne the Portugals still comming in great multitudes to the vpper fort, began to sally downe vpon vs, and to assault vs at euery baticado: so that in the first assault they slew and wounded eighty of our men, to our very great weakening. But they had small cause of triumph, for their losse was thise moze then ours: but they still prosecuted their assault, not giuing vs time either to sleepe or eate, so that we were in exceeding extremitie; for their forces did dayly increase to the number of thre thousand persons: but we dayly lost of our pooze number. Whilest we were thus keeping the towne, our ships came about vnto vs, who receiued many dangerous shot from the vpper castle. Our Generall finding himselfe thus streighted, & discretely looking into the policie and strength of the enemy, and scarce able to defend any one assault moze, sent to the forts and to his ships that about ten of the clocke in the darke of the night they should shoote at the vpper fort with all possible diligence, and send all the boates ahoze, which was accordingly perfourmed. And wee likewise keeping a tumult in the towne, the enemy supposing that our purpose was to assault the vpper fort, (which God knowes was most impregnable for vs) retyred from their plotted purpose for the defence thereof. So we in a souldierlike order with very good safety departed the towne, although the Portugals hauing espied our Generals policie came very furiously vpon the backe of vs, after we had kept it two dayes and two nights.

Isla del Fuego.

In the rove of S. Iago we tooke a ship with wine and cloth, which did greatly refresh our men. From hence we sayled to an Isle called Fuego, being a very small Isle, with a very high hill in the midst of it, which continually burneth: this Isle is inuincible by nature, high cliffed round about, yet by diligent searce we found a small path where wee landed our men with exceeding much difficulty, and so were masters of the Isle the eleuenth of September, where wee tooke in water, but the Isle peeled vs nothing but miserable infection. One night wee had a showze of ashes which fell so thicke into our ships from that burning hill of Fuego, that you might wyte your name with your finger vpon the vpper decke.

Departing from this place the twentieth of September, we shaped our course for Dominica an Isle in the West India: but before we came thither our men fell generally downe, so that the hole could not relieue the sicke, the disease was so vile that men grew lothsome vnto themselves, franticke and desperately rauiing, among whom our good Generals part was not the least; for his disease was vehement, the griefe of his mind, the lamentation of his men, and the losse of those whom he loued were to him torments moze then durable: all which with patience and humilitie in prayer he humbled himselfe vnto. But had not his mind bene inuincible and his desires aboue the ordinary course of men, it had bene impossible that life should now haue rested in him: but God (I hope) hath preserved him to some exceeding good purpose.

Dominica.
Two excellent
hote bathes.

Arryuing at Dominica the seuenteenth of October, with all our men sicke and feeble, wee found theretwo hote bathes, wherein our weake men washing themselves were greatly comforted: and the Indians of this place vsed vs with great kindness, so that we were all perfectly well before we departed from this place. For here we stayed untill the 25 of Nouember. From Dominica we sayled to Margarita, betweene the Isle and the maine, chynking to meete with the perle dyeggers, but wee found them not. And comming to the point of Araia in the road of Cumaná, we sawe a Flemish ship riding; the marchant and men whereof came aboard vs, and brought with them my lord Admirals passe. By which meanes our General would in no sort meddle with them yet they were very rich. Departing thence by Cape Coadera, going for Cape de la Vela at the Isle Buen aire our Fliboat was cast away, & some of the men lost, but the most part saued. Coasting all the shoze from Cape de la Vela, being bound for S. Marcha, we tooke a small frigate laden with Guiny cozne, the eleuenth of September: she had in her money to the balew of 500 pound,

Margarita.

linnen.

linnen cloth and China silke, all which our General bestowed vpon his company to comfort them after their long sustained miseries: Out of which frigate we had 2 good pilots for those coasts: for our pilot, that promised many things before we came thither, was now absent in the Wolfe, who, we thinke, did wilfully loose vs. Arriuing at S. Marcha, two leagues West from the towne in a faire bay, we landed the 12 of September, & so marched to the towne being often times encountered by the way, and in a narrow way at our descent downe a hill, they had placed two cast pieces of brasse, which we recouered, and so entred the towne, the enimie flying before vs. While we abode in this towne, there came one Don Martin de Castilla, a gentleman of good education and a very great traoueller, who knew the whole state of the West India, Malucos, & Philippinas: he had bene in China, and made many relations to our Generall, his purpose was to saue the towne from burning, wherein he preuailed, but ran some I know of none we had: for this gentleman made many great protestations of great pouerty to be in that place. So wee departed, onely taking their ordinance, and a prisoner lost there by Sir Francis Drake, with some reliefe of victuals. Hauing stayed there al the time of Christmas, we departed thence on Newyeres day, with termes of great content to our General in the Spaniards great submission vnto him, for they were now within a league of vs with 700 souldiers. And being challenged by him to defend their towne like men of worth, they did notwithstanding intreat sauiour with great humilitie. Whilest we were at S. Marcha, the Wolfe came againe vnto vs: so wee shaped our course for Iamaica, and missing the rode, were constrained to saile round about the Isle, a thing not before done. In this place the Wolfe absolutely againe forsooke vs with the smal barke that we tooke at S. Iago, and returned for England with hard newes of our ruine, but by Gods fauourable help wee arrived in the road of Iamaica the 29 of January, which is very dangerous to enter by reason of the sholds and rocks that lie before it. Here we landed and marched 6 miles into the countrey, where the towne standeth; the people all on horsebacke made shew of great matters, but did nothing. Now being masters of the towne and whole Isle, the people submitted themselves to our Generals mercy: and here they prouided for vs great store of dried beefe, and Cassau meale, a base food, yet the best that the countrey yeeldeth, to continue at sea. This Isle is a marueilous fertile Isle, & is as a garden or store house for diuers parts of the maine. It is full of plaine champion ground, which in the rest of the Indies we haue not seene: it aboundeth with beeuies and Cassau, besides most pleasant fruits of diuers sorts. We haue not found in the Indies a more pleasant and holsonie place. During the time that we remained in this Isle the captaine of the Isle came often aboard vs, we hauing pledges for the security of their promise. They were in fine at our Generals deuotion, to dispose of al things, and in all things as he pleased, so that now we were as one people & in one peate together. Being almost ready to depart, M. captaine Parker of Plimmouth came into the rode in his ships boat the second of March, with whom our Generall consozted to goe for the bay of Honduras, where by his perswasion we had great hope of a very good voyage. And departing fro Iamaica the 6 of March, we sailed to Cape de Corrientes in Cuba, to looke for a barke of M. Parkers for our better strength: but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where we purposed to entrap the watch, & so to sacke the towne of Truxillo, but the watch discovering vs, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Notwithstanding the next day being the 31 of March we brought our ships vnder the fort, and landed our men, but it was a vaine purpose: for the towne is not to be taken but by exceeding multitudes, for it is inuincible by nature. It standeth vpon the top of a very steepe hill, bordering close to the sea: so enuironed with woods of such exceeding thiknes, that there is no passage among the trees, which if they were gone, yet there is no climbing by the hill, only hauing one narrow lane to go into the towne; at the end whereof is a great gate very strongly fortified, so that it is not to be approached vnto, so that with the losse of some few men, we retired from this enterprise, being altogether impossible to be atchieued by our few and weake men.

Santa Marta taken.

The Isle and chiefe towne of Iamaica taken.

We departed from Truxillo the second of April and went for Puerto de Cauillos lower down in the bay, still nourishing our hope of good successe: and comming thither found it reasonably fortified, but wee presently preuailed and tooke it the 7 of April, being the most pooze and miserable place of all India. Now our hopes were all frustrate and no likelihood remayning how we could by any meanes make a voyage: our General referring vnto himselfe his silent inward impatience, laboured to doe some memorizable thing. And in fine concluded by Rio Dolce to search with his boats some narrow passage or Istmos for the South sea, alleaging that if hee could but finde a boat there, it should serue him to great purpose; against which there could be no reasonable contradiction. All his chiefe sea men consented hereunto, but especially the Captaine of the Admirall. So sayling with the ships to Cape de tres puntas in the bottome of the bay, there leauing the

Puerto de Cauillos taken.

Guatimala, Son-
sonate, and Sa-
catocaluca.
Their returne

the ships well moored the tenth of Aprill he departed with his boats for Rio Dolce, which in many Charts hath his passage through the land. Up this riuer by many vncertaine windings we passed 30 leagues and better, where we found a strong built fort, a towne, and diuers store-houses: but for money or merchandize we found none. Wee learned by the miserable people that we tooke, that the South sea was 20 leagues from the nerest of that riuer, and that it was 50 leagues to Guatimala, 40 leagues to Sonsonate, and 30 leagues to Sacatocaluca, being townes which we hoped to march vnto: so that now we were in worse case then before: for wee were fallen sicke with the vnholsomenesse of this ayre, and our victuals so wasted, as that we were desperate how to recouer our countrey. Whereupon with most vnwilling minds we returned to our shipping, and with all possible expedition weyed, & so laboured vpon the tacke to turne out of this very deepe bay, being 60 leagues within the point of land. Being out of the bay, wee shaped our course for Cape S. Anthony. Our General, whose restless spirit continually laboured to auoide the frownes of fortune, had now plotted with the Beuice and Galeon to goe for Newfoundland, and there to reuitual, and to haue fresh men, of which we stood in good assurance, & so to depart for the streies of Magellan, and so by his very good policie would haue concluded his voyage in the East India, which plat I thinke it vnnecessary here to reueale, being put in principall trust by him.

Being thwart Hauana, by what chance I know not, but all his ships forsooke him the 13 of May, and here in a desperate place hee was left desperately alone. The George departed by consent with his letters, the Galeon I know not how: but our misery in the Admirall was very great, for there was not one in the ship that was euer before in the Indies, besides our miserable want of victuals, the danger of the place, and the furious current of the chanel. Notwithstanding we were enforced without stay to disemboque: which happily being perfozmed, we shaped our course for Newfoundland. And by Gods mercy we arriued there the fifteenth of June, not hauing one houres victuals to spare, and there by our countreyemen we were well refreshed: where we stayed till the 24 of June, still expecting the Galeon, for the execution of this his last purpose: but the not comming, and that plat ouerthrowen, we returned for England, where we found the right honourable the Erie of Essex bound to the seas, with whom wee presently departed in his lordships ship, to doe him our humble seruice.

A voyage of Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman, to

Margarita, Iamaica, Truxillo, Puerto de Cauallos situate within the bay of Honduras, and taken by sir Anthony Sherley and him, as likewise vpon Rio dulce: with his returne from thence, and his valiant and happie enterprize vpon Campeche the chiefe towne of Iucatan, which he tooke and sacked with sixe and fifty men, and brought out of the harbour a Frigat laden with the kings tribute, and surprized also the towne of Sebo.



In the yeere 1596, Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman being furnished with a tall shippe and a barke at his owne charges, the ship called the Prudence of one hundreth and twenty tunnes, wherein himselfe went captaine, and the barke called the Aduenture of fise and twentie tunnes, whereof was captain one Richard Hen, departed fro the foresayd haven of Plimmouth in the moneth of Nouember, hauing one hundreth men in his company.

Margarita.

Sixe English
men redeemed

Truxillo assailed

The first place where wee touched in the West Indies was the Isle of Margarita on the coast of Tierra firma, where we tooke a Spanish gentleman and others, who for his ransome set at libertie Master Iames Willis, and fise other Englishmen which were prisoners in Cumana, who other wise were neuer like to haue come from thence. Thus passing from thence, wee sayled ouer to the Isle of Iamaica, where the second of March we met with sir Anthony Sherley, who before our comming had taken the chiefe towne in the Island, and was now almost in a readines to depart. And here consozting our selues with him, we departed from Iamaica the first of March, and resolved to set vpon the strong towne of Truxillo nere the mouth of the bay of the Honduras. And hauing sayled to Cape de Corrientes vpon Cuba, to seeke a barke of mine for our better strength; but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where wee purposed to intrap the watch, and so to haue sacked the towne of Truxillo. But the watch discovering vs, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Notwithstanding, the next day being the one and thirtieth of March, wee brought our ships vnder the fort, and landed our men: but it was a vaine purpose, for the towne is inuincible by nature,

nature, and standeth vpon the top of a very steepe hill ioyning close to the sea, emironed with woods of such exceeding thicknes, that there is no passage through the trees: there is also but one very narrow and steepe lane to goe into the towne, at the end whereof is a gate very strongly fortified: so that it is not to be approached vnto, vnlesse it be vpon the sudden, and with surprize of the watch: wherefore with the losse of some few men wee retired from this enterprize.

From hence we passed vp farther into the gulfe the second of Aprill, with intention to inuade the towne of Puerto de Cavallos, where wee arriued the senenth of Aprill, and tooke the same, finding it well fortified, but nothing answering our expectation for wealth. Whereupon Sir Anthony Sherley and I being hitherto frustrate of our hopes, resolved here to enter vp to the bottom of Rio dolce, and to passe ouerland vnto the South sea. Wherefore wee set forthward, and enired about thirty leagues vp the sayd Rio dolce, thinking to haue passed ouerland with two companies of men, and to haue caried a pinnesse in five quarters to be set together with skrewes, and therein to haue embarked our selues in the South sea, and there for a time to haue tried our fortune; and to haue returned ouerland to the bay of Honduras. But this our diligence tooke no effect, because of the huge highnes of the mountaines, and the length of the way, being more then was giuen out at the first. Then with much griefe we returned out to Truxillo, where I departed from Sir Anthony Sherley.

Puerto de Cavallos taken.

They passe about 30 leagues vp Rio dolce.

After my departure from this worthy knight, I set my course for Cape de Corroche which lieth on the East part of Iucatán from whence I ranged al the North coast of the said promontory of Iucatán, vntill I came vnto Cape Desconoscido, where I put 56 of my men into a Periago, or long Indian Canoa; and leauing my ship five leagues from the towne of Campeche at three of the clocke in the morning * I landed hard by the monastierie of San Francisco, and tooke the sayd towne of Campeche, with the capitaine and Alcalde, finding therein five hundred Spaniards, and in two towne close adioyning to the same eight thousand Indians. The multitude of the Spaniards which fled vpon my first assault by ten of the clocke in the morning assembling together renewed their strength, and set furiously vpon me and my small company. In which assault I lost some five of my men, and my selfe was shot vnder the left breast with a bullet, which bullet lieth still in the chine of my backe. Being thus put vnto our shifts wee deuised on the sudden a new stratagem: for hauing diuers of the towne men prisoners, we tied them arme in arme together, and placed them instead of a baricado to defend vs from the fury of the enemies shot. And so with ensigne displayed, taking with vs our five dead men, wee retired with more safetie to the haue, where we tooke a frigate which rode ready fraught with the kings tribute in siluer and other good commodities, * which were presently to bee transported to S. Iuan de Villua, and brought the same and our Periago of Canoa to my ship, which lay in two fadomes water five leagues from the towne, being not able to come any neerer for the shoals vpon that coast. Duer against the place where our ship rode, stood a towne of 300 or 400 Indians called Sebo, which we like wise tooke, where wee found Champeche-wood good to dye withal, with waxe, and hony. This done we left this coast, and turned vp to Cape de Corroche againe, and anchored euery day at noone, because of the byzes, and in turning by I lost my barke called the Aduenture, which was taken by 2 frigats of warre, which were manned out from Campeche: wherein Captaine Hen and thirteen of my men were taken, and after ward executed, as since we vnderstand by some Spanish prisoners that were taken in those parts. After we had stayed five weekes on this coast, wee shaped our course for Hauana, where finding nothing, we disemboqued, and came along by the Isle of Bermuda, and crossed ouer to The banke neere Cape Race in 22 fadomes: and from thence sayling for England, we sel with Sillic about the first of Iuly, and within two dayes after arriued at Plimmouth, where we found the Right honorable the Earle of Essex setting forth with a great fleet for the Isles of the Açores.

Cabo de Corroche.

Cabo desconoscido: * On Easter euen 1597. The towne of Campeche taken.

A new stratagem.

* To the value of 5000 pounds.

Sebo an Indian towne taken.

An excellent rutier for the Islands of the West Indies, and for Tierra firma, and Nueva España.

IF a man depart from the barre of S. Lucar in Summer time, hee must steere South-west vntill hee hath sight of Punta de Naga, which is in the Isle of Tenerif. The markes to know it be these. An high point sloping to the sea, & at the Easter point it hath two down falles like partitions, and they shew to be separated from the maine of the Island & stand in 28 degrees & a halfe. And if thou wilt haue sight of the Grand Canaria, and findest thy selfe with Punta de Naga, thou shalt then steere Southwest and by South, and so thou shalt haue sight of Canaria which standeth in 28 degrees. And thou must come to ankor on the South.

Spinn

Southeast side of the Island. But I advise thee, if it be in winter time, that thou keepe another course, and that as followeth.

The course that a man must keepe departing in winter for the Indies from
San Lucar.

Cape Cantin.

A great wood
before you
come at Cape
Cantin.

Departing from San Lucar in winter thou shalt goe West and by South keeping along the coast, because if thou goe farre from the coast, thou shalt meete with the wind off the sea untill thou be as high shot as Cape Cantin, which is a low flat cape with the sea. And thou shalt see a great wood before thou come at this cape, called Casa del Cavallero. And from thence thou shalt steere thy olde course, that is Southwest and by South for the Isles of Alegrança and Lancerota; and when thou art North and South with Alegrança, thou shalt steere thence Southwest, and so thou shalt see the Canaria, which is a round high land, and standeth in twentie eight degrees.

What thou must doe if a contrary wind take thee fiftie leagues off
the shore.

The bay of
Cadiz.

San Pedro.

San Sebastian.

Los Puercos.

The Diamant.

The Canaries.

The Isle Descada
in the West
Indies standeth
in 15 degrees
of latitude.

Markes to
know Domini-
ca by.

Guadalupe,
Monserate.

Santa Cruz.

S. Iuan de Puerto
rico.

Cape Roxo.

When thou art fiftie leagues shot on thy way into the sea Southwest off, and there thou chance to meete with a contrary winde off the sea, and if it force thee to put roome, then thou shalt steere Northeast and by East, and shalt haue sight of Cabos del Plara, which shew when thou art a seaboord so farre as thou mayest descrie them, to be like two points of white sand: and if it be cleere thou shalt see within the land certain high hilles lying Northwest and by West called las Sierras de Zahara, and being three leagues from land thou shalt haue thirtie fadomes water, and land: And from thence to the bay of Cadiz thou shalt goe along Northwest by the coast: and if thou be in thirtie or forty fadomes, thou shalt haue vaze; but if thou bee in lesse then thirtie fadomes, thou shalt haue ocher sounding; which if it chance, then thou art against S. Pedro. And if it bee by day thou shalt see the Ermitage of San Sebastian, which seemeth to be a shippe vnder sayle. And thou shalt goe into the bay taking heede of the Puercos, giue them a good birth off. And if thou chance to bee benighted when thou fallest with the bay, and wouldst goe into the bay, thou shalt carie thy lead in thy hand, and be sounding: and finding thy selfe in rockie ground, thou shalt steere North because of shunning the Puercos: and yet giue them not too great a birth because of The Diamant, and so thou mayest goe in, sounding when thou thinkest good. And being benighted and then not East and West with the bay, and if thou doest not goe into it, then make the largest boord thou canst keeping off till day.

If thou be at the Canaries and wouldst sayle to Nueva Espanna, thou shalt sayle soure and twenty houres South because of the calmes of Fierro. And from thence thou shalt goe West-Southwest, untill thou finde thy selfe in twenty degrees. And then thou must goe West and by South, which is the course for the Isle Descada. And from Descada thou shalt goe West and by North, because of the variation of the compasse. And falling with Descada, thou shalt finde it to rise low with the sea: and it standeth in 15 degrees. And the easternmost part is the sharpest, and smaller then the West point.

And if thou art going for Tierra firma, thou shalt goe West and by South untill thou come to Dominica, and there on the Northwest side is a riuer, where thou mayest water. The marks to know it bee a certaine high land full of hilles. And seeing it when thou art farre off to the seaward, it maketh in the midst a partition; so that a man would thinke it deuided the Island in two parts. And this Island standeth in 14 degrees and a halfe.

I advise thee that if thou wouldst goe for Nueva Espanna, and so doest passe betweene Guadalupe and Monserate to the Westward, that being thus open off the entrance betwixt them thou shalt go Westnorthwest, and so shalt haue sight of Santa Cruz, which standeth in seuentene degrees and a halfe. And the markes to know it be these. It is an Island not very high, and lyeth East and West, and at the East end it is lower then at the West end.

And going forward on thy course thou shalt runne Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt goe to haue sight of the Isle of San Iuan de Puerto rico, which is an Island lying East and West, and standeth in eightene degrees. And the markes be these. That on the West end it is lowest, and the Easternmost is the highest. And if thou fall with the midst of the Island, then thou shalt goe a long it to the West vnto Cabo Roxo, which is the end of the Isle. And from thence the

the coast runnech North to Punta Aguada. Cape Roxo hath certaine red cliffes. Thou must steere West and by South from Cape Roxo to find Mona, and so thou shalt haue sight of Mona. And Mona, the marks thereof be these, it is a low land lying East and West: and on the East end it is highest, it hath a slope towards the sea, and standeth in 18. degrees, rather lesse then more. And if it be by day, then thou shalt runne West and shalt see Saona: which is an Island lying without Hispaniola, and lyeth East and West, and is full of trees; and hath certaine sandy bayes. And if it be cleere weather thou shalt see within the land of Hispaniola certaine hie hills called las Sierras de Ygney. And being benighted upon Mona, then thou shalt steere West and by South, because of certaine shoals that lye off Saona: but hauing day light and no sight of land, thou shalt loose by North-west and so passe by it, and as thou goest along the coast of Hispaniola, and seest the sea to be cast up into the aire, then thou shalt be about 10 leagues off the harbour of Santo Domingo, and these mountings by are called The Spoutes.

But I aduise thee, that if thou bee benighted when thou fallest with Santo Domingo, then thou must keepe the hills called Sierras de las minas viejas to the North-west. And if thou wouldest goe into Santo Domingo, and meetest there with a forcible Northerly wind, then the best way is to runne East till it be day. And hauing day light thou shalt cast about, and so thou must ply to wind-ward vntill the Northerly wind be done: and when it is past, make all the saile thou canst to hale with the sight of Calle de las Damas: and when thou hast sight thereof thou shalt lye with thy femme with a sandie Bay, which lyeth on the other side: and thou must take in thy maine saile, and go so till thou bring thy selfe open with the midst of the riuer; and so hauing opened the riuer, thou must go with great care in the midst of the same, with all thy sailes vp, except thy maine saile, and thou must haue thy boat out, if it be needefull to sound or to row thy ship, if the cast too much to the loose, for the currents will cast here to the loose: wherefore bee sure to haue thy boat out to helpe thy steerage: and this is the way whereby thou must worke.

The course from Santo Domingo to go for Nueva Espanna.

I aduise thee that if thou wilt goe from Santo Domingo for Nueva Espanna, thou shalt goe South-west and by South, and so thou shalt haue sight of Punta de Nizao, which is a low point, and is the end of the hills called Sierras de las minas Viejas, and towards the North-west of them thou shalt see a lowe land, and to goe into Hocoa thou shalt stirre from this point of Nizao West-north-west, and thou shalt see the point of Puerto Hermoso, and the Bay that it maketh: and thou must be sure to keepe neere the shore to find a good road, and feare not to go neere the land: for all is deepe water, and cleare ground, and let not fall thine anker till thou be past all the riuers; and beware of the land, for if thou ride much without, thy anker wil come home, because it is rocky and flatte ground. And thou must be ready, that when thine anker commeth home, thou haue thy moarings readie in thy boat to carry on shore with foure or fise men, and if thou thinke good, thou mayest let them fall on land with a rope. And when thou art come to anker thou mayest send on shore to moare, so shalt thou be best moared.

The course from Hocoa to Nueva Espanna.

Ging from Hocoa to Nueva Espanna thou shalt stirre South-west: and this way thou shalt find the Illes Beata, and Alto velo: Beata hath these marks: It is a low land with the sea, and full of trees: and on the East side an high land or cliffe; and Alto velo hath these markes. A blacke round land, and the Eastermost part thereof is highest, and it hath a downefall. When thou art North and South with * then thou shalt go West, vntill thou be so farre Not as the Frailes: and from thence goe West and by North, and keeping this course thou shalt haue sight of Cape Tiburon. And if by keeping this course thou haue sight of a little Island, thou mayest make account it is the Ile of Baque: and it is hard to the land, and from thence thou shalt go West, keeping thy selfe out vntill thou double a point that maketh as it were a great Bay, and then thou must go West and by North, till thou come to Cape Tiburon, that hath a round blacke land, and in some part thereof certaine white cliffes.

I aduise thee that when thou art against Cape de Tiburon, thou shalt stirre North-west, and so thou shalt haue sight of Cuba, which lyeth East and West: and thou shalt see certaine hills which are called Sierras del Cobre, and in the highest of them is the harbour of S. Iago de Cuba: and finding thy selfe so, thou mayest runne West vnto Cape de Cruz. And before thou seest Cape de Cruz thou shalt see the hills called Sierras de Tarquino, and from these hills to Cape de Cruz the

The nine fathoms.

Cape de Cruz in 19. deg. and better.

Los Iardines.

The Isle de Pinos.

land wareth lower and lower, and it is lowest of all at the Cape it selfe. And if thou chance to haue the water troubled, as though thy ship did raise by the sand from the ground, be not afraid: for this place is called The nine fathoms: for thou shalt find no lesse water vpon it, and it is the shallowest water that thou shalt haue.

Thou must marke that Cape de Cruz maketh an ende of the coast that commeth from the East to the West, and beginneth the course that goeth North and South, and standeth in 19. degrees, rather more then lesse.

From Cape de Cruz thou must stirre Westnorthwest: and this way thou shalt haue sight of the Isle de Pinos, and if thou haue faire weather, then thou must goe Northwest and by West, because of the currents that will set thee out to sea. And keeping this course thou shalt haue sight of an high land. I tell thee it is the marke of the Isles called los Iardines, and is commonly called the land of Zagheio: and then thou shalt goe West and by South: and if it bee by night, then goe Westsouthwest untill thou haue brought thy selfe out from The Iardines. And being by day thou shalt keepe off the land, and shalt goe Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt see the Isle de Pinos.

The markes to know the *Cape de Santo Antonio.*

Cape de Corrientes.
Cape de Santo Antonio in 22. degrees.

The headland called Capo de Santo Antonio is a lowe land, and full of trees, and vpon the Cape it selfe it hath two or thre thicke woods, and the coast lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And thou must also take good heed that thou haue sight on the same coast of a white sandie Bay: and it is on the same coast that lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And these be the markes from Punta de las Arenas, or The point of the sands, to the Cape of Saint Anthony, and from the Cape de Corrientes to Punta de las Arenas thou shalt haue a great Bay, being so long, that if thou be not very neere the shore thou canst not see land, it is so low. And if thou see not the land well, it will shew to be a tuft of trees. And the Cape of S. Anthony standeth in 22. degrees.

A ruttier that a man must keepe from *Dominica* to *Martinino*, and so to *Tierra firma.*

The Testigos Frailes.

Puerto de Iuan Griego.

Curaçao, Aruba, Monjes three little Islands.

Coquebacoa.

Baia honda. Portete. Cape de la vela.

Cape del Aguja.

I aduise thee that going from Martinino or Dominica, if thou wouldst goe for Margarita, that thou stirre South and by West, because of the great currents that goe here, and set Northwest. And by this course thou shalt find the Testigos, which be 4 or 5 Islands: and if thou wilt not goe so much to windward, then thou shalt see Frailes, which bee three small Islands. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour of Manpater, it is presently in doubling of the point on the East side to the Southward. And being minded to go for puerto de Iuan Griego, which lieth on the Northside, then go neere the land, and along the coast of the West, and presently thou shalt haue sight of puerto de Iuan Griego; it standeth in 11. degrees.

I aduise thee that going from Maralino, which standeth in 13. degrees, if thou wouldst goe to Carragena, thou shalt goe West and by South, and by this way thou shalt haue sight of the Isles of Curaçao and Aruba, which stand in 12. degrees: from these Islands thou shalt go West: and when thou art North and South with Monjes, thou shalt see them to be three little white Islands, and they are white because of the multitude of birds that are there: they stand in a triangle. From thence thou shalt goe West, if it be by day, and so shalt haue sight of Coquebacoa that standeth in 12. degrees. And being by night, then goe Northwest: and by day thou shalt cast to goe for the land againe Westsouthwest. Coquebacoa hath a certaine point not very high, and within this point thou shalt see in the inland certain hilles which bee called las Sierras de Auice.

Going from this point of Coquebacoa thou shalt run West, and shalt run along the coast, and shalt go to haue the sight of Baya honda and Portete, which is a low land even with the sea.

The Cape de la Vela lieth with a redde shewe not very high; and without this Cape about a league there is a little coppled rocke. A man may be bold to go betwixt this rocke and the maine. And going from this Cape to haue sight of Cape del Aguja thou must stirre Southwest, and thou shalt haue sight of the Ancones which lye at the ende of the hilles called Sierras Neuadas. And then presently thou shalt see the Cape del Aguja: the marks whereof are these: It is a low Cape, and vpon it is a cople not very high, and there beginneth the high land of the Sierras Neuadas, or snowpy mountaines.

Take this for a warning that if thou goe for Cape de la Vela by night by the course abovesayd, and comest into a whitish water, then sound and thou shalt find 40. fathoms, and thy sound will

will be certaine smal sandy whice oaze, and some smal weeds. And then thou mayest make account that thou art North and South with the riuer called Rio de Palominos, which commeth out of the midd of the Sierras Neuadas. And being benighted thou shalt go Westnorthwest, or West and by North until day: and being day then thou mayest hale in with sight of the land Southwest, because thou mayest be sure to come right in with it.

If thou goe from Cape del Aguja for Cartagena, if it bee by day, thou shalt goe West and by South, and shalt goe to haue sight of Morro Hermoso, that is The faire mountaine, which lyeth to the Westward of Rio grande. And being alone, and with a good ship of saile, and drawing towards night, then thou must come to anker behind Morro hermoso: and after the first watch thou must set saile, and go out West and by North, because thou must be sure to keepe a seaboord from the Island de Arenas, which lyeth 2 leagues to seaward right against Samba.

And if thou goe from Cape del Aguja by night, thou shalt goe West and by North: and so thou shalt goe without the force of the water of Rio Grande. And being by day thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see Morro hermoso, which, as I haue sayd, lyeth to the West of Rio Grande, and hath for markes, a face of a blacke land not very hie, and it is round. And if thou depart by day from Morro hermoso, thou must goe West, and must take heede, as I sayde before, of the Isle de Arenas, which lyeth North and South off Samba. Samba hath for a marke as it were a gallie towed. And going this way by day, thou shalt see El buio del Gato, which is an high land with certaine white cliffes to the seaward: and also more to the West thou shalt see the poynt called Punta de la Canoa, which is a low land euen with the water: and there endeth the coast which lyeth East and West. And the Bay that goeth to Cartagena beginneth here, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest.

And take this for a warning, that if thou be benighted against Samba, thou shalt take in thy sailes, & lye off to the offward until midnight without any saile abroad until midnight: and from midnight forward thou shalt lye so into the land without saile: and if in the breake of day thou see no land, then goe Southwest, and if this way thou haue sight of certaine white cliffes, make account it is Buio del Gato. Take this for a warning, if thy ship bee great come not nigh the land in the Bay: I meane thou mayest not with a great ship come nigh the land from the poynt de la Canoa until thou come to Cartagena, because in many places there are not aboue 3 or 4 fathoms at the most. In all this Bay there is no hie land but the Gallie, which is right ouer the harbour of Cartagena.

And if it chance that any man come for this place that neuer was here before, then let him looke for a little hill like a towed gallie lying East and West, and all the land is low, and seemeth to be full of trees. Having these sights, then make account thou art against Cartagena, and to goe in thou hast nothing to be afraid of: but keepe thy selfe hard aboard the poynt of Ycacos: and then when thou comest to double the poynt del Iudeo, giue a breadth off, because there is a shoald.

I aduise thee that if thou be benighted when thou art at The poynt de la canoa, and wouldest enter into Cartagena by night, that thou take good heede of a shoald that lyeth halfe a league to the sea, and so thou shalt goe in 8 fathoms, and sandie ground. And when thou findest thy selfe in deepe water, as in 30 fathoms and more, then the harbour will bee open before thee. And if thou haue any fresh Northerne winds, then looke by to the seaward, and lye with thy Remme East-southeast, and so thou mayest goe in East through the middell of the chanell: and though it bee by night, yet thou mayest goe in safely, because it is all cleere. And if the night be cleere thou shalt haue sight of the Island called Cares, and it is an high land.

Comming from Cartagena to goe for Nombre de Dios in the time of the Northerne winds, thou must bring thy selfe to the offward of Sal medina: and thence stirre West till thou bring thy selfe North and South with Cabeça de Catua: and then goe Southwest and by West, and thou shalt so fall with Rio de Francisco. It hath for markes a certaine land not very high, and within the land certaine high hills lying East and West. And on the West of the riuer of Francisco thou shalt see certaine cliffes that bee sixe leagues from Nombre de Dios, inclining toward the sea.

I aduise thee that going this course aboue written; if thou see 3 or 4 Isles lying lowe with the sea, and also lying East and West, thou mayest make account that they be the Illands de Catua, and then runne West, and so thou shalt go along the coast. And if thou see by this way a poynt of low land, make account it is Punta de Samblas: and vpon it thou shalt see a row of hie rockie hills, and they be the mountaines of Santa Cruz.

If thou come from Cartagena to go to Nombre de Dios in the time of the sea winds, when thou

Rio de Palominos.

Morro hermoso. Rio grande.

Isle de Arenas. Samba or Zamba.

El Buio del Gato.

Punta de la canoa. Cartagena.

The land marks of Cartagena.

The poynt of Ycacos. A shoald.

A shoald halfe a league to the sea.

The Isle of Cares.

Sal Medina. Cabeça de Catua. Rio de Francisco.

The Isles de Catua. Punta de Samblas. Sierras de Santa Cruz.

Sierras de las
minas viejas.
Puerto de velo
alto,
Nombre de Dios.

art out from Sal Medina, thou shalt goe West and by North, that thou mayest haue sea-roome, and take the Brisas or Northerne winds when they come: and goe till thou be North and South with the harbour of Nombre de Dios: and from thence goe Southwest, and if by this way thou see a row of high hills on a coast that lyeth North-east and Southwest, make account they are Sierras de las minas Viejas, which minas Viejas lie North and South with the harbour of Velo alto. Having kept this course abovesaid, and having sight of the former marke, thou mayest account that thou art on the West side of Nombre de Dios.

Sierra de Capira.
A ledge of
rocks.

Furthermore when thou hast sight of an high land, and thou bee North and South with it, and in the toppe thereof thou seest as it were a little table, if it be highest toward the East, then make account that thou art North and South with Nombre de Dios, I say, with the harbour of Nombre de Dios, and this hill is called Sierra de Capira. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must keepe thy prow right against this hill, and comming nearer to the shore, thou shalt see a ledge of rocks, and it is without, so thou mayest goe in what depth thou thinkest good, or at which place thou findest most water in. And to the West of the harbor thou shalt see two or three Islands called *Isas de los Balcimentos*.

Isas de los Balcimentos.
The course to
goe back from
Nombre de Dios
to Cartagena.

Take this for a warning, if thou come out of Nombre de Dios in the time of the Brisas or Northerne winds, and wouldest goe for Cartagena, thou shalt come out in the morning, and shalt go Northnorthwest untill 3 of the clocke at afternoone, and then cast about to the land, untill thou be hard aboord the shore, and so thou must go turning untill thou hast doubled Cabeça de Catina: and having doubled it then ply to windward all that thou mayest: and if thou be Eastnortheast off it, then thou shalt haue sight of the Islands of Baru, which are 3 or 4 Islands lying low, and are all full of trees: and then presently thou shalt haue sight of the gallie that is ouer Cartagena, and it is like a gallie towed.

Isas de Baru.

Isa fuerte.
A ledge of
rocks.

I aduise thee, that if thou come for Cartagena in the time abovesayde, and comest from Cabeça de Catina, if the wind will not suffer thee to lye but West, then going thus if thou seest a great high Island full of mountaines, and on the North side thereof thou see a ledge of rocks two leagnes into the sea, thou mayest be sure it is *Isa fuerte*: but if thou see not the rocks, giue them a good breadth: and if thou wilt come to anker, thou mayest ride well on the West side of them, betwixt the maine and them in fifteene fathomes; and the sounding is clay. And if thou wilt go betweene this and the Islands of Saint Barnardo to goe into Cartagena, thou mayest goe safely. And if any man aske thee how thou knowest the Islands of Baru and San Barnardo, thou mayest answer truely, that the Isles of San Barnardo are full of high hills, and certaine landie bayes to seaward; and the sayd Isles haue a good depth two or three leagues to the sea: and this depth is called *The Bacilla*. And these are all the markes for the Isles of San Barnardo. And touching the Isles of Baru, they bee 3 or 4 little Islands and very euen with the sea, and full of trees, and there is no good depth about them, but hard aboord them.

Isas de San Barnardo.

La Bacilla

A ruttier from Cartagena to Hauana in Cuba.

The shoals
of Serrana,
Serranilla.

Comming from Cartagena to goe to Hauana, thou must goe Northnorthwest untill thou be in foureteene degrees: and then forwardest thou shalt goe with great care to anker euery night, and when it is day set sayle. And this is to bee done in this place because of the shoals of Serrana: and so thou mayest procede with a care to anker when thou comest about Serranilla, or neere to it, which is in fifteene degrees and a halfe. And vpon it thou shalt see a lowe flatte land lying North-east and Southwest: and the sea beatech vpon it round about, except that on the Southeast part it hath certaine shelues of land, and on the West side it hath a certain little cople, which from sea seemeth to bee a shippe vnder sayle: and being North-east and Southwest off it, scant a league from the shoale cometh out on the West side a certayne shoale, whereupon the sea doth alwayes beate.

Cape de Corrientes,
Cape de San Antonio.

I aduise thee that if thou canst not passe on the West side, then thou must goe betwixt the sayd little cople that is like a sayle and the shoale; for the passage is good. But if thou depart from the Serranilla to the North-west, and seest a lowe land with the sea, and certaine white sandy bayes, and on the West side seest a low land, and on the East side a little coast lying East and West, thou mayest make account it is Cape de Corrientes.

And if thou goe from Cape de Corrientes for Cape de Santo Antonio, thou must goe West-northwest, and so thou shalt goe with the Cape. The marks be a low land full of trees with certaine white landie bayes: and vpon the Cape it selfe thou shalt see two thicke groues of great trees, and they be vpon the Cape it selfe.

To go from the Cape de Sant Antonio for Hauana in the time of the North winds, thou shalt goe North-west untill thou be cleere of all the shoals of the Cape, and then hale thy bowlines, and go as neere the wind as thou canst possibly, untill thou bring thy selfe vnto 24. degrees, and there sound, and thou shalt find it the Tortugas, and thy sounding will be white sand.

The Tortugas.

Thou must take heede what is said in the Chapter before: for he that writ the same hath seene it, and bene witnesse to this: that comming from Seranilla, and stirring North and by East he had sight of an Island standing in 16. degrees, and it is on the shoals of Cape de Camaron. And from thence, if thou haue the wind large, goe North-east and by East, because of the variation of the compasse, and thou shalt make thy way East-north-east, and thou shalt fall with Isla de Pinos. This I I say, because the currents set sometime West: and so it fell out to bee true in March, Anno Domini 1582. I tell thee farther, that wee came out from this aforesayd Isle stirring North and by East, for the wind would not suffer vs to lye neerer the East, and one euening at Summe going downe we fell with a land, that had the same markes to our iudgement with the Cape de Corrientes: and because night was at hand, we wrought to double Cape de Sant Antonio, stirring West: and about midnight we had land all high right ahead, & the coast lying South-west: and then we cast and lay North-east till day: And being day, wee saw the land all ahead, and we plied to wind-ward to the East, and kept it a larboord till we had brought it South-west. And to be short, we went here on land in the same place that we first fell with in the euening before: and it was an Island called Cozumel, lying on the coast of Iucatan. And this Island was the land which we saw first, seeming by the marks to be the Cape de Corrientes. Wee came to an anker about the middelt of the Island, rather to the North-er then the Souther part: there we found a towne of Indians, who gaue vs all things which we needed for our money: and wee carried our Astrolabs on shore and tooke the height in 19. degrees and one tierce. A man may goe betweene this Island and the coast of Iucatan, and the Cape de Cotoche at pleasure North-east; and the water will set in thy fauour: and thou must go till thou be in 24. degrees, and so thou shalt haue the sounding of the Tortugas.

Seranilla.
An Island in
16. degrees.
Baxos de Cabo
de Camaron.
The variation
of the compa-
sse.
Isla de Pinos.
The currents
set here some-
times West.

Isla de Cozumel.

The latitude
of Cozumel in
19. deg. and one
tierce.

Las Tortugas.

The course to be kept from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueva Espanna.

If thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueva Espanna, and being late, thou shalt stirre West-north-west till thou be in the height of 24. degrees: and from thence thou shalt stirre something to the West, untill thou bring thy selfe North and South with the little Island called Vermeja: and when thou art so, thou shalt go South-west, & by this way thou shalt find Villa Rica, which is in 19 degrees & a halfe, and the signes be these. Thou shalt find a ledge of high hills lying North-east and South-west. But if thou chance to fall with a coast that lieth North and South, then thou mayest account, that it is about the low ground of Almeria which hath these markes. It is a land not very high, and it is full of little copples. And if thou haue cleare weather, thou shalt see within the land certaine high hills which are called the hills of Papalo.

The little Isle
called Vermeja.
Marks of Vil-
la Rica.
The low
ground of Al-
meria.

Las Sierras de
Papalo.

And I aduise thee that being so farre thote as the poynnt called Punta delgada, which is the ende of all those hills of Villa Rica, thou mayest stirre thence South and by West, and thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see a lowe land, and with this land thou shalt fall, going for Saint Paul, and being so farre thote as Saint Paul, if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must stirre South-west: and this is the course that thou must keepe being thote into the Bay. And thou shalt goe along the coast of the lowe land in sight thereof: and keeping this course thou shalt see on the other side a blacke hill, and it is called Monte de Carneros. Take this for a note, that it lyeth ouer the house of Buytron: and as thou doest come neerer to the poynnt of rockes, thou must bee sure to keepe thy lead going, and shalt haue foure fathomes and a halfe or five fathomes, and so thou mayest goe through the middelt of the chanell. And comming against the rattle, thou shalt giue it some breadth off towards the Arrecife or rocke: and hauing doubled the rattle, thou shalt goe from thence and shalt bring thy selfe to an anker hard by the Herreria, which is a cleane Bay, and thou shalt ride against the hospitall.

Saint Paul.

Monte de Car-
neros.
Casa de Buytron.

The castle of
S. Juan de Villu-
la.

The hospitall.

I aduise thee that if thou be benighted when thou art neere to S. Paul, and meetest with a North-erly wind after midnighe, that then thy best way is to bring thy selfe into thy coarces, and lye by, plying to windward, and to seaward in 20. fathomes, which depth thou shalt haue neere the shore, to the Northward: and being day, then goe in with the harbour as thou canst best, obseruing what is aboue said.

And I aduise thee if thou come from Villa Rica, and findest thy selfe in 20. degrees and a halfe, and seest no land, and seest that the water doth alter, thou shalt sound 60. fathomes water: and if

The river of
Almeria.

in this depth thou shalt oaze, make account thou art East and West with the river of Almeria. This course is from the Cape of Santo Antonio to Nueva Espanna without or aleeboord the Alacranes or Scorpions.

The triangle.

Now followeth how to worke, if a man come betwixt the Alacranes and the maine.

Alacranes or
Scorpions.

The triangle.

Surta of Zarza.
The high hills
of S. Martin.

If thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio and wouldest goe for Nueva Espanna within the Alacranes, thou must stirre West and by South, and by this way thou shalt bring thy selfe in 20. fathoms; and if thou keeping this course findest lesse water, then go West and by North, and that way thou shalt bring thy selfe into 20. fathomes againe, untill thou have brought thy selfe North and South with the triangle. And being North and South with the triangle, then thou shalt be also North and South with Surta: from thence thou shalt go South west: and by this course thou shalt have sight of the high hills of S. Martin, which are certaine high hills lying North west and Southeast, and they have a partition in the midst, and to the North west they be highest: and on the Southeast part within the land, thou shalt see something an high land, called Pan de Minsapa, that is, the loafe of Minsapa, which is a round loafe not very high.

The hills of S. Martin stand in 18. degrees lesse one fift part.

I advise thee, that when thou fallest with Saint Martin, and wouldest go with Saint Iohn de Villua, then thou shalt goe Westnorthwest: and this is the course that thou must keepe, if thou bee farre off at sea, I meane so farre off as thou mayest well discerne the hills of S. Martin.

But if thou be neere to the land, then thou must goe North west and by West, and thou shalt so come along the coast, and thou shalt find the coast to be low land: and comming this course thou shalt have sight of certaine little hillies not very high: then thou shalt fall with the poynct called Punta de Antoni Serro: and these hillies lye ouer the river of Medelin. And if when thou art East and West, with The Volcan or hill that casteth out fire, any man doe aske thee, where the harbour of Sant Iuan de Villua is, thou mayest truly answer, West and by South, and it standeth in 18. degrees and a halfe.

Rio de Medelin.

S. Iuan de Villua
is in 18. deg.
and a halfe.

The course to be kept from Nueva Espanna to the maine of Spaine in Europe.

The Tortugas.

The currents
to the East.
Pan de Cabanas.

Havana.

Comming from S. Iuan de Villua to goe for Spaine, thou shalt stirre Northeast untill thou be in 24. degrees: and so being thou shalt goe East untill thou bring thy selfe in the soundings of the Tortugas, and thy ground wil be white sand. I advise thee, that if it be by night, thou goe East; and finding the water to ware shoalder, then goe Southwest, with a care to keepe thy lead going, untill thou loose ground, and come into great depth, because thou mayest fall to the North of the Tortugas. And going from this sound for Havana thou must stirre Southsouth east, because of the currents that carrie thee to the East. And if by this way thou have sight of an hie land, that seemeth to be like a loafe, make account it is the loafe of Cabanas. And to the East of this loafe thou shalt see a land that hath a plaine. It sheweth to be low, even with the sea, and as smooth as the sea: and from this land to the East the land is lower and lower. And from thence to Havana thou must goe East. And if the wind will not let thee go that course, thou must turne vp till thou be upon the harbour of Havana.

The marks of the poynct of Havana be these, that on the East side it hath an hie blacke land, which is sloping to the sea, with a litle white tower on the top thereof: and as thou goest into the port, thou must keepe neere the high blacke land, and when thou art haru to it, strike thy toppes in signe of peate to the castle, least it shote at thee.

What course the Spaniards keepe from Havana to Spaine.

Los Martyres.

If from Havana thou wouldest set thy course for Spaine, thou must goe Northeast, and shalt so have sight of the Martyres, which stand in 24. degrees and a halfe. And the coast lieth East and West. The marks be these, it sheweth like heads of trees, and in some places certaine rocks with white sandy bayes. And if the wind be large, thou mayest go East and by South untill thou see the coast to lye Northeast and Southwest: and if the wind be scant, then go turning vp: and take good heed that every evening at Sunne going downe thou have sight of the land, and so thou must do being in the channell, untill thou bring thy selfe into the middest of the channell: and thou must lye off

off from the going downe of the sunne, vntill the ende of the first watch with thy coarles alone, without any more sayle; and from midnight forwards east about, and lye the other way with the like sayle vntill day: and thus thou must doe vntill thou bring thy selfe into the chanel. And if being in the Chanel thou finde the winde large, thou shalt stirre North-east, with a care to goe cleane off the holds of the Mimbres of the Diars. And if being in the chanel thou meete with the wind at North, then thou must turne with a litle saile 4. glasses one way, and 4. another, as thou thinkest good. And if thou canst not beare sayle, then thou mayest goe with all thy sayles downe, except when thou wouldst cast about, thou mayest loose some small sayle to winde thy ship.

The holds of Mimbres, that is, of Diars.

I aduise thee, that when thou art come out of the Chanel, thou shalt be in 28. degrees. And if it be in summer, thou shalt goe North-east vntill thou be in 39. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, which is the height of Flores: and thou shalt goe to the Northward of Bermuda. And if thou thinke good to go in more degrees, to haue the sea winds, thou shalt goe by the same height, as I haue sayd: and if thou shalt finde the winde off the sea, thou shalt no neede to goe in more heights: and from thence thou shalt goe East and by South: and thou must goe thus because of the variation of the Compasse. And thus thou shalt find the illes of Flores and Cueruo, which stand in 39. degrees $\frac{1}{2}$, and in 40. large. The markes be these. *

The Chanel reacheth to 28. degrees. La Bermuda.

The variation of the Compasse.

Thou mayest goe from betwixt Flores and Cueruo, and must goe East Southeast, and so thou shalt haue sight of the Island of Sayles, which is the Island of S. George. And being at the land thou shalt goe along it, and when thou shalt doubled a certaine litle Head-land that lyeth in the East point, then thou shalt stirre East and by North, and East. And thus going, thou shalt haue sight of Terçera, which is in 39. degrees. The markes be these. *

Flores and Cueruo, Saint George.

Terçera.

And behinde a certaine blacke land something high, which is called el Brasil, standeth the Citie called Angra. Going from Terçera, thou shalt runne East North-east, vntill thou bring thy selfe North-west, and Southeast with the Cape of Saint Vincent. And thou mayest worke thus being in summer: for allwayes thou shalt haue the windes at North-west. And being North-west and Southeast with this Cape, thou shalt stirre Southeast and by East, and thou shalt so fall with the land 6. or 7. leagues to the windward off the Cape on the coast, which lyeth North and South: then thou shalt goe along the coast to the South, vntill thou see the Cape. And the Cape standeth in 37. degrees: the markes be these. It is a Cape not very hie, and is blacke, sloping to the sea. And from thence thou shalt double the Alagresal Southeast: and so running, thou shalt then goe East vnto the Cape of S. Mary: and from this Cape goe East North-east, and so thou shalt runne to haue sight of Arenas Gordas: and then thou shalt see presently a litle hill towardes the East which is called Cabeça de Pedro Garcia. And if thou be benighted, and comming into 8. or 9. fathoms, then I wish thee to come to anchor, vntill it be day, and then call for a Pilote, that may by some meanes carie thee into harbour.

The Cape of S. Vincent. The windes are allwayes at North-west in the summer.

The markes of Cape S. Vincent. The Alagresal. The Cape of Saint Mary.

I aduise thee, if in the Winter time thou bee shot out of the narrowest of the Chanel of Bahama, and wouldst goe for Spaine, that thou must goe East North-east, vntill thou be in 30. degrees rather lesse then more: and then thou mayest goe East and by South, because of the variation of the Compasse. And stirring hence East Southeast, thou shalt goe on the Southside of Bermuda: and must goe with great care, because many haue bene lost heere about this Island, because of their negligence. And when thou art sure thou art past this Island, then goe East North-east, vntill thou bee in the height of seven and thirtie degrees: which is in the height of the Island of Saint Marie. And going thus, and not seeing Land, but seeing the Sea to breake, make accompt it is the rocks called las Hormigas. And if thou thinke good to goe to Faial, thou shalt goe till thou be in 38. degrees: scant, and then thou shalt goe East, and so shalt haue sight of Faial. The markes of it be these. *

The course in winter from the Chanel of Bahama. The variation of the Compasse.

Many lost by on Bermuda by negligence. The Isle of S. Marie.

Faial.

Commung out from Faial, and leauing all the Islandes, then goe East and by South vntill thou bring thy selfe in 37. degrees, which is the height of Cape Saint Vincent: and then goe East, and thou shalt see the Cape hauing the markes aforesayd. And from Cape S. Vincent thou must goe East Southeast, till thou be North-east, and South-west, with the barre of S. Lucar: and then goe North-east for the Barre.

The barre of S. Lucar.

Take this for a warning, that if going in 37. degrees thou haue not sight of Cape S. Vincent, and hast sight of certaine hie hills, make accompt they are Sierras de Monchico.

Sierras de Monchico. To any one men of warre.

I aduise thee, that if thou stand in feare of men of warre about the Cape of S. Vincent, then goe in 36. degrees. And finding thy selfe within the Cape, if thou see many signes of greene weedes, then cast about to the North North-east, and by this way finding land, and the same shewing white, be sure it is the castle of Aimonte.

The castle of Aimonte.

A ruttier

A ruttier for the old Chanel from the East point of *Cuba* by the North side thereof to *Hauana*.

The Cape of
S. Nicolas on the
East ende of
Cuba,
Punta de May-
aci.
Baracoa.

Going from the Cape of S. Nicolas, thou shalt goe North Northwest, but thou must keepe to windward off the point, that thou mayest weather it, & it is called the point of Mayaci: and it is a very low land and smooth: and aboute by within the land about a league it hath a long Hill, which is not very high but flat. And from that point to Baracoa is 7. leagues.

Shoald on the
East side of
Baracoa.

And being disposed to goe into Baracoa, keepe the weather-choze all along, vntill thou open the Harbour. And to knowe if thou bee open of the Harbour, looke vpon the South side; and thou shalt see an Hill by it selfe, which maketh as it were a crowne vpon it. And if thou come along, it maketh as it were a Fort with Portes about it: And this is the marke if thou come out of the Sea. And this Hill is North and South of the Harbour, ouer the Harbour of Baracoa. And if thou wilt goe in, thou must take heede of a Shoald which lyeth on the East side, and thou must keepe the West side: and goe not much from the Shoald, because the foote of the Shoald that shooteth Westward hath 5. fathoms water. And when thou art within the Shoalds, thou must goe a litle within them, and then let fall an anchor: and looke that thou come not much on the East side, for it is shoalbie.

Cayo de Moa.
This worde
Cayo in the
Biskayne
tongue signi-
fith a flat of
a shoald.
Pracellas.

And comming out from Baracoa, being to passe through the old chanel, you shall set your course Northwest vntill you come with the Cayo de Moa, or the shoald of Moa, vntill you thinke you are Northeast and Southwest with it, or till you thinke you are gone 12. leagues: and you shall know that you are vpon Cayo de Moa. For before you come at it by 2. leagues or moze, you shall vnderstand that it hath a point of lowe land, and vpon the point it hath a Palme tree; which tree you shall see alwayes, before you see the point: and it is like a sayle. From thence to The Pracellas or Flats you shall stirre Northwest two parts of your way, that you haue to runne from Cayo de Moa to the sayd Pracellas or Flats, and the one halfe part of the way North Northwest and by West. And this way you shall see The Pracellas or Flats in a cleane place of the shoald about the water, for all the breach of the sea. The Mosowes bee from the Pracell West, and you shall leaue them to windward.

Camoloquea.

The flats of
Mecala to be a-
uoyded.

Cropeda a flat
Island.
2. Rocks of
stone.

Punta de Caucas.
Matanzas.

The currents.

The Teates of
Hauana.
The harbour
of Xaroca.

Markes to
know the har-
bour of Ha-
uana.

And if you will goe with the Pracellas or Flats, you shall finde 4. or 5. fathomes: and you may goe sure without danger a Northwest course vntill you come in 7. fathomes. And if you will goe vpon the Shoald, you shall goe vpon that depth, vntill you haue runne 40. or 45. leagues: And from thence you shall set your course Southwest, till you see the Flattes of the maine land. You shall then see to the Westward a rocke diuided into 3. partes, which is called the Camoloquea. And looke that when you come from the Pracellas Southwest, you haue certaine Flats before you: take heede of them that you fall not by night with them by foure leagues, for feare of the Mecala: and you shall set your course West Northwest vntill day: and when it is day, you must beare close aboord the shoze, and then you shall see a flat Island with many broken lands, which is called Cropeda, and lyeth but a litle out of the trade way, somewhat to the Northward. Off that you shall see 2. Rocks of stone, which are the point of all the Flats: And two leagues from them on the mayne land you shall see a point which sheweth like broken land. This is called The point of Caucas. And from that point to Matanzas on the Northside of Cuba are 12. leagues, and your course lieth West and by North: and then you must borrow vpon the land all that you can, because of the currents: for the currents will carry you into the Chanell. And being at Matanzas, you must runne all along the shoze, because of the currents. Remember that when you see one league before you a Rocke, and a Shoald, that hath vpon it but 2. fathomes water; and your marke if you come out of the sea is an Hill, and the Hill is not very hie, it standeth East and West, and vpon it are some litle risings and they are not very high, and vpon these risings stand two round homocks close together, you shall see the Teates of Hauana.

To know along the shoze when you are against the Harbour of Xaroca, the markes are these. A litle to the Westward one league, you shall see along the shoze a Hill that is broken, and that broken Hill is ouer the Harbour of Xaroca: and then a litle moze to the Westward a league, there is another broken Hill. And you shall see that North and South from these broken hills is a Flat off. And from that to Hauana is 7. leagues: and it is all cleane ground, and you may goe along the shoze till you come to Hauana. To know the harbour of Hauana, you shall see before you come at it one litle rocke of stone not very hie, and smooth toward the sea: vpon the rocke standeth a litle white tower, wherein they keepe watch. And then if you haue the winde large, you shall see the harbour open, and then you may beare in with it.

Your shippe being of great burthen, when you are within, then keepe on the West side, because

on the East side, on the West end of the Rocks aforesayd, there lieth a ledge to the Westward, which hath but three or foure fathoms: vpon it. If your ship be of small burthen, you may run along the weather shore, vntill you come right against the Castle; and then halfe the Way ouer you may come to an anchor.

How to worke comming through the olde Chanell, if you be not minded to goe ouer the *Pracellas* or shoalds.

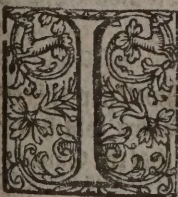
If you will come through the olde Chanell, when you come as hie as the Shoalds, comming by Ion your course from the Caio de Moa, as I told you, keepe 2. leagues from the Pracel or shoald: and then set our course West vnto the low islands of the firme land. And vpon this course you shall ken the flats on the point of Caio Romano: and within it is one flat higher then the other, and smooth vpon, and in the midst it maketh as it were broken land; and when you are in the chanell in the day time, you must take heede you come not neere the shore by 2. leagues, and by your sounding no neerer then 3. fathoms. And you must take heede still when y night commeth to keepe 2. or three leagues off for feare of the shoalds. And in the night you must goe North-west as is aforesaid. And also you must take heed that you keepe in the middle of the chanell, as nere as you can toward the shoald. And finding much wind & being benighted, from midnight till day stirre West North-west, and when it is towards day, then you may edge towards the flats as is aforesaid.

And as you stirre hence one day and one night from Caio Romano to the Inwards of the Chanell, you shall see the firme land of Cuba, and other markes; and among the rest, a round hamocke, which you may easily know. It is called Alcane de Barasoga. And from thence to Sauano and to Basquo is 6. leagues, and likewise Hauana 6. leagues. And from thence to crosse vnder the fort is 45. leagues. And stirre hence vpon your course aforesaid. And if you haue gone from Barasoga 30. leagues, you shall see none of the flats of Mecala: And giue them a breadth off two or three leagues, and keepe your course West North-west, as aforesaid, vntill it be day, and presently you may edge round to the flats. And thus stirring, keepe your course vntill you see the hills of Camaloqua.

And looke that when you come from Caio de Moa, along the Pracel or shoald by night close by it, you shall not see what land it is, till it be day: and in the Morning you shall set your course as is aforesaid, vntill you see the shoald, and in seeing it, you may stirre on your course as is aboue mentioned, vntill you come to Hauana.

For to set your course from the point of Mance to Caio Romano, when you are North and South with the point of Mance, you shall stirre thence West North-west, vntill you thinke you be North-east and South-west with the hill of Hama. And this hill is an high hill and smooth to the seashore. And from this hill to Caio Romano you shall stirre North-west and by West: and vpon this course you may be bolde to see Caio Romano. And the marke of this flat is, that it maketh an hie land and smooth vpon the top: and in the midst of it, it sheweth as it were broken. And when you come to it, you must take heede you come not neere it by 2. leagues, because it is fowle. And looke that you bring not your selfe too neere the hill of Hama by night. For you must take heede of Caio Romano to keepe off it vntill Morning: in the Morning you may goe your course vntill you see it, and then set your course, as is abouesaid.

A principal ruttier containing most particular directions to saile from S. Lucar in Andalusia by the Isles of the Canaries, the small Isles called *Las Antillas*, along the South parts of the Isles of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, Hispaniola and Cuba: and from Cabo de Corrientes, or Cabo de S. Anton without and within the litle Isles called *Los Alacranes*, to the port of S. Iuan de Vllua in Nuova Espanna: and the course from thence backe againe by Hauana, and through the Chanell of Bahama to Spaine: together with the speciall markes of all the Capes, Islands, and other places by the way; and a brieue declaration of their latitudes and longitudes.



If you depart from the barre of S. Lucar de Barameda toward the West Indias in the Summer time, you must stirre away South-west vntill you come to the head-land called Punta de Naga vpon the Isle of Tenerif. But if your departure be from the sayd barre in the Winter, you must stirre away South-west and by South, vntill you come to the height of Cape Cantic on the coast of Barbarie: the markes and signes whereof be these following.

The

Caio de Moa.

Caio Romano.

Alcane de Barasoga.
Sauano, Basquo.

The flats of Mecala.
Take heede of that which is here sayd, for it hath litle reason.

Sierras de Camaloqua.
Caio de Moa.
Pracellas.
Hauana.

Punta de Mance.

Sierra del Hama.
Caio Romano.

The markes of the flat of Caio Romano.

Punta de Naga.

The markes to know Cape Cantin.

Cape Cantin is a lowe Cape and small to the sea-ward, and maketh a snout like the nose of a galley, and hath vpon the top of the poynnt a Heath or shrubby place, and on the toppe thereof stand two hemocks; that to the sea-ward being higher then the other; but that on the Souther side sheweth like a tower: and this Cape is in 32. degrees and 1/2.

And he that wil seeke from this Cape to discouer Punta de Naga beforesayd, must stirre away Southwest and by West, vntill hee bring himselfe Northeast and Southwest with the same point, and then he must stirre away South to fetch the said point.

The signes of Punta de Naga.

The said point or Head-land is a high point of Land, and plaine vpon the toppe like a cable, and without it there are two litle rockie Islands; and vpon the North side of the said point is another poine called Punta de Hidalgo, and vpon the top thereof are 2. picked rockes like vnto the eares of a Ware.

Punta de Hidalgo.

The course from the Canaries to the West Indies.

If you set saile from any of the Islands of the Canaries for the West Indies, you must stirre away 30. or 40. leagues due South, to the ende you may auoid the calmes of the Island of Fierro: and being so farre distant from the said Island, then must you stirre away West Southwest, vntill you finde your selfe in 20. degrees, and then saile West and by South vntill you come to 15. degrees and 1/2. And from thence stirre away West and by North; and so shall you make a West way by reason of the Northwelling of the Compasses which West way will bring you to the Island of Descada.

The calmes of Fierro.

The variation of the compass.

The markes of the Island of Descada.

This Island Descada lieth East Northeast, and West Southwest, hauing no trees vpon it, and it is proportioned like a Galley, and the Northeast ende thereof maketh a lowe nose like the snout of a galley; and by comming neere it, and passing by the North end thereof, you shall perceiue white broken patches like heapes of sand with red strakes in them: & the Southwest end of this Island maketh like the tilt of a galley. And this Island standeth in 15. degrees and 1/2.

Descada in 15. degrees and a halfe.

Markes of the Island of Monserate.

Monserate is an high Island, and round, full of trees, and vpon the East side thereof you shall perceiue certain white spots like sheeres; and being vpon the South side at the very point of the Island, somewhat off the land, it maketh like a litle Island: and putting your selfe either East or West from that point, in the midst thereof will appeare a great broken land.

Markes of the Island of Marigalanta.

Marigalanta is a smooth Island, and full of wood or trees, and as it were of the fashion of a galley vpon her decke: and being on the Southeast side about halfe a league off you shall make certaine homocks of blacke stones, and certain white patches: but on the West side appeare faire white sandy shoies or plaines.

Markes of the Isle of Dominica.

The Island of Dominica lieth Northwest and Southeast, and vpon the Northwest side it sheweth more high: and if you come neere it at full sea, it will shew like two Islands, but by comming neerer vnto it, you shall perceiue it to be but one: and vpon the Southeast side you shall make or see a plaine and long point, and vpon the same point appeareth a cliffe like to the cliffe of Cape Tiburon; and vpon the North side a litle from the land it sheweth like a litle Island, and vpon the top thereof is, as it were, an high steeple, and vpon the North side you shall perceiue it like many white sheeres.

Markes of the Island of Guadalupe.

The Island of Guadalupe lieth on the West of Descada, and vpon the Southwest part thereof appeare many hie mountaines, but vpon the East side it maketh certaine tables, which are called the high part of Guadalupe. And this Island is cut North and South; so that the Canoas of India do passe from the North to the South of it, as if it were two Islands.

Markes

Markes of the Isle of *Matalina*, or *Martinino*.

The Isle of Matalina is high and full of mountaines, hauing in the midst thereof 3. homocks: the middlemost homocke being highest theweth like the great bowle of an hat. And vpon the North side it appeareth like thre little Islands. And in this Island there are warlik Indians like those of Dominica.

Warlike and dangerous Indians like those of Dominica.

Markes of the three small Islands called *Isas de Los Santos*, or the Islands of *Saintes*.

Los Santos are 3. Islands lying one close by another vpon the South side of Guadalupe. For to goe with S. Iuan de Puerto rico you must stirre away Northwest, vntill you fall with the Isle of Saba.

Markes to know the Isle of *Saba*.

Saba is a little Island, and round about it you shall see the bottome; but feare not, for there is no danger but that which you shall see; and round about it, it maketh as it were certaine heapes of white sand; and by the side thereof it sheweth like a Ship vnder saile: but follow that direction that I haue giuen, and you shall see La virgin gorda.

Markes to know the Isle called *La virgin gorda*.

A virgin gorda is an high Island and round, and seeing it, you shall espie all the rest of the Virgines which lye East and West one from another, and are bare without any trees. You may goe about by them vntill you see the little gray Island, which you shall see by it selfe by the Virgines; and comming neere to the sayd Island, ouer that you shall by and by rayse sight of the white little Island, which seemeth like a ship vnder saile. And if you will passe betweene this little white Island or bare rocke, and the greene Island, you must beware that you leaue the white Island on the laboured side of you, and come no neerer it then a Castiener-shot, and so shall you passe through 12. fadome-water: and then stirre away Northwest, and so shall you enter into the Hauen of Puerto rico: and if you chance to passe the sayd Island by night, goe by the foresaid direction, vntill the first watch be out, and then take in your sayles, and so bryue vntill it bee neere day: and then hoise sayles, and stirre away Southwest, seeking the sayde Port: and when you come to the entring within, you must stay till 10. of the clocke for the sea-turne. And know, that hauing the Loguilo at Southwest, then shall the Harbour be off you North and South.

These 2. the white and the gray Islands are rather bare rocks in the sea, for so doeth Farrallon the Spanish word signifie. But I interpte it Island, because all the rocks separated from the bigger Islands are sayd to be little Islands. This white & bare Island is made white by the dung of birdes and sea-fowles that rest vnto it.

Directions from *Monserate* to *Santa Cruz*.

He that departeth from Monserate to Santa Cruz, must stirre away Westnorthwest: and by the same course you shall seaze vpon S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

Markes to know the Isle of *Santa Cruz*.

Santa Cruz is an Island not very high, all full of homocks: and comming with it at full sea, it will shew like the Virgines: and vpon the East side there are two homocks higher then all the rest. And by this course you may goe to the Isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico; and hauing found it, you may sayle along the South coast East and West, vntill you come to Cabo Roxo.

Markes to know *Cape Roxo*.

Cape Roxo is a low Cape and trayling to the sea-ward, hauing certaine heapes of broken ground thereon, which are like a homocke, and at full sea the same sheweth like a little Island from the land by it selfe, but comming neere vnto it, it will make all a whole land.

Directions from *Cabo roxo* to the Isle of *Mona*.

If you will seeke Mona from Cape roxo, you must stirre away West and by North.

Markes of the Isle of *Mona*.

The Isle of Mona is a low, round, and smooch Island, lying lowe by the sea, and full of trees: and to goe from thence to the Isle of Saona you must stirre away West; and if you fall with it in the night season, and come any thing neere the land, then stirre away West and by South, vntill it be neere day, that you may keepe your selfe by the land; and if so be that in the Morning you see it not, then stirre away Northwest, and so shall you finde it: and if it be faire weather, and you perceiue that the current hath set you to the Southwest, then stirre away Northwest, and so shall you goe cleare off the land.

Markes

Markes of the Isle of Saona.

If you chance to see the Isle of Saona, it is an Island smooth with the sea, and lyeth Northeast Land South west, and you shall see the trees before you see the Island: and on the South west end of this Island appeareth a great high banke of white sand which is called the head of Saona. And if you would come to an anchor, you may, for all is cleare ground. And to go from this Island to Santa Catelina, you must stirre away North west.

Markes of the Isle of Santa Catelina.

These rocks
are called Los
Buffaderos, or
the spouters.
The point of
Causedo,
San Domingo.

Sierras de las mi-
nas viejas.

Santa Catelina is a litle lowe Island all full of low rocks euen from the water, and hath not any trees, and it is close by the land; and if you doe not run along the coast of Hispaniola, you shall not see it: and from that Island to goe to Saint Domingo, you shall sayle along as the land lyeth West and by North: and before you come to the point called Causedo, you shall see certaine holes in rocks, which ly alongst as the rocks doe that cast up the water, which will shew like to the spouting of Whales. And a litle ahead off that, you shall see the point of Andresa: and ahead thereof the poynt of Causedo. This poynt of Causedo lyeth lowe close by the water, and passing thereby, the coast will make to thee North west and Southeast; and from thence to S. Domingo are 5 leagues. And if the winde chop by at North upon you, by meanes whereof you should be cast off from the coast or Port, and that you happen to see the olde Pines (called Sierras de las minas viejas) beare North west off you, and The reares which are within the land be open of you, then shal you be North and South with the harbour; and if The olde Pines beare North off you, then shall you be below the harbour.

Directions from Saint Domingo to Nueua Espanna.

The point of
Nisao.
The Isle of
Beata.
Ocoa,
Puerto hermoso.

The Isle of
Alto Velo.

If you will sayle from Saint Domingo in Hispaniola to Nueua Espanna, stirre away South South west, vntill you come by as farre as the point of Nisao: and from thence stirre away West South west, and so you shall finde the Isle of Beata. And if you saile from this point of Nisao for Ocoa, you must passe along the coast West and by North, vntill you come to Puerto Hermoso, or The beautifull haven, which is 18 leagues distant from Saint Domingo: and if you proceede from Puerto Hermoso for Nueua Espanna, you must stirre away South south west, vntill you looke out for Beata and Alto velo.

Markes of the Isle of Beata.

Los Frailes.

Bacoa.

Las sierras de
donna Maria.

Isla Baque.

Beata is a small Island and not very high: you may passe along the outside thereof, and there is no danger but that you may see; and by and by you shall raise Alto velo: and from thence you must stirre away West and by South, to giue a birth from the Islands called Los Frailes, or The Friers. And when you are as farre ahead as the Frailes, then must you stirre away West and by North, and so shall you goe right with Bacoa, and before you come to it, you shall see high craggie cliffes, and at the descending of them white paths like great sheetes; these high craggie mountaines are called Las sierras de donna Maria. And before you come to the sayde point of Bacoa, you shall discover a litle lowe Island euen with the Sea and full of trees, which is called Isla Baque.

Directions from Isla Baque to Cape Tiburon.

Cape Tiburon.
The Isle of
Nauaza.

If you will goe from the Island Baque, or from the point of Bacoa for Cape Tiburon, or to the Isle of Nauaza, you must stirre away West north west, and edge in somewhat to the North west, and you shall passe betweene Nauaza and Cape Tiburon.

Markes of Cape Tiburon, which is the Western cape of Hispaniola.

Cape Tiburon lyeth sliding downe to the Seaward, and maketh a sharpe cliffe like the snout of a Tiburon or sharke-fish; and vpon the top thereof it appeareth like white wayes with certaine gullets or draines vpon it, which are caused by the passage of the water from the mountaine in the Winter time.

Markes of the Isle of Nauaza.

Nauaza is a litle round Island full of low trees or shrubs, and it lyeth East and West from Cape Tiburon, and from this small Island to go for Sierras de Cobre, or The mountaine of mines of Copper vpon the Southeast part of Cuba, you must stirre away North north west.

Directions

Directions from Cape Tiburon to Cabo de Cruz in Cuba.

If you will saile from Cape Tiburon to Cape de Cruz in Cuba, you must stirre away North-west, and you shall see the Sierras or mountaines de Cobre; and from thence you may goe along the coast Westwardes Cabo de Cruz; and before you come at it, you shall see The great Tarquino, and from this Tarquino you shall haue to Cape de Cruz 30. leagues, and this great Tarquino is the highest land vpon all that coast; and then by and by you shall see the lesser Tarquino, from whence to the foresayd Cape you haue 12. leagues, and so shall you goe discovering the coast, vntill you come to Cabo de Cruz.

Markes of Cabo de Cruz.

Cape de Cruz is a low Cape full of shrubs; and from thence Westward you shall see no land; for the distance or bay is great between the sayd Cape and the Isles called Los Iardines.

Directions from Cape de Cruz to Isla de Pinos.

If you saile from Cape de Cruz to seeke the Island of Pinos, you must stir away Westnorth-west. And note, that if in this course you happen to sounde, doe not feare; for you haue nine fathoms. If also going this course, you meete with certaine little Islands vpon the larboord side, which are called The Caimanes, or The crocodiles, hauing sight of them, stir away North-west, and so shall you finde the Island of Pinos. And if by seeing the sayde Islands called Caimanes you are amazed, you shall knowe by the latitude, whether they bee The Iardines or no: for if you finde your selfe in one and twentie degrees, then bee you sure they are The Iardines, and then stir out againe South, till you bee cleare of them; and when you haue brought them North of you, then may you stirre away West, if it bee by day; if it bee by night, West and by South, till you see the Island of Pinos.

The markes of Isla de Pinos.

The Island of Pinos stretcheth it selfe East and West, and it is full of homocks, and if you chance to see it at full sea, it will shewe like 3. Islands, as though there were diuers soundes betweene them, and that in the midst is the greatest; and in rowing with them, it will make all a firme lande: and vpon the East side of these three homocks it will shewe all ragged; and on the West side of them will appeare vnto you a lowe point euen with the sea, and oftentimes you shall see the trees before you shall discerne the point.

Directions from the Isle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes.

If you saile from the foresayde Isle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes, stir away West and by North; and before you come to the sayd Cape vpon the Northside of you, you shall see certaine mountaines all full of homocks, which are called Las Sierras de Guanaguarico, and that vpon the West part hath more homocks then that on the other.

Markes of Cape de Corrientes.

Cape de Corrientes is a lowe Cape, though not so low as the other part of the land that lyeth along by it: for it is more lowe, and hath vpon it 4. or 5. great splats like vnto open, and the very point of the Cape is all white sand: and from thence Westward you shall discerne no lande, for it maketh a great bay: and from hence you must saile to Cape de Sant Anton.

Markes of Cape de Sant Anton.

The cape of Sant Anton is lowe by the sea, and all full of shrubs or trees; and you shall see with in the land a lake of fresh water; and if you want water, there you may water: and vpon the North side of the said Cape you shall discerne a palme tree higher then the rest of the trees, and it sheweth round like a bowle at the top, like to the top of a ship: and North from the Cape are certaine holdes which are 2. or 3. leagues long.

Directions from the Cape de S. Anton to Nueva Espanna on the outside of the small Islands called Los Alacranes or The Scorpions.

If you will saile from Cape Sant Anton to Nueva Espanna with a Northwinde, then stirre away Westnorthwest from 21. to 22. degrees, and then sound vpon the prael or flat; and if you see by this direction, that you holde water, then stir away Northwest, vntill you lose the ground;

F ff.

and

The Isle Vermeja.
Villa rica.

S. Iuan de Villua.
The volcan or
burning hill.

and then follow your course againe, untill you haue brought your selfe into 24. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. and then saile West untill you bring your selfe North and South with the Isle Vermeja, or The red Isle: then stir away Southwest, and by this way you shall finde Villa rica on the coast of Nueva Espanna. And if by going this course you be in 19. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. and chance not to see the lande, then stir away West untill you see Villa rica, and from thence saile you South for the harbour of S. Iuan de Villua: and if you should be neere the land you must stir South and by West towards the same harbour. And if you chance to see the Volcan or burning hill to beare west & by South from you, then know, that the harbour of S. Iuan de Villua shall be East and west off you.

Markes of Villa rica.

Villa rica standeth in 19. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. and the signes thereof are certaine high hills full of homocks of many heads, which haue on the top of the certain white patches after the maner of white beaten wapes; and these hills lie Northeast and Southwest. And if you doubt whether these be the Sierras or hills of S. Martin, wet your lead or sound, and if you finde bottome, they are the Sierras of Villa rica: and saile you to the landward, and looke by how much you come neerer the land, so much will they seeme lower unto you: but so doe not the hills of S. Martin; for the neerer you come to them, the higher will they appeare to you: and likewise if they be the hills of S. Martin, you shall not finde bottome, but euen at land it selfe.

Sierras de Sant
Martin.
Sierras de Villa
rica.

Markes of Rio de las palmas, and of the riuier of mountaines called Rio de las montannas.

Rio de las palmas.
Rio de las montannas.
Rio de Panuco.
Rio Hermoso, or
The beautifull
riuier.
The current
of the bay of
Mexico (the
winde being
at the East)
setteeth to the
North, and 40.
leagues from
the shore to the
North-east.

If you should chance to fall with Rio de las palmas, or The riuier of palmes, or els with the riuier of Mountaines, it is all a plaine lande, and full of trees and certaine woodie homocks, and among them certaine heapes of sand, and all this along by the sea side: and if you went by land to the riuier of Panuco, you shall haue many mouthes or openings of plaies or strands, where also are many lizas or oazy places, which stretch to Rio Hermoso.

You must beware what part soeuer you happen of this coast to fall withall, to discover it, and although you knowe it, you must sound the depth; because if the windes bee Easterly, the current setteeth there much to the North: but if you should be 40. leagues at sea, then this current setteeth to the Northeast.

Markes of Rio Hermoso or The beautifull riuier.

If you wil seeke the riuier talled Rio Hermoso, looking well within the land, you shall see three homocks of an high hill, and those two which are to the landward within, are rounder than the other which is neerest the sea, for that it is longer and bigger, and lyeth North and South, and you shall be 4. leagues at sea when you shall see them: and they are called The sierras, or mountaines of Tamaclica; and from thence to the riuier of Panuco there is no high land, but all lowe and euen with the sea, and full of palme trees and other trees.

The mountaines of
Tamaclica.

Markes of the riuier of Panuco.

If you fall with the riuier of Panuco (betweene which and the foresayde Villa rica standeth the Island called Isla de Lobos or The Isle of seales) the markes bee these. From the mouth of the riuier it maketh a great bay without, and at the ende of this bay upon the Northside there is oazy, low, and bare ground altogether without trees, and at the out ende of the oazy lowe place upon the West side it maketh a low homock like to a Lizards head: and when you see the foresayde cliffe, you shall bee in the opening of the mouth of the sayd riuier, and then shall you see a little low tower hauing on the top of it a crosse, which the fishermen call Marien: and this barre bath on it 2. fathom water, and 2. and $\frac{1}{2}$. and you neede not to stay for the tyde, for that it floweth not there: and that you may the better knowe whether you bee in this bay which I haue mentioned, or not, you shall see certaine hills at West Southwest, which are called Las sierras de Tarquia; and forthwith also you shall see the oazy place that I speake of, which goeth to the mouth of the riuier, where standeth a towne called S. Luis de Tampice, and from thence to Panuco you haue 9. leagues by land.

No tide at the
riuier of Panuco
Las sierras de
Tarquia.
S. Luis de Tam-
pice.

The markes of Isla de lobos, or The Isle of seales.

Isla de lobos is a small Island nothing so big as the carde doth shew it, and in it is a litle groue or wood of palme trees, and all the rest of the Island is without trees, and round about it are sundry playas

Playas or strandes, and it is inclosed round about with arracifes or shoals, and chiefly toward the maine lande. And from thence to Cape Roxo or The red Cape are 3. leagues. And if you will come to anker at this Island to water, for that there is water in it, you may ride on all the South side close by the point that stretcheth to the Westward, and you may passe by the East side of it, and ride in 22. fathom, and untill you come to 15. fathoms, all is cleane ground.

Cabo Roxo.
A watering
place.

Markes of the riuier of *Tuspa*.

If you fall with the riuier of *Tuspa*, you must beware the sholles which run 5. or 6. leagues into the sea: and vpon this riuier of *Tuspa* within the lande there are high hilles which lie Northeast and Southwest, and haue their ending vpon the bay of *Cassones*: and vpon the riuier you shall perceiue a white cliffe, which will shew vnto you like the castle of *S. Iuan de Villua*.

The bay of
Cassones.

Markes of the riuier of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*.

If you chance to fall with the bay of *Cassones*, and vpon the riuier of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, take heede: for the sayd bay is a deepe bay, and the hilles of *Tuspa* haue their ending vpon this bay. And in the mouth of this riuier of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* are two homockes of white sand, the West-ermost being bigger then that on the Northeast. And by and by you shall perceiue the water to change white which commeth out of the riuier, and sounding you shall finde sande mixed with clay vpon your lead; and looke vpon the West side, and you shall see the *Sieras* or mountaines of *S. Paul*, which are two, and that on the North side is higher then the other.

All these are
vpon the coast
of *Tabasco*.
Las Sierras de
S. Pablo.

Markes of *Almeria*.

If you should chance to fall or come vpon the plaines of *Almeria*, it is a lande full of many homocks, some with tuftes of trees on them, and some bare with white sand, and in 60. fathoms you shall haue clay or oaze, and in 30. fathom to the landward sand. And from thence to *Punta de hidalgo* or *Punta delgada* the coast lyeth Northeast and Southwest.

Punta delgada,
or The slender
point.

Soundings of *Villa rica*.

If you fall with *Villa rica* in 30. fathoms, you shall finde clay or oaze, and in some places stones, and neere the lande you shall haue sand; and vpon the port of *S. Iuan de Villua* you shall haue in some places clay or oaze, and in some places herring bones, and in other places mase and; and vpon the rocks called *Cabeças anegadas* you shall haue small blacke sande at 17. fathom two leagues from land. And if you see a coast that lieth Northeast and Southwest, and another Northeast and Southeast, you shall be vpon *S. Paul*: and if you should be vpon *Cabeças anegadas*, you shall finde in 30. fathoms great sand & blacke, and in 28. fathoms you shall haue the sand white like the shauings of free stone: and from *S. Paul* to the barre of *Vera Cruz* it is clay or oaze, and from thence to *S. Iuan de Villua* you haue many deeps, which at one sounding bring you clay, and at another sand, and at another clay and mase together, and herring bones: and in some 35. or 40. fathom you shall finde rockie ground, and in some places sand, and in some other places herring bones: and we call this *Comedera de pescado*, or The foode of fishes.

Cabeças anegadas are sunken
heads of rocks
vnder water.

Comedera de
Pescado.

The course from *Cabo de Corrientes* and *Cabo de S. Anton* vpon the West end of *Cuba*, towards *Nueva Espanna*, within the Isles called *Los Alacranes*, or *The Scorpions*.

If you saile from *Cape de Corrientes* towarde *Nueva Espanna* on the inside of The *Alacranes*, you must stir West: and when you thinke you haue sailed 35. or 40. leag. you shall sound vpon the prael, and you shall come vpon many bristlings of waters, which, if it were faire weather, would seeme a skull of fish. And before you come out of the bristlings, if you sound you shall haue depth as I haue sayd. If you goe from *Cape de S. Anton* by the inside of The *Alacranes*, you must stir away West and by South, and you shall finde sounding in the same order as I haue sayd: you shall haue white sand, and neere the land you shall finde it like the shauings and peckings of free stone, and white sand like houre-glasse-sand, and sometimes periwinkles or small shelles. Also if you sound in deepe water, and on the sudden finde rocks, then knowe that you are vpon The *Alacranes*, and then stir away Westsouthwest untill you finde cleane ground, and til you bring your selfe into 18. or 20. fathoms. And if you goe deeping your water, then stir away West, and by these depchs you shall go sounding; and then taking your heigth by sunne or starre, you must beware that you passe not 21. degrees $\frac{1}{2}$, or 21. degrees

Cabo de Cor-
rientes.

Cabo de S. An-
ton.

Cape Sisal by
on the coast
of Campeche
in Iucatan.
Dj Isla de Are-
nas.

and 1. at the most; and in this heighth, and at 18. or 20. fathoms you shall follow your way: and if you deepen water, edge to the Northward, and if you alter more your depth, edge to the Southwestward, untill you haue gotten so farre ahead as Cape Sisal, and discovered the coast of Campeche, which coast lyeth North and South, and you shall take by on your lead white sande like houre glasse sand, and sometime periwinkles or small shelles; and by and by you shall goe increasing depth, untill you lose it, and so shall you passe between the Triangle and the Sandy Island.

The course betweene the Triangle and the Sandy Island to S. Iuan de Vllua.

Sierras de S. Mar-
tin.

Roca partida.

Dj Misapa.

When you haue lost your depth, stirre away Southwest to fetch the Sierras or hills of S. Martin: and to knowe the hills of S. Martin, there are 2. hills stretching Northeast and Southwest, and the Southwest is greater then that on the Northeast, but the Northeastmost hill is higher, and maketh on the top a flat point and very high, and without it, it hath an Island which is called Roca partida, or The clouen rock: and if it be cleare, on the Southwest side an high lande like a top-saile will appeare, and then shall you see North and South with The Pan or Loafe of Misapa. Note, that these Sierras or Hillies of Sant Martin are all blacke and full of trees, and make no shewe as Villa rica doth: And marke this, that by how much you come neerer them, so much the higher will they shewe vnto you: neither shall you finde any bottome till you be at the very shoare.

The course from Roca partida or The clouen rocke to S. Iuan de Vllua.

Dj Antoniferra.

If you depart from Roca partida or The clouen rocke for Sant Iuan de Vllua, you must stir away Westnorthwest, and so shall you fetch or fall with the point of Anton Mislarido: and if you happen to sound vpon The sunken rocks called Cabeças anegadas, you shall haue black sand and 17. fathom water, and you shall be but a league from the land, and if you be 2. leagues from the land, you shall haue 34. fathoms.

The course from Sant Iuan de Vllua in the bay of Mexico to Spaine in Europe.

Las Tortugas.



If you depart from S. Iuan de Vllua to Hauana, you must stir away Northeast untill you bring your selfe in 25. degrees, and from thence you must stir away East from the little Islands called Las Tortugas, untill you haue the sounding of them; and if you finde white sande very small, you shall be East and West with them, and if your sounding be shellie ground and periwinkles, or small shelles or scales, then shall you be Northeast and Southwest, and the shelles or scales must be red, and if at some time you take by blacke sande, then are you North and South with the sayd Tortugas.

Markes of The Tortugas.

If you chance to fall with The Tortugas, they are 5. or 6. little Islands of white sand, lowe and close by the sea, sauing one which hath on it some shrubs or bushes of trees: and they are in 25. degrees.

The course from The Tortugas toward Hauana.

The hills cal-
led Los Orga-
nos byon Cuba
neere Hauana.
Rio de puercos.
Baya honda.

La quadrilla de
sierras.
El pan de Ca-
uannas.
La mesa de Ma-
rien.

If you depart from The Tortugas towards Hauana with a fresh winde, you must stir away Southwest: and if it be faire weather, and a small gale of winde, then stir South. that the current may not draw you in, nor set you too much to the Westward: and if you fall with Los Organos, they are a ranke of high and low hills with many sharpe heads like vnto Organ pipes, and at the entring thereof on the South side is Rio de puercos, or The riuer of hogs; and at the further ende is the deepe bay called Baya honda, and there is the round loafe or heape called El pan de bayu honda, that is to say, The loafe of the deepe bay: and from this place untill you come to Cape de S. Anton all is sholles and flats 4. or 5. leagues into the sea, euen as farre as the sayde Cape: and from Baya honda or The deepe bay to Hauana, all the coast is full of high and lowe hills, which they call La Quadrilla de sierras, which is as much to say, as A companie of hillies together like souldiers on a heape; and more to the Eastward you shall descry an high hill which is called El pan de Cabannas. And if you fall with Hauana, you shall see on the Southwest side an hill called La meza de Marien, or The Table of Marien; and if it be cleare, you shall see lower to the Westward the heape or loafe that is called El pan de Cabannas. You must note, that a-
bout

about Hauana it is all lowe land euen with the sea, till you come to Mela de Marien, and then looke well within the lande, and you shall see 2. little round trees like to the teates of womens breasts; and bringing your selfe North and South, you shall be with the harborough of Hauana, and then shall you soone perceiue the towre that is vpon the cliffes of Hauana.

The towre of Hauana.

Markes of the hauen or port called *Puerto de Marien*.

Puerto de Marien is a harbour that you may enter into without any danger or feare, but at the entrance thereof you must borrow on the West side, by reason of the rockes and shelues, and when you are within, then borrow on the East shoare, and leaue the other side, and so shall you enter safe: and from this place to Hauana is all lowe lande. Note, that if you ouerpasse the harborough of Hauana to the Eastward, or if the current hath set you past it by meanes of calmes, then shall you perceiue at full sea vpon the coast certaine broken places like the enterances of harboures, because the lande is lowe; and comming neere the shoare you shall see in some places of the coast Playas or strandes of lande which shew like vnto Chipiona: and looking Eastward along the sea coast, you shall see a round loafe which is called El pon de Matancas: and also you shall perceiue in certaine places round white heapes of lande called Barrancas. If you will recouer Hauana, go along the coast close by the lande, for the current runneth very swift in the chanell, and there is no feare but of that which you may see; for all the coast is cleane ground.

Note.

Chipiona a towne standing vpon the coast of Andalusia next vnto S. Lucar. El pan de Matancas. Barrancas also signifie creekes or broken enterances of landes. Cabeza de los Martires. Which Martires are a number of small Islands lying ahead the Cape of Florida. Los Mimbres. The marke of Pan de Matancas. Punta de los Puercos. The furious current in the chanell of Bahama.

The course from *Hauana* to *Spaine*.

If you will saile from Hauana to Spaine, you must stirre away Northeast, till you come to the head of The Martires called La Cabeça de los Martires. If it chance before you come to the said head, that the winde should chop vp at North on you, then stand to the Eastward, vntill you bring your selfe as farre ahead as Matancas; then cast about to the West, to discouer the lande of The Martires, or of Florida, that the current may not set you on The Mimbres: and if by chance you see The Pan de Matancas at full sea, it hath these markes following. It is a round heape or loafe, and high withall, and on the Westerne side thereof, appeareth a rocke like to the head of a Tortoise: and betweene this Pan and the hilles of Seluco, there will appeare vnto you a great broken lande, like as it were sunken places, and vpon the East side of this Pan toward Punta de los Puercos it is all lowe lande, and you shall see no high lande at all: and being so farre shot, that this Pan de Matancas shall beare Westnorthwest and Southsoutheast off you, and being desirous also to auoyde the furie of the current of the chanell of Bahama, stir away Northnortheast, and by this course you shall passe the chanell, and win the coast of Florida.

Markes of the head of *The Martires* called *Cabeza de los Martires*.

The head of The Martires are three heapes of white sande full of trees, and that in the midst hath on the top a crowne, as it were of white sande, and is higher and bigger then the other two: and to know whether you be entered into the chanell, marke well how the coast lyeth off you; and if you perceiue that the coast beareth off you East and West, you are not in the chanell; but if the coast should beare off you Northeast and Southwest, then are you in the chanell; and taking your heigth you shall know: for if you finde your selfe in 24. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, then are you East and West with the head of The Martires: and if you see the coast beare off you Northeast and Southwest, (as I haue sayde) stir away 4. or 5. leagues from the landward right off; and then stir away Northeast: and being in 28. degrees and a halfe, you shall be shot out of the chanell, and then shall you be East and West with Cape de Cannaueral, or The Cape of Reedes.

Directions to know whether you be in the chanell of Bahama or no.

Cabo de Cannaueral in 28. deg. and a halfe.

The course to come through the chanell of *Bahama* homeward for *Spaine*.

If in Winter you should passe through the chanell of Bahama for Spaine, stirre away the first Sangradura or course Eastnortheast, and afterward East and by North, and so shall you passe by the South side of Bermuda: and you must take heede that you goe these foure hundred or five hundred leagues, because you shall not come neere the said Isle of Bermuda; & when you are gone this course, then put your selfe in what heigth you will, and make your way as you will your selfe. But if you passe the chanell in the Summer time towards Spaine, stir away Eastnortheast, and you shall passe by the North side of Bermuda; and when you haue brought your selfe in 35. degrees, stirre East and by North, vntill you bring your selfe to 25. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, and from thence stir away East for the Isle of Faya or Flores.

The course in Winter.

The Isle of Bermuda.

The course in the Summer more Northerly.

Markes to know the Isle of Fayal.

The Island called Fayal vpon the Southwest side, maketh an high hill or loafe like to the top of Brasilia in the Island of Terçera; and behinde that high Pike or loafe is an harbour called Puerto Pini, and vpon the East side it maketh a little plaine Island; and vpon the North side there standeth a rocke or Island by it selfe. And from this Island being one of The Açores, you may shape your course to which of the Islands you please, or to any other place which you know.

Markes to know the Isle of Flores.

If you happen to fall with Flores first, by this you shall know it: the Island lyeth Northeast and Southsouthwest, and the West end thereof maketh a rocke or cliffe like the cliffe of Tiburon; and comming neere the lande, you shall see two little Islands neere the point of the lande; and to the Northward of this cliffe or rocke a little from the land you may ride and water; and betwene that and the village, in euery bay you may likewise ride and water: and you shall see the water run into the sea in euery part that you looke on.

Now followeth the course and direction to saile from Passage on the Northeast part of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, vnto Hauana, by the North side of the Isle of Hispaniola, and by The old chanell.

El Passage a place on the Northeast part of the Isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico. Cabo del Enganno the most Easterly Cape of Hispaniola, w^{ch} Samana.

Las Ouejas,

If you depart from S. Iuan de Puerto rico to seeke Cabo del Enganno, you must stirre away Westnorthwest, and so shall you see a round heape or loafe in the sea, which lieth on the Southwest side of the gulf of Semana; and from thence it be- ginneth about the hill of the Cape del Enganno, & this is the mouth of the gulf. And if it should be neere night when you see this lande, stir away Northwest with a small sayle, because of certaine rockes called Las Ouejas, or The Sheepe: and in the morning cast about to see the land to the Southwestward; and if when you see the land, it seemeth vnto you a small island at full sea like a round mountaine, then is it The cape del Enganno: and from thence stir away West and by North toward Cabo Franco.

Cabo Franco.

Markes of Cabo Franco.

El Puerto de Plata.

Baracoa. Isla de Tortugas neerlye called Hinagua. The Isle of Iauco.

Las Sierras de Cabanca, Cayo Romano. This word Cayo in the West Indian tongue signifieth a flat or a shold. Cabo de Cruz.

This Island lyeth 100. leagues from Hauana.

Cabo Franco is a low Cape euen with the sea, and hath these markes * And from thence stir away West, and you shall see an high mountaine, and on the top thereof a clondie homock like the top of a hat; and at the soote of this hill is the haven or harbour called El puerto de plata. And if you will goe into this port, you must leaue the Island on the West side, and then take heede of that which you see, and borrow on the castles side. And from thence to goe with the olde chanell, you must stirre away Northwest, untill you come out of sight of lande, and then stir away West and by North, and so shall you goe with the lande of Baracoa, and here are hilles very high, which make the seats which looke like 3. crowes. And you shall passe betwene the Isle of Tortugas or Hinagua, and the Island of Iauco; and from thence run alongst the coast Northeast and Southwest; and hauing doubled the outmost high hill or mountaine, you shall see in the midst thereof a round hill, and vpon the Southwest side by the sea you shall see a lowe euen lande foure or fve leagues long, and a lowe point, and this point of the hill is called Las Sierras de Cabanca; and then becommeth the bay of Cayo Romano: and ahead the Sierras you shall see a rounde loafe which is in the midst of the same bay, and ahead of that you shall see a hill flat on the top like a table five or seuen leagues, which hill is not very high, and from these hilles to Cayo Romano you haue fve and thirtie leagues, and you must stirre the one halfe of the course Northwest, and the other halfe Northwest and by West, and so shall you make or see the sayd Cayo Romano vpon the larboard side of you. Note, that from Cayo Romano to Cabo de Cruz you haue thre leagues, and they lie North and South one from another.

Markes of Cayo Romano.

Cayo Romano is an high Island, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest, and stretcheth it selfe as it were 4. leagues; and comming on it Northeast & Southwest, it maketh a loafe or round heape or homock; in the midst there are two saddles, as wee terme them, or lowe partitions, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and comming with it North and South, it maketh all one lowe send or saddle in the midst. And if night should come on you at this Cayo Romano

niano, enter not the chanell, because in the mid way is an Isle, flat, or Cayo, which lyeth North and South with Cayo Romano; and it is called Cayo de la Cruz: and at full sea you shall discern a heath, which this Cayo hath in the midst of it, which is like to a saile; but at night beare but your foresaile a glasse one way and another glasse the other way untill it be day, and then enter the chanell, and leaue these Cayos, on the labourd side of you. Note, that if you bee within sight of the Parcel, and see two litle Islands of white sand, that then you are on the cantell of the Parcel; and if you goe more a head coasting the Parcel, about fiftene leagues, you shall see three Islands full of trees, which are called Las Anguillas and all these three Islands beare North and South one from another. Item from Cayo de Cruz to Hauana, if it be by day, stir away West North-west; but if it be by night, then stir a point more to the Westward: and if in this course you chance to see the Parcel, feare not; for in the lowest water there are sixe fathomes; then cast about to the Southwestward to get out about two glasses, and then stir away Westnorthwest untill it be day and so shall you goe by the Cayos: and in this course you must keepe twentie foure leagues or thereabout. And from this Cayo de Cruz sixe or seuen leagues lyeth another Cayo vpon the Northeast and by North, which is great and white, and all euen; But the point on the Southwest is smaller, and vpon the said point is a shrub or bush which sheweth like a saile: also there is a banke of white sand along by the sea-side, which in the midst thereof maketh a cliff full of trees that seemeth like a sadle: and vpon the Northeast side (for on this manner the coast lyeth along from the Cape) going by the chanell you shall see certaine hilles eightene or twentie leagues long lying Northeast and Southwest being all saddle-like; and bringing the point Southwest off you, you shall be in the midst of the chanell: and from thence you haue as farre to Matancas as to Cayo Romano. Likewise from thence on the side of Hauana you shall see certaine hilles which shewe to be three, and by Northeast and Southwest, and that on the Southwest is highest: they are called Las Sierras de Guana: and North and South from them lyeth a flat, which is called Cayo de Nicola, which stretched out two leagues into the Sea, and in the middle of the sayde flatte there is a litle Island of white sand: and from thence you must sayle to Cruz del Padre.

The great Parcel.

Las Anguillas.

Another Cayo 6 or 7 leagues from Cayo de Cruz.

El Puerto de Matanzas or The haven of slaughters. f Las Sierras de Guana.

Cruz del Padre.

Markes of Cruz del Padre.

Cruz del Padre is a Cape all broken in pieces: and from thence you must stir away North-east, because of the Bay that is there, called the Bay of Conel, and this Bay stretcheth to the Bay of Caos, which is within 20 leagues of the sayd point: and then stir away West North-west to goe with the Port of Matancas, and with the hilles of Camoniaca.

La Baiade Conel, La Baiade Caos, or Cayos.

Markes of the hilles of Camoniaca.

The hilles of Camoniaca ly North-west and Southeast, and the Southeast side is lowe land and euen: also vpon the Northeast side it is euen land, and runneth towards the Bay of Matancas, and in the middle of these hilles there is one high hill, and vpon the Northeast side there appeareth a round heape: and if you see this hill at West Southwest, the Pan or round heape of Matancas will beare off you West and by South.

Or Camoloquen.

Markes of the round hill called El pan de Matancas.

This Pan is a round heape standing on a lowe land: and if you bring your selfe North and South with it, it will make you two saddles; and on the West side it maketh a great parted lande as it were sinking with the sea. Note that wheresoeuer you shall goe to seeke the Tortugas, and shall come with the coast and finde it beare off you Northeast and Southwest, I aduise you to goe along the coast to the Southwestward: you may not deepen more then fortie sixe fathomes, for if you doe, you shall cast your selfe without the Tortugas.

Also you must note, that if by chance you finde your selfe shotte betweene the Tortugas, and the Martyres, and that you cannot goe on the out-side of the sayde Tortugas, then cause one to goe to the top, to see if you can descry them; and if you cannot see them, stir away Southwest untill you see them; and hauing gotten sight of them, founde, and you shall finde eightene or nineteene fathomes; and so sholding stir away South and by West, and goe by this course. And feare you not the sholding, for you shall meete with 12 fathoms, and shall haue blacke sand in your sounding. And going neerer to the ende of the said Tortugas (for hee that is on the toppe shall see them all) as you passe by, you shall finde but eight fathomes, and stony ground, and that

Note.

that is the sholdest water you shall haue. And you shall passe by a bustring of a tyde, that shoules out of the chanel that way: but you neede not feare any thing for you shall haue no lesse then eight fathome water: and being past the said bustring but a minion shot, you shal loose the ground and be in the chanell.

An aduertizment.

When you shall passe this course, goe not out of sight of the Tortugas. And if you will goe from thence to Hauana, hauing a faire winde, stir away Southwest because the current may not set you off: and if with a fresh winde and North erly, then stir away Southerly.

Here follow the latitudes of the headlandes, Capes, and Islands, as well of *Madera*, The *Canaries*, and the *West Indies*, as of the *Acores* and the *Isles of Cabo Verde*.

Degrees of latitude.

The island called Puerto Santo standeth in
The isle of Madera standeth in
The isle Saluaja in
The isle of Alagrança in
The isle Fuerte ventura in
The Grand Canaria in
The isle of Palma, and the point called Punta de Naga in Teneris in
The isle of Gomera in

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The latitudes of the Islands of the West Indies

Degrees of latitude.

The island of Fonçeca standeth in
The isle Tabago in
The Barbudos in
The isle of Trinidad vpon the North side in
The isle of Granata in
The isle of Sant Vincent in
The isle of Santa Lucia in
The isle of Dominica in
The isle of Matalina or Martinino in
The isle of Marigalante in
The isle of Descada in
The isle of Monserate in
The isle called La Antigua in
The isle called La Baruada in
The isle of S. Bartholomew in
The isle of S. Martin in
The isle called La Anguilla in
The isle of Sombrero in
The isle Anegada in
The isle called La isla de Avez in
The isles called Las Virgines in
The isle of Santa Cruz in
The isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico } On the North side in
Cape del Enganno vpon the East part of Hispaniola in } On the South side in
The point of the isle of Saona in
The Cape called Punta de Niçao neere S. Domingo in Hispaniola in
The isle Beata on the South side of Hispaniola in
The point of Bacao on the South side of Hispaniola in
Cape Tiburon vpon the West part of Hispaniola, and the isle of Nauaza in

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The 2. ruttier for the West Indies. Traffiques, & Discoueries. 625

The isle of Iamaica	{ On the South side in	17 ¹ / ₂
	{ On the North side in	18 ¹ / ₂
Cape de Cruz on the South side of Cuba in		20
The 3 isles called Caimanes, or Crocodiles, South of Cuba, in		19 ¹ / ₂
The dangerous isles called Los Iardines South of Cuba in		21 ¹ / ₂
The isle of Pinos in		21
Cape de Corrientes vpon the Southwest part of Cuba in		21 ¹ / ₂
Cabo de sant Anton being the most westerly Cape of Cuba in		22
The litle isles called Los Alacranes, or The Scorpions, in		22
The isles called Nigrillos in		23 ¹ / ₂
Isla de Lobos, or The isle of seales neere the maine of Nucua Espanna, in		22
The Cape of Iucatan called Cabo de Cotoche in		21
The island called Isla de Ranas in		21 ¹ / ₂ large.

The latitudes of certaine places vpon the coast of
Nucua Espanna, and of diuers other places lying in the way
from thence to Spaine.

	Degrees of latitude.
Villa rica standeth in	19 ¹ / ₂
Sant. Iuan de Vllua in	18 ³ / ₄
From sant Iuan de Vllua sayling to the Tortugas you must sound in	27
The small isles called Las Tortugas stand in	25
The Port of Hauana vpon the Northwest part of Cuba in	23 ¹ / ₂
The head of the Martyrs lying before the Cape of Florida in	25
The Mimbres are in	26 ¹ / ₂
The Chanel of Bahama in	27 ¹ / ₂
The Cape de Cannaueral vpon the coast of Florida in	28 ³ / ₄
The Isle of Bermuda in	33
The * isle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Aluarez in	41 ¹ / ₂

This is a very
commodious
Isle for vs in
our way to
Virginia.

The latitudes of the Isles of the Acores.

	Degrees of latitudes.
The isle of Flores standeth in	39 ¹ / ₂
The isle of Cuernu in	40
The isle of Fayal in	38 ¹ / ₂
The isle of Pico and the isle of sant George both in	38 ¹ / ₂
The isle of Terçera in	39
The isle of Graciola in	39 ¹ / ₂
The isle of santa Maria in	37
The isle of sant Michael in	38
Cape sant Vincent vpon the coast of Spaine	37
The Rocke in	39
The Burlings in	40
Bayona in	42 ¹ / ₂
Cape Finister in	43 ¹ / ₂
The enterance of the streights of Gibraltar is in	36
Cape Cantin vpon the coast of Barbarie in	32 ¹ / ₂
Cape Bojador vpon the coast of Barbarie in	27 ¹ / ₂ large.
Rio del oro, or The riuer of Gold, in	23 ¹ / ₂
Cabo de Barbas in	22
Cabo blanco, or the white Cape in	20 ¹ / ₂

The latitude of the isles of Cabo verde.

The isles of Sant Anton, Sant Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Sant Nicolas stand all in	18 ¹ / ₂
Isla del Sal, or The isle of salt, in	17 ¹ / ₂
The isle called Buena vista in	16
The isle of sant Iago in	15
	The

The latitudes of diuers Islands, Capes, and other places,
from the Isle of *Margarita* vpon the coast of *Cumana* West-
ward along the coast of *Tierra Firma*.

Degrees of
latitude.

The isles of Aruba, Curaçao, and Buinaro stand all in	12
The isle of Margarita in	11
The islandes called Los Testigos in	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
The coast of Baya Honda to Cape de la Vela Ipyth East and West in	12
Cape del Aguja in	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
The rockes of Serrana in	14
The Roncador in	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
The isle of Santa Catharina in	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
The isle of Sant Andrew in	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Seranilla in	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
The isle of Centanilla or Santanilla in	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cape Camaron on the maine, South of the enterance of the Honduras	16
Ganaba in	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Genaza in	16 $\frac{1}{2}$

Here followeth a declaration of the longitudes, or
Western and Eastern distances, from *Spaine* to *Newe Spaine*
in *America*, and from thence backe againe to *Spaine*.

Leagues.

From Sal Medina vpon the Coast Andalusia till you bring your selfe North and South with Cape Cantin vpon the Coast of Barbary	85
From Sal Medina to the island of Gran Canaria	100
From the Gran Canaria to Descada	850
From Descada to Monserate	20
From Monserate to santa Cruz	58
From santa Cruz to Cape Roxo the Southwest Cape of sant Iuan de Puerto Rico	45
From Cape Roxo to Saona	25
From Saona to sant Domingo	25
From sant Domingo to Ocoa	18
From Ocoa to Beata	20
From Beata to the isle Baque	43
From the isle Baque to Nauaza	33
From Nauaza to sant Iago of Cuba	32
From sant Iago of Cuba to Cabo de Cruz	34
From Cabo de Cruz to the first Cayman	40
From the first Cayman to the middle Cayman	6
From the middle Cayman to the great Cayman	12
From the great Cayman to the isle of Pinos	48
From Cabo de Cruz to the isle of Pinos by the foresaid course	106
From the isle of Pinos to Cabo de Corrientes	19
From Cabo de Corrientes to Cabo de sant Anton	20

The course from Cabo de sant Anton to sant Iuan de Villua by the outside or North of the Isles called <i>Alacranes</i> .	From Cabo de sant Anton to the Nigrillos	106
	From the Nigrillos, untill you bring your selfe North and South with the isle Vermeja	25
	From the isle Vermja to Villa Rica	96
	From Villa rica to Sant Iuan de Villua	12

The course from Cabo de Corrientes to sant Iuan de Villua on the inside or South of the <i>Alacranes</i> .	From Cabo de Corrientes to the first sounding	45
	From the first sounding till you come so farre a head as the island called <i>Isla de Ranas</i>	80
	From <i>Isla de Ranas</i> unto	

The

The longitudes from *New Spaine*, backe againe
to *Spaine*.

Leagues.

From Saint Iuan de Vllua to the Tortugas.	280
From the Tortugas to Hauana.	36
From Hauana to the head of the Martyrs:	36
From the head of the Martyrs to the Mimbres.	30
From the Mimbres to Bahama	22
From the head of the Martyrs to Cabo de Cannaueral.	62
From Cabo de Cannaueral to Bermuda.	350
From Bermuda to the Isle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Aluarez.	320
From the Isle of Iohn Luis or Aluarez to Flores.	300
From Flores to Fayal.	28
From Fayal to Terçera.	28
From Terçera to Saint Michael.	28
From Saint Michael to Cape Saint Vincent.	218
From Terçera to Cape Saint Vincent.	256
From Cape S. Vincent to Cabo de santa Maria upon the coast of Algarbe.	22
From Cabo de santa Maria to Sal Medina in Andaluzia.	32

THE DISCOVERIE OF THE LARGE, RICH,
and Beautifull Empire of *Guiana*, with a relation of the great and
golden Citie of *Manoa* (which the Spaniards call *El Dorado*) and the Prouinces
of *Emeria*, *Aromaia*, *Aniapaia*, and other Countries, with their rivers adioyning.

Performed in the yeere 1595 by Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, Captaine

of her Maiesties Guard, Lorde Warden of the Stanneries,

and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the

Countie of *Corne-wall*.

To the right Honourable my singular good Lord and kinsman

Charles Howard, Knight of the Garter, Baron and Counciller, and of the
Admirals of *England* the most renowned: and to the right Honourable Sir *Robert Cecyl* knight, Counciller in her Highnesse Priuie Councils.

I Or your Honours many Honourable and friendly partes, I haue hitherto onely returned promises, and now for answere of both your aduentures, I haue sent you a bundle of papers, which I haue deuided betwene your Lordship, and Sir *Robert Cecyl* in these two respects chiefly: First for that it is reason, that wastful factors, when they haue consumed such stockes as they had in trust, doe yeeld some colour for the same in their account; secondly for that I am assured, that whatsoever shall bee done, or written by me, shall neede a double protection and defence. The triall that I had of both your loues, when I was left of all, but of malice and reuenge, makes me still presume, that you wil be pleased (knowing what litle power I had to performe ought, and the great aduantage of forewarned enemies) to answer that out of knowledge, which others shal but obiect out of malice. In my more happy times as I did especially Hon. you both, so I found that your loues sought mee out in the darke shadow of aduersitie, and the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, soled not away from me in my many miseries: al which though I can not requite, yet I shal euer acknowledge: & the great debt which I haue no power to pay, I can do no more for a time but confesse to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, so they haue yeelded very grieuous effects, & if ought might haue bene deserued in former times to haue counterpoysed any part of offences, the fruit thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, & the dead stocke onely remained. I did therefore euen in the winter of my life, vndertake these trauels, fitter for bodies lesse blasted with mis-fortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for mindes of better encouragement, that thereby, if it were possible, I might recouer but the moderation of excesse, & the least tast of the greatest plenty formerly possessed. If I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater aduentures might haue regained, if I could conceiue what farther meanes I might yet vie, but euen to appease so powreful displeasure, I would not doubt but for one yeere more to hold fast my soule in my teeth, till it were performed. Of that litle remaine I had, I haue wasted in effect all herein. I haue vndergone many constructions.

I haue bene accompanied with many sorrowes, with labour, hunger, heat, sickness, & perill: it appeareth notwithstanding that I made no other brauado of going to the sea, then was ment, and that I was neuer hidden in *Cornewall*, or els where, as was supposed. They haue grossly belied me, that foreiudged, that I would rather become a seruant to the Spanish king, then returne, and the rest were much mistaken, who would haue perswaded, that I was too easfull and sensuall to vndertake a iourney of so great trauell. But, if what I haue done, receiue the the gracious construction of a painefull pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall thinke all too litle, & that there were wanting to the rest many miseries. But if both the times past, the present, and what may be in the future, doe all by one graine of gall continue in eternall distast; I doe not then know whether I should bewaile my selfe, either for my too much trauell and expence, or condemne my selfe for doing lesse then that, which can deserue nothing. From my selfe I haue deserued no thanks, for I am returned a begger, and withered, but that I might haue betred my poore estate, it shall appeare by the following discourse, if I had not onely respected her Maiesties future Honour, and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once liued, to goe iourneys of picory, it had sorted ill with the offices of Honour, which by her Maiesties grace I hold this day in *England*, to run from Cape to Cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinaries prizes. Many yeeres since, I had knowledge by relation, of that mighty, rich and beautifull Empier of *Gniana*, and of that great and golden Citie, which the Spaniards call *El Dorado*, and the naturals *Manoa*, which Citie was conquered, reedified, and enlarged by a yonger sonne of *Guamatapa* Emperour of *Pern*, at such time as *Francisco Pizarro* and others conquered the said Empire, from his two elder brethren, *Gnascar*, and *Atabalipa*, both then contending for the same, the one being fauoured by the *Orejonas* of *Cuzco*, the other by the people of *Caxamalca*. I sent my seruant *Iacob Whiddon* the yere before, to get knowledge of the passages, and I had somelight from Captaine *Parker*, sometime my seruant, and now attending on your Lordship, that such a place there was to the Southward of the great Bay of *Charuas*, or *Guanipa*: but I found that it was 600 miles farther off then they supposed, and many other impediments to them vnknown and vheard. After I had displanted *Don Antonio de Berreo*, who was vpon the same enterprize, leauing my ships at *Trinidad*, at the Port called *Curiapan*, I wandred 400 miles into the said countrey by lande and riuer: the particulars I will leaue to the following discourse. The countrey hath more quantity of gold by manifolde, then the best partes of the *Indies*, or *Pern*: All the most of the kings of the borders are already become her Maiesties vassals: and seeme to desire nothing more then her Maiesties protection and the returne of the English nation. It hath another ground and assurance of riches and glory, then the voyages of the *West Indies*, an easier way to inuade the best parts thereof, then by the common course. The king of *Spainne* is not so impouerished, by taking three or foure Port townes in *America*, as wee suppose, neither are the riches of *Pern*, or *Nueva Espanna* so left by the sea side, as it can bee easily washt away with a great flood, or springtide, or left dry vpon the sandes on a lowe ebbe. The Port townes are fewe and poore in respect of the rest within the lande, and are of litle defence, and are onely rich, when the Fleets are to receiue the treasure for *Spainne*: and we might thinke the Spaniards very simple, hauing so many horses and slaues, if they could not vpon two dayes warning cary all the golde they haue into the land, and farre enough from the reach of our foote-men, especially the *Indies* being (as they are for the most part) so mountanous, so full of woodes, riuers, and marishes. In the Port townes of the Prouince of *Veneçuela*, as *Cumana*, *Coro* and *S. Iago* (whereof *Coro* and *S. Iago* were taken by Captaine *Preston*, and *Cumana* and *S. Ioseph* by vs) we found not the value of one riall of plate in either: but the Cities of *Barquasimeta*, *Valencia*, *S. Sebastian*, *Cororo*, *S. Lucia*, *Laguna*, *Maracaiba*, and *Truxillo*, are not so easely inuaded: neither doeth the burning of those on the coast impouerish the king of *Spainne* any one ducat: and if we sacke the riuer of *Hacha*, *S. Marta*, and *Cartagena*, which are the Portes of *Nuevo reyno*, and *Popayan*; there are besides within the land, which are indeed riche and populous, the townes and Cities of *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *S. Christophoro*, the great Cities of *Pamplon*, *S. Fe de Bogota*, *Tunxa* and *Mozo* where the *Esmeraldas* are found, the townes and Cities of *Marequita*, *Velez*, *la Villa de Lena*, *Palma*, *Unda*, *Augustura*, the great citie of *Timana*, *Tocaima*, *S. Aguila*, *Pasto*, *Iuago*, the great Citie of *Popaian* it selfe, *Los Remedios*, and the rest. If we take the Ports and villages within the Bay of *Vraba* in the kingdom or riuers of *Dariene*, and *Caribana*, the Cities and townes of *S. Iuan de Roydas*, of *Cassaris*, of *Antiocha*, *Caramanta*, *Cali*, and *Anserma* haue gold enough to pay the kings part, and are not easly inuaded by the way of the Ocean: or if *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama* be taken in the Prouince of *Castilla del oro*, and the

the villages vpon the riuers of *Cenn & Chagre*; *Pern* hath besides those & besides the magnificent cities of *Quito & Lima* so many ylands, ports, cities, and mines, as if I should name them with the rest, it would seem incredible to the reader: of all which, because I haue written a particular treatise of the *West Indies*, I wil omit the repetition at this time, seeing that in the said treatise I haue anatomized the rest of the sea-townes aswel of *Nicaragua, Incatan, Nuova Espanna*, & the ylands, as those of the *Inland*, & by what meanes they may be best inuaded, as far as any meane iudgement can cōprehend. But I hope it shal appeare that there is a way found to answer euery mans longing, a better *Indies* for her Maiestie then the King of *Spaine* hath any: which if it shal please her highnes to vndertake, I shal most willingly end the rest of my daies in folowing the same: if it be left to the spoile & sackage of cōmon persons, if the loue & seruice of so many nations be despised, so great riches, & so mighty an empire refused, I hope her maiesty wil yet take my humble desire and my labor therein in gracious part, which, if it had not bin in respect of her highnes future honor & riches, could haue laid hands on & ransomed many of the kings & *Casique* of the country, & haue had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemptiō: but I haue chosen rather to beare the burden of pouerty, then reproch, & rather to endure a second trauel and the chances therof, then to haue defaced an enterprise of so great assurance, vntill I knew whether it pleased God to put a dispositiō in her princely & royal heart either to folow or fore-
flow the same: I wil therefore leaue it to his ordinance that hath only power in all things, & do humbly pray that your honors wil excuse such errors, as without the defence of art, ouerrun in euery part of the folowing discourse, in which I haue neither studied phraze, forme nor fashion, that you will be pleased to esteeme mee as your owne (though ouer dearly bought) and I shall euer remaine ready to do you all honour and seruice.

W. R.

¶ To the Reader.

BEcause there haue bin diuers opiniōs cōceiued of the gold oare broght frō *Guiana*, and for y an Alderman of *London* & an officer of her Maiesties Mint, hath giuen out that the same is of no price, I haue thought good by the additiō of these lines to giue answer aswel to the said malicious slāder, as to other obiections. It is true that while we abode at the yland of *Trinidad*, I was informed, by an Indian, that not far frō the Port, where we anchored, there were found certaine mineral stones which they esteemed to be gold, & were thereunto perswaded the rather for that they had seene both *English* and *Frenchmen* gather, & imbarke some quantities therof: vpon this likelyhood I sent 40. men & gaue order that each one should bring a stone of that mine to make trial of y goodnes: which being performed, I assured them at their returne that the same was *Marcasite*, & of no riches or value: notwithstanding diuers, trusting more to their owne sence, then to my opinion, kept of the said *Marcasite*, & haue tried therof since my returne in diuers places. In *Guiana* it selfe I neuer saw *Marcasite*, but al the rocks, moutrains, al stones in y plaines, woods, & by the riuers side are in effect through shining, and seem maruelous rich, which being tried to be no *Marcasite*, are the true signes of rich minerals, but are no other then *El madre del oro* (as the Spaniards terme them) which is the mother of gold, or as it is said by others the scum of gold: of diuers sorts of these many of my company brought also into *Englad*, euery one taking y fairest for the best, which is not general. For mine own part, I did not cōtermand any mans desire, or opinion, & I could haue aforded them litle if I should haue denied them the pleasing of their owne fancies therein: but I was resolued that gold must be found either in graines separate frō the stone (as it is in most of the riuers in *Guiana*) or els in a kind of hard stone, which we call *The white spar*, of which I saw diuers hills, & in sundry places, but had neither time nor men, nor instruments fit for labour. Neere vnto one of the riuers I found of the said *White sparre* or flint a very great ledge or banke, which I endeuoured to breake by al the meanes I could, because there appeared on the outside some smal graines of gold, but finding no meane to worke the same vpon the vpper part, seeking the sides and circuit of the said rocke, I found a clift in the same from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we got out some smal quantitie therof, of which kind of white stone (wherin gold ingendred) we saw diuers hills and rocks in euery part of *Guiana*, wherein we traueiled. Of this there haue bin made many trials, and in *London* it was first assaid by M. *Westwood* a refiner dwelling in *Woodstreet*, and it held after the rate of 12000. or 13000. pounds a tunne. Another sort was afterward tried by M. *Bulmar* & M. *Dimock* Assay-master, & it held after the rate of 23000 li. a tunne. There was some of it againe tried by M. *Palmer* comptroller of the Mint, and M. *Dimock* in goldsmiths hal. & it held after 26900. li. a tun. There was also at the same time, & by the same persons a trial made of the dust of the said mine which held 8. li. 6. ounces weight of gold

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in the 100: there was likewise at the same time a triall of an image of copper made in *Guiana*, which held a third part of gold, besides diuers trials made in the countrey, & by others in *Lodon*. But because there came ill with the good, & belike the said Alderman was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him therefore to scandall all the rest, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lieth. It hath also bene concluded by diuers, that if there had bin any such oare in *Guiana*, and the same discovered, that I would haue brought home a greater quantitie thereof: first I was not bound to satisfie any man of the quantitie, but such onely as aduentured, if any store had bin returned thereof: but it is very true that had al their mountaines bene of masse gold, it was impossible for vs to haue made any longer stay to haue wrought the same: and whosoever hath seene with what strength of stone the best gold oare is inuironed, hee will not thinke it easie to be had out in heapes, and especially by vs, who had neither men, instruments, nor time (as it is said before) to performe the same. There were on this discovery no lesse then 100. persons, who can all witnesse, that when we past any branch of the riuier to view the land within, and staied from our boats but 6. houres, wee were driuen to wade to the eyes, at our returne: and if wee attempted the same, the day following it was impossible either to ford it, or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftnesse, and also for that the borders were so pestred with fast woods, as neither boat nor man could find place, either to land or to imbarke: for in Iune, Iuly, August and September, it is impossible to nauigate any of those riuers: for such is the fury of the current, and there are so many trees and woods ouerflowne, as if any boat but touch vpon any tree or stake, it is impossible to saue any one person therein: and yer we departed the land it ranne with such swiftnes, as wee draue downe most commonly against the wind, little lesse then 100. miles a day: Besides our vessels were no other then whirries, one little barge, a small cockboat, and a bad Galiota, which we framed in hast for that purpose at *Trinidad*, and those little boats had 9, or 10. men a piece, with all their victuals, and armes. It is further true, that we were about 400. miles from our ships, and had bene a moneth from them, which also we left weakly manned in an open road, and had promised our returne in 15. dayes. Others haue deuised that the same oare was had from *Barbary*, and that we caried it with vs into *Guiana*: surely the singularitie of that deuice I doe not well comprehend: for mine owne part, I am not so much in loue with these long voyages, as to deuise, therby to cozen my selfe, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subiected to perils, to diseases, to ill fauours, to be parched & withered, and withall to sustaine the care & labour of such an enterprize, except the same had more comfort, then the fetching of *Marcasie* in *Guiana*, or buying of gold oare in *Barbary*. But I hope the better sort wil iudge me by themselves, & that the way of deceit is not the way of honor or good opinion: I haue herein consumed much time, & many crownes, & I had no other respect or desire then to serue her Maiestie and my country thereby. If the Spanish nation had bene of like beliefe to these detracters, we should litle haue feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatned. But if we now consider of the actions both of *Charles* the 5. who had the maidenhead of *Pern*, and the abundant treasures of *Atabalipa*, together with the affaires of the Spanish king now liuing, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the acts of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath endangered, how many armies, garisons, & nauies he hath and doth mainteine, the great losses which he hath repaired, as in 88. about 100. saile of great ships with their artillery, & that no yere is lesse vnfortunate but that many vessels, treasures, and people are deuoured, and yet notwithstanding he beginneth againe like a storme to threaten shipwrack to vs all: we shall find that these abilities rise not from the trades of sacks, and *Simil* oranges, nor from ought els that either *Spaine*, *Portugal*, or any of his other prouinces produce: it is his *Indian* gold that indangereth and disturbeth all the nations of *Europe*, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into counsels, and setteth bound loyaltye at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of *Europe*. If the Spanish king can keepe vs from forren enterprizes, & from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of inuasion, or by besieging vs in *Britaine*, *Ireland*, or elsewhere, hee hath then brought the worke of our peril in great forwardnes. Those princes which abound in treasure haue great aduantages ouer the rest, if they once constrain them to a defensue war, where they are driuen once a yere or oftner to cast lots for their own garmets, and from such shal all trades, & entercourse be taken away, to the general losse and impouerishment of the kingdom and common weale so reduced: besides when our men are constrained to fight, it hath not the like hope, as when they are prest & encouraged by the desire of spoile & riches. Farther, it is to be doubted how those that in time of victory seeme to affect their neighbor nations, wil remaine after the first view of misfortunes, or if successe; to trust also to the doubtfulness of a battel, is but a fearefull & vncertaine aduenture, seeing therein fortune is as likely to preuaile

preuaile, as vertue. It shall not be necessary to alleage all that might bee said, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatsoever kingdome shaibe enforced to defend it selfe may be compared to a body dangerously diseased, which for a season may be preserved with vulgar medicines, but in a short time, and by litle and litle, the same must needs fall to the ground, & be dissolved. I haue therefore laboured all my life, both according to my final power, & perswasion, to aduance al those attempts, that might either promise return of profit to our selues, or at least be a let and impeachment to the quiet course and plentifull trades of the Spanish nation, who in my weake iudgement by such a warre were as easily indangered & brought fro his powerfulness, as any prince of *Europe*, if it be considered from how many kingdomes and nations his reuenues are gathered, & those so weake in their owne beings, and so far seuered from mutual succour. But because such a preparation and resolution is not to be hoped for in hast, & that the time which our enemies embrace, cannot be had againe to aduantage, I wil hope that these prouinces, and that Empire now by me discovered shal suffice to inable her Maiestie & the whole kingdome, with no lesse quantities of treasure, then the king of *Spaine* hath in all the *Indies* East and West, which he possesseth, which if the same be considered and followed, ere the Spaniards enforce the same, and if her Maiestie wil vndertake it, I wil be contented to lose her highnesse fauour & good opinion for euer, and my life withall, if the same be not found rather to exceed, then to equal whatsoever is in this discourse promised or declared. I wil now referre the Reader to the following discourse, with the hope that the perillous and chargeable labours and induors of such as thereby seeke the profit and honour of her Maiestie, and the English nation, shall by men of qualitie and vertue receiue such construction, and good acceptance, as themselves would looke to be rewarded withall in the like.

W. R.

¶ The discoverie of *Guiana*.



Thursday the 6. of February in the yere 1595. we departed England, and the Sunday following had sight of the North cape of *Spaine*, the winde for the most part continuing prosperous: we passed in sight of the *Burlings*, & the *Rocke*, and so on towards for the *Canaries*, and sel with *Fuente ventura* the 17 of the same moneth, where we spent two or three dayes, and relieved our companies with some fresh meat. From thence we coasted by the *Grand Canaria*, & so to *Tenerif*, and stayed there for the *Lions* whelpe your Lordships ship, and for Captaine *Amyas Preston* and the rest. But when after 7. or 8. dayes wee found them not, we departed and directed our course for *Trinidad* with mine owne ship, and a small barke of captaine *Crosses* onely (for we had before lost sight of a final Galego on the coast of *Spaine*, which came with vs from *Plimmouth*): we arrived at *Trinidad* the 22. of March, casting anchor at point *Curiapan*, which the Spaniards call *punta de Gallo*, which is situate in 8. degrees or thereabouts: we abode there 4. or 5. dayes, & in all that time we came not to the speech of any Indian or Spaniard: on the coast we saw a fire, as we sailed fro the point *Carao* towards *Curiapan*, but for feare of the Spaniards none durst come to speake with vs. I my selfe coasted it in my barge close aboord the shore and landed in euery Cove, the better to know the pland, while the ships kept the chanell. From *Curiapan* after a few dayes we turned by North-east to reconer that place which the Spaniards call *Puerto de los Espannoles*, and the inhabitants *Conquerabia*, and as before (renewing my barge) I left the ships and kept by the shore, the better to come to speach with some of the inhabitants, and also to vnderstand the riuers, watering places, & ports of the pland, which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send your Lordship after a few dayes. From *Curiapan* I came to a port and seat of Indians called *Parico*, where we found a fresh water riuer, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals *Piche*, and by the Spaniards *Tierra de Brea*: In the way betweene both were diuers little brookes of fresh water and one salt riuer that had store of oysters vpon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted. All their oysters grow vpon those boughs and sprates, and not on the ground: the like is commonly seene in other places of the West Indies, and else where. This tree is described by *Andrew Theuer* in his French *Antarctique*, and the founte figured in the booke as a plant very strange, and by *Plinie* in his 12. booke of his naturall historie. But in this pland, as also in *Guiana* there are very many of them.

At this point called *Tierra de Brea* or *Piche* there is that abundance of stone pitch, that all the ships of the world may be therewith laden from thence, and we made trial of it in trimming our shippes to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the Sunne as the pitch of *Norway*, and therefore for shippes trading the South parts very profitable. From thence wee went to

the mountaine foote called Annaperima, and so passing the riuer Carone on which the Spanishe Citie was seated, we met with our ships at Puerto de los Espannoles or Conquerabia.

This pland of Trinidad hath the forme of a sheephooke, and is but narrow, the North part is very mountainous, the soile is very excellent and will beare suger, ginger, or any other commoditie that the Indies yeeld. It hath store of deare, wilde pozks, fruits, fish and foule: it hath also for bread sufficient maiz, cassau, and of those rootes and frutes which are common euery where in the West Indies. It hath diuers beastes which the Indies haue not: the Spaniards confessed that they found graines of golde in some of the riuers, but they hauing a purpose to enter Guiana (the Magazin of all rich mettals) cared not to spend time in the search thereof any further. This pland is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are diuers nations: those about Parico are called I-aio, those at Punta de Carao are of the Arwacas, and betweene Carao and Curiapan they are called Saluajes, betweene Carao and Punta de Galera are the Nepoios, and those about the Spanishe citie terme themselves Carinepagotes: Of the rest of the nations, and of other ports and riuers I leaue to speake here, being impertinent to my purpose, and meane to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description of the pland, thzee parts whereof I coasted with my barge, that I might the better describe it.

The death of
Captaine
Whiddon.

Meeting with the ships at Puerto de los Espannoles, we found at the landing place a company of Spaniards who kept a guard at the descent, and they offering a signe of peace, I sent captaine Whiddon to speake with them, whom afterward to my great grieve I left buried in the said pland after my returne from Guiana, being a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with vs, and to enter into termes of peace, more for doubt of their owne strength then for ought else, and in the ende vpon pledge, some of them came aboord: the same evening there stalle also aboord vs in a small Canoa two Indians, the one of them being a Casique or Lord of the people called Cantyman, who had the yeere before bene with Captaine Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman, wee vnderstood what strength the Spaniards had, howe farre it was to their Citie, and of Don Antonio de Berreo the gouernour, who was said to be slaine in his second attempt of Guiana, but was not.

While we remained at Puerto de los Espannoles some Spaniards came aboord vs to buy linnen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company, all which I entertained kindly and feasted after our maner: by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew, for those pooze souldiers hauing bene many yeeres without wine, a few draughts made them merrie, in which mood they vaunted of Guiana and of the riches thereof, and all what they knewe of the wayes and passages, my selfe seeming to purpose nothing lesse then the entrance or discouerie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound onely for the reliefe of those English which I had planted in Virginia, whereof the bzuite was come among them; which I had performed in my returne, if extremitie of weather had not forst me from the said coast.

8. Englishmen
betrayed by
Antony Berreo.

I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes: the one was to be reuenged of Berreo, who the yeere before 1594. had betrayed eight of Captaine Whiddons men, and tooke them while he departed from them to seeke the Edward Bonauenture, which arrived at Trinidad the day before from the East Indies: in whose absence Berreo sent a Canoa aboord the pinnelle onely with Indians and dogs inuiting the company to goe with them into the woods to kill a deare, who like wise men in the absence of their Captaine followed the Indians, but were no sooner one harquebuzze shot from the shore, but Berreos souldiers lying in ambush had them all, notwithstanding that he had giuen his word to Captaine Whiddon that they should take water and wood safely: the other cause of my stay was, for that by discourse with the Spaniards I dayly learned more and more of Guiana, of the riuers and passages, and of the enterprise of Berreo, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

While wee thus spent the time I was assured by another Casique of the North side of the pland, that Berreo had sent to Margarita and Cumana for souldiers, meaning to haue giuen mee a cassado at parting, if it had bene possible. For although he had giuen order throug all the pland that no Indian should come aboord to trade with me vpon paine of hanging & quartering, (hauing executed two of them for the same, which I afterwards founde) yet euery night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his crueltie, how he had deuised the pland and giuen to euery souldier a part, that hee made the ancient Casiques which were Lords of the countrey to be their slaues, that he kept them in chaines, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true: for in the city after I entred the same, there were 5. of þe lords or little kings (which they cal Casiques in the West Indies) in one chaine almost

dead

dead of famine, and wasted with torments: these are called in their owne language Acarewana, and now of late since English, French and Spanish are come among them, they call themselves Capitaines, because they perceiue that the chiefe of euery ship is called by that name. Those five Capitaines in the chaine were called Wannawanare, Carroaori, Maquarima, Tarroopanama, and Aterima. So as both to be reuenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter Guiana by small boats, to depart 400. or 500. miles from my ships, and to leaue a garison in my backe interested in the same enterprize, who also dayly expected supplies out of Spaine, I should haue sauoured very much of the asse: and therefore taking a time of most aduantage, I set vpon the Corps du guard in the euening, and hauing put them to the sword, sent Captaine Calfield on-wards with 60. souldiers, and my selfe followed with 40. more and so tooke their new City which they called S. Ioseph by breake of day: they abode not any sight after a fewe shot, and all being dis- missed but onely Berreo and his companion, I brought them with me aboard, and at the instance of the Indians I set their new citie of S. Ioseph on fire.

The Citie of
S. Ioseph taken,
Antony Berreo
taken prisoner

The same day arriued captaine George Gifford with your Lordships ship, and captaine Key- mis whom I lost on the coast of Spaine, with the Galego, and in them diuers gentlemen and o- thers, which to our little armie was a great comfort and supply.

We then hasted away towards our purposed discouery, and first I called all the Captaines of the pland together that were enemies to the Spaniards; for there were some which Berreo had brought out of other countreys, and planted there to eate out and wast those that were naturall of the place, and by my Indian interpyter, which I caried out of England, I made them vnderstand that I was the seruant of a Queene, who was the great Casique of the North, and a virgine, and had more Casiqui vnder her then there were trees in that pland: that shee was anemie to the Castellani in respect of their tyrannie and oppression, and that she deliuered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed, and hauing freed all the coast of the Northren world from their seruitude, had sent mee to free them also, and withall to defend the countrey of Guiana from their inuasion and conquest. I shewed them her Maesties picture which they so admired and honoured, as it had bene easie to haue brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations both in my passing to Guiana, and to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world her Maestie is very famous and admirable, whom they now call Ezrabetta Cassipuna Aquerewana, which is as much as Eliza- beth, the great princesse or greatest commander. This done we left Puerto de los Espannoles, and returned to Curiapan, and hauing Berreo my prisoner I gathered from him as much of Gui- ana as hee knew.

This Berreo is a gentleman wel descended, and had long serued the Spanish king in Millain, Naples, the Low countreys and elsewhere, very valiant and liberall, and a gentleman of great as- surednes, and of a great heart: I vsed him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small meanes I had.

I sent Captaine Whiddon the yeere before to get what knowledge he could of Guiana, and the end of my iourney at this time was to discouer and enter the same, but my intelligence was farre from truth, for the countrey is situate about 600. English miles further from the Sea, then I was made beleue it had bin, which afterward vnderstanding to be true by Berreo, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who else would neuer haue bene brought to attempt the same: of which 600. miles I passed 400. leauing my ships so farre from mee at anchor in the Sea, which was more of desire to performe that discouery, then of reason, especially hauing such pooze and weake vessels to transport our selues in; for in the bottom of an old Galego which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two whirries, and a shipboat of the Lions whelpe, we ca- ried 100. persons and their victuals for a moneth in the same, being al driuen to lie in the raine and weather in the open aire, in the burning Sunne, and vpon the hard boards, and to dresse our meat, and to cary all maner of furniture in them, wherewith they were so pestered and vnsauory, that what with victuals being most fith, with the wette clothes of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the Sunne, I will vndertake there was neuer any prison in England, that could bee found more vnsauory and lothsome, especially to my selfe, who had for many yeeres before bene dieted and cared for in a sort farre more differing.

Sir W. Raleigh
passed 400.
miles toward
Guiana.

If Captaine Preston had not bene perswaded that he should haue come too late to Trinidad to haue found vs there (for the moneth was expired which I promised to cary for him there ere hee coulde recouer the coast of Spaine) but that it had pleased God hee might haue toynd with vs, and that we had entred the countrey but some ten dayes sooner ere the Riuers were ouerflown, wee had aduentured either to haue gone to the great Citie of Manoa, or at least taken so many

of the other Cities and townes neerer at hand, as would haue made a royall returne: but it pleased not God so much to fauour mee at this time: if it shall be my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein, and if any else shalbe enabled thereunto, and conquere the same, I assure him thus much, he shall perfourme more then euer was done in Mexico by Cortez, or in Peru by Pizarro, whereof the one conquered the Empire of Mutezuma, the other of Guascar, and Atabalipa, and whatsoever prince shall possesse it, that Prince shall be Lord of more golde, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then either the King of Spaine, or the great Turke.

But because there may arise many doubts, and how this Empire of Guiana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great Cities, townes, temples and treasures, I thought good to make it known, that the Emperour now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of Peru, of whose large territories, of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches Pedro de Cieça, Francisco Lopez, and others haue written large discourses: for when Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro and others conquered the said Empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa sonne to Guaynacapa, which Atabalipa had formerly caused his eldest brother Guascar to be slaine, one of the yonger sonnes of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and tooke with him many thousands of those souldiers of the Empire called Orejones, and with those and many others which followed him, hee vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate betweene the great riuer of Amazonas, and Baraquan, otherwise called Orenoque and Marannon.

The Empire of Guiana is directly East from Peru towards the Sea, and lieth vnder the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of golde then any part of Peru, and as many or more great Cities then euer Peru had when it flourished most: it is gouerned by the same lawes, and the Emperour and people obserue the same religion, and the same forme and policies in gouernment as were vsed in Peru, not differing in any part: and I haue bene assured by such of the Spaniards as haue seene Manoa the Imperial Citie of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, that for the greatnesse, for the riches, and for the excellent seat, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation: it is founded vpon a lake of salt water of 200. leagues long like vnto Mare Caspium. And if we compare it to that of Peru, & but read the report of Francisco Lopez and others, it will seeme more then credible: and because we may iudge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120. Chapter of Lopez in his generall historie of the Indies, wherein he describeth the Court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, ancestor to the Emperour of Guiana, whose very wordes are these, Todo el seruicio de su casa, mesa, y cocina era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas huecas de oro, que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamaño de quantos animales, aues, arboles, y yeruas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos. Tenia assi mesmo fogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciesen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin no auia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuuiesse de oro contrahecho: y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas vn vergel en vna Isla cerca de la Puna, donde se yuan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata, inuencion y grandeza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia infinitissima cantidad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar, ca los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los Espannoles se lo tomauan, y embiauau a Espanna. That is, All the vessels of his house, table and kitchin were of gold and silver, and the meaneest of silver and copper for strength and hardnesse of metall. He had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignesse of all the beasts, birds, trees and hearbes, that the earth bringeth forth: and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. He had also ropes, budgets, chestes and troughs of golde and silver, heapes of billets of gold, that seemed wood marked out to burne. Finally, there was nothing in his countrey, whereof he had not the counterfait in gold: Yea and they say, The Ingas had a garden of pleasure in an yland neere Puna, where they went to recreate themselves, when they would take the aire of the Sea, which had all kinde of garden-hearbs, flowers and trees of golde and silver, an inuention, and magnificence till then neuer seene. Besides all this, he had an infinite quantitie of silver and golde brough in Cuzco which was lost by the death of Guascar, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards tooke it, and sent it into Spaine.

And in the 117. chapter Francisco Pizarro caused the gold and silver of Atabalipa to be weyed after he had taken it, which Lopez setteth downe in these wordes following. Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y vn millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro, Which is: They found fiftie and two thousand markes of good silver, and one

The statelines
of Manoa.

Fran. Lopez de
Gomara hist.
gen. cap. 120.

one million, and three hundred twenty and five thousand and five hundred pezos of golde.

Now although these reports may seeme strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are dayly brought out of Peru into Spaine, wee may easily beleue the same: for we finde that by the abundant treasure of that countrey the Spanish king beareth all the princes of Eutope, and is become, in a few yeeres, from a poore king of Castile, the greatest monarch of this part of the world, and likely every day to increase, if other princes follow the good occasions offered, and suffer him to adde this empire to the rest, which by farre exceedeth all the rest: if his golde now in danger vs, hee will then be irresistible. Such of the Spanyards as afterwarde endeouored the conquest thereof (whereof there haue bene many, as shall be declared hereafter) thought that this Inga (of whom this emperour now liuing is descended) tooke his way by the riuer of Amazonas, by that branch which is called Papamene: for by that way followed Orellana (by the commandement of Gonzalo Picarro, in the yere 1542) whose name the riuer also beareth this day, which is also by others called Marannon, although Andrew Theuet doeth affirme that betwene Marannon and Amazonas there are 120 leagues: but sure it is that those riuers haue one head and beginning, and the Marannon, which Theuet describeth, is but a branch of Amazonas or Orellana, of which I will speake more in another place. It was attempted by Ordas; but it is now little lesse then 70 yeres since that Diego Ordas, a knight of the order of Saint Iago attempted the same: and it was in the yere 1542 that Orellana discovered the riuer of Amazonas; but the first that euer saw Manoa was Iuan Martinez master of the munition to Ordas. At a port called Morequito in Guiana there lieth at this day a great anker of Ordas his ship; and this port is some 300 miles within the land, vpon the great riuer of Orenoque.

I rested at this port foure dayes: twenty dayes after I left the ships at Curiapan. The relation of this Martinez (who was the first that discovered Manoa) his successe and ende are to be seene in the Chancery of Saint Iuan de puerto rico, wherof Berreo had a copy, which appeared to be the greatest encouragement as well to Berreo as to others that formerly attempted the discovery and conquest. Orellana after he failed of the discovery of Guiana by the sayd riuer of Amazonas, passed into Spaine, and there obtained a patent of the king for the inuasion and conquest, but died by sea about the Islands, and his fleet seuered by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. Diego Ordas followed the enterprise, and departed Spaine with 600 souldiers, and 30 horse, who arriuing on the coast of Guiana, was slaine in a mutiny, with the most part of such as fauoured him, as also of the rebellious part, insomuch as his ships perished, and few or none returned, neither was it certainly knownen what became of the sayd Ordas, untill Berreo found the anker of his ship in the riuer of Orenoque; but it was supposed, and so it is written by Lopez, that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diuersly conceiued and reported. And hereof it came that Martines entred so farre within the land, and arriued at that city of Inga the emperour; for it chanced that while Ordas with his army rested at the port of Morequito (who was either the first or second that attempted Guiana) by some negligence, the whole store of powder provided for the seruice was set on fire; and Martinez hauing the chiefe charge, was condemned by the Generall Ordas to be executed forthwith: Martinez being much fauoured by the souldiers, had all the meanes possible procured for his life; but it could not be obtained in other sort then this: That he should be set into a canoa alone without any victuall, onely with his armes, and so turned loose into the great riuer: but it pleased God that the canoa was caried downe the streame, and that certeine of the Guianians mette it the same euening; and hauing not at any time seene any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they caried Martinez into the land to be wooedred at, and so from towne to towne, untill he came to the great city of Manoa, the seat and residence of Inga the emperour. The emperour after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian (for it was not long before that his brethren Guascar and Atabalipa were vanquished by the Spanyards in Peru) and caused him to be lodged in his palace, and well entertained. Hee liued seuen moneths in Manoa, but was not suffered to wander into the countrey any where. He was also brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, untill he came to the entrance of Manoa it selfe, and was fourteene or fifteene dayes in the passage. He auowed at his death that he entred the city at Noon, and then they vncouered his face, and that he trauelled all that day till night thorow the city, and the next day from Sun rising to Sun setting yer he came to the palace of Inga. After that Martinez had liued seuen moneths in Manoa, and began to vnderstand the language of the countrey, Inga asked him whether he desired to returne into his owne countrey, or would willingly abide with him. But Martinez not desirous to stay, obtained the fauour of Inga to depart: with whom he sent diuers Guianians to conduct him to the riuer of Orenoque, all laden with as much golde as they could cary, which he gaue to Martinez at his departure: but when he was arriued

Iuan Martinez
the first that
euer saw Ma-
noa.

Diego de Ordas
went 1542
with 600 sould-
iers 1537.

Fran. Lopez hist.
gen. de las Ind.
cap. 87.

The great city
of Manoa or
Dorada.

neere

The author of
the name of El
Dorado.

The substance
of this report
is in the end of
the navigation
of the great ri-
uer of Maran-
non, written by
Gonzalo Per-
nando de Oue-
do to cardinal
Bembo, Ramu-
sio. Vol. 3, fol.
416.

Sir Robere
Duddeley.

Reade Iosephus
Acoſta.

The voyage of
Sir Iohn Burgh
to the West
Indies.

neere the riuers side, the borderers which are called Orenoqueponi robbed him and his Guianians of all the treasure (the borderers being at that time at warres, which Inga had not conquered) saue onely of two great bottels of gourds, which were filled with beads of golde curiously wrought, which those Orenoqueponi thought had bene no other thing then his drinke or meat, or graine for food, with which Martinez had liberty to passe: and so in canoas hee fell downe from the riuer of Orenoque to Trinidad, and from thence to Margarita, and also to Saint Iuan de puerto rico, where remaining a long time for passage into Spaine, he died. In the time of his extreme sicknesse, and when he was without hope of life, receiuing the Sacrament at the hands of his Confessor, he deliuered these things, with the relation of his trauels, and also called for his calabças or gourds of the golde beads which he gaue to the church and friers to be prayed for. This Martinez was he that Chriſtened the city of Manoa by the name of El Dorado, and as Berreo informed mee, vpon this occasion: Those Guianians, and also the borderers, and all other in that tract which I haue seene, are maruellous great drunkards; in which vice, I thinke no nation can compare with them: and at the times of their solempne feasts, when the emperour carowleth with his capitaines, tributaries, and gouernours, the maner is thus: All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies anointed all ouer with a kind of white balsamum (by them called curca) of which there is great plenty, and yet very deare amongst them, and it is of all other the most precious, whereof we haue had good experience: when they are anointed all ouer, certeine seruants of the emperour, hauing prepared golde made into fine powder, blow it thorow hollow canes vpon their naked bodies, vntill they be all shining from the foot to the head: and in this sort they sit drincking by twenties, and hundreds, and continue in drunkennesse sometimes sixe or seuen dayes together. The same is also confirmed by a letter written into Spaine, which was intercepted, which M. Robert Duddeley tolde me he had seene. Vpon this sight, and for the abundance of golde which he saw in the city, the images of golde in their temples, the plates, armour, and shiels of gold which they vse in the warres, he called it El Dorado. After the death of Ordas and Martinez, and after Orellana, who was imployed by Gonzalo Pizarro, one Pedro de Osua a knight of Nauarre attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigandines vpon a riuer called Oia, which riseth to the Southward of Quico, and is very great. This riuer falleth into Amazonas, by which Osua with his companies descended, and came out of that prouince which is called Metylonez: and it seemeth to mee that this empire is reserved for her Maiesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard successe which all these and other Spanyards found in attempting the same, whereof I will speake briefly, though impertinent in some sort to my purpose. This Pedro de Osua had among his troups a Biscain, called Agiri, a man meanly bozne, who bare no other office then a sergeant or alferrez: but after certeine moneths, when the souldiers were grieved with trauels, and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of Amazonas, this Agiri raised a mutiny, of which hee made himselfe the head, and so preuailed, as he put Osua to the sword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandement, with a purpose not onely to make himselfe emperour of Guiana, but also of Peru, & of all that side of the West Indies: he had of his party seuen hundred souldiers, and of those many promised to draw in other capitaines & companies, to deliuer by townes and forts in Peru, but neither finding by y^e said riuer any passage into Guiana, nor any possibility to returne to wards Peru by the same Amazonas, by reason that y^e descent of the riuer made so great a current, he was enforced to disembogue at the mouth of the sayd Amazonas, which can not be lesse then a thousand leagues from the place where they imbarked: from thence he coasted the land till he arrived at Margarita to the North of Mompatar, which is at this day called Puerto de Tyranno, for that he there slew Don Iuan de villa Andreda, gouernour of Margarita, who was father to Don Iuan Sarmiento, gouernor of Margarita when Sir Iohn Burgh landed there, and attempted the Island. Agiri put to the sword all other in the Island that refused to be of his party, and tooke with him certeine Simerones, and other desperate companions. From thence he went to Cumana, and there slew the gouernour, and dealt in all as at Margarita: hee spoiled all the coast of Caracas, and the prouince of Venezuela, and of Rio dela hacha; and as I remember, it was the same yere that Sir Iohn Hawkins sailed to Saint Iuan de Vllua in the Iesus of Lubeck: for himselfe tolde me that he met with such a one vpon the coast that rebelled, and had sailed downe all the riuer of Amazonas. Agiri from thence landed about Sancta Marta, and sacked it also, putting to death so many as refused to be his followers, purposing to inuade Nueuo reyno de Granada, and to sacke Pamplon, Merida, Lagrita, Tunxa, and the rest of the cities of Nueuo reyno, and from thence againe to enter Peru: but in a fight in the sayd Nueuo reyno he was ouerthrowen, and finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his owne children, forgettelling them that they should

not

not to liue to be defamed or bybraided by the Spaniards after his death, who would haue termed them the children of a traitour or tyrant; and that sithence hee could not make them princes, hee would yet deliuer them from shame and reproch. These were the ends and tragedies of Ordas, Martinez, Orellana; Ozua, and Agiri.

Also soone after Ordas followed Ieronimo Ortal de Saragosa with 130 souldiers, who failing his entrance by sea, was cast with the current on the coast of Paria, & peopled about S. Miguel de Neucri. It was then attempted by Don Pedro de Silua, a Portugues of the family of Ruigomes de Silua, and by the fauour which Ruigomes had with the king, he was set out, but he also shot wide of the marke; for being departed from Spaine with his fleet, he entered by Marannon and Amazonas, where by the nations of the riuer, and by the Amazonas hee was utterly ouerthrowen, and himselfe and all his armie defeated, onely seuen escaped, and of those but two returned.

1534.
Gomar. cap. 84.
& 86.
Don Pedro de
Silua.

After him came Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, and landed at Cumaná in the West Indies, taking his iourney by land towards Orenoque, which may be some 120 leagues: but per he came to the borders of the sayd riuer, hee was set vpon by a nation of the Indians called Wikiri, and ouerthrowen in such sort, that of 300 souldiers, horsemen, many Indians, and Negros, there returned but 18. Others affirme, that he was defeated in the very entrance of Guiana, at the first ciuill towne of the empire called Macureguarai. Captaine Preston in taking S. Iago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great towne, and farre within the land) held a gentleman prisoner, who died in his ship, that was one of the company of Hernandez de Serpa, and saued among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the Spaniards thereabouts of the great riches of Guiana, and El Dorado the city of Inga. Another Spaniard was brought aboard me by captaine Preston, who told me in the hearing of himselfe and diuers other gentlemen, that he met with Berreos campe-master at Caracas, when he came from the borders of Guiana, and that he saw with him forty of most pure plates of golde curiously wrought, and swords of Guiana decked and inlayed with gold, feathers garnished with golde, and diuers rarities which he caried to the Spanish king.

Pedro Hernandez
de Serpa.

After Hernandez de Serpa, it was vnderaken by the Adelantado, Don Gonzales Ximenes de Cafada, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of Nueuo reino, whose daughter and heire Don Antonio de Berreo married. Gonzales sought the passage also by the riuer called Papamene, which riseth by Quito in Peru, & runneth Southeast 100 leagues, and then falleth into Amazonas, but he also failing the entrance, returned with the losse of much labour and cost. I tooke one captaine George a Spaniard that followed Gonzales in this enterprise. Gonzales gaue his daughter to Berreo, taking his oth & honour to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life, who since, as he hath sworne to me, hath spent 300000 ducats in the same, & yet neuer could enter so far into the land as my selfe with that poore troupe or rather a handfull of men, being in all about 100 gentlemen, souldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boyes, & of all sorts: neither could any of the forepassed vnderakers, nor Berreo himselfe, discouer the countrey, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called Carapana, he got the true light thereof: for Berreo came about 1500 miles yet he vnderstood ought, or could finde any passage or entrance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of al these forenamed, and diuers others, and was perswaded of their errors and mistakings. Berreo sought it by the riuer Cassamar, which falleth into a great riuer called Pato: Pato falleth into Meta, and Meta into Baraquan, which is also called Orenoque.

Don Gonzales
Ximenes de
Cafada.

Antonio Berreo.

He tooke his iourney from Nueuo reyno de Granada where he dwelt, hauing the inheritance of Gonzales Ximenes in those parts: he was followed with 700 horse, he draue with him 1000 head of cattell, he had also many women, Indians, and slaues. Now all these riuers crosse and encounter, how the countrey lieth and is bordered, the passage of Ximenes and Berreo, mine owne discovery, and the way that I entred, with all the rest of the nations and riuers, your lordship shall receiue in a large Chart or Map, which I haue not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray your lordship to secret, and not to suffer it to passe your owne hands; for by a draught thereof all may be prevented by other nations: for I know it is this very peere sought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I feare it not much. It was also tolde me per I departed England, that Villiers the admirall was in preparation for the planting of Amazonas, to which riuer the French haue made diuers voyages, and returned much golde, and other rarities. I spake with a captaine of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in Falmouth the same pere that my ships came first from Virginia.

A new & rich
trade of the
French to the
riuer of Ama-
zones.

There was another this peere in Helford that also came from thence, and had bene foureteene moneths at an anker in Amazonas, which were both very rich. Although, as I am perswaded,
Guiana

Guiana cannot be entered that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branch of rivers into the riuer of Amazonas, and so it doth on euery hand far from the countrey it selfe; for those Indians of Trinidad haue plates of golde from Guiana, and those cannibals of Dominica which dwell in the Islands by which our ships passe perely to the West Indies, also the Indians of Paria, those Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all those other nations inhabiting nere about the mountaines that run from Paria theow the prouince of Venesuela, and in Maracapaná, and the cannibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Assawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate) haue plates of golde of Guiana. And vpon the riuer of Amazonas, Theuer writeth that the people weare croissants of golde, for of that forme the Guianians most commonly make them: so as from Dominica to Amazonas, which is about 250 leagues, all the chiefe Indians in all parts weare of those plates of Guiana. Undoubtedly those that trade Amazonas retorne much golde, which (as is aforesayd) cometh by trade from Guiana, by some branch of a riuer that falleth from the countrey into Amazonas, and either it is by the riuer which passeth by the nations called Tisnados, or by Carepuna. I made inquiry amongst the most ancient and best trauelled of the Orenoqueponi, and I had knowledge of all the riuers betweene Orenoque & Amazonas, and was very desirous to understand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is beleued, of others not. And though I digresse from my purpose, yet I will set downe that which hath bene deliuered me for truth of those women, & I spake with a casique or lord of people, that told me he had bene in the riuer, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the South side of the riuer in the prouinces of Topago, and their chiefe strength and retracts are in the Islands situate on the South side of the entrance some 60 leagues within the mouth of the sayd riuer. The memories of the like women are very ancient as well in Africa as in Asia: In Africa those that had Medusa for queene: others in Scithia nere the riuers of Tanais and Thermadon: we finde also that Lampedo & Marchesia were queenes of the Amazonas: in many histories they are verified to haue bene, and in diuers ages and prouinces: but they which are not far from Guiana doe accompany with men but once in a yere, and for the time of one moneth which I gather by their relation, to be in April: and that time all kings of the borders assemble, and queenes of the Amazonas; and after the queenes haue chosen, the rest cast lots for their Valentines. This one moneth, they feast, dance, and drinke of their wines in abundance; and the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne prouinces. If they conceiue, and be deliuered of a sonne, they retorne him to the father; if of a daughter they nourish it, and reteine it: and as many as haue daughters send vnto the begetters a present; all being desirous to increase their owne sex and kind: but that they cut off the right dug of the breast, I doe not finde to be true. It was farther tolde me, that if in these warres they tooke any prisoners that they vsed to accompany with those also at what time soeuer, but in the end for certaine they put them to death: for they are sayd to be very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. These Amazonas haue likewise great store of these plates of golde, which they recouer by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene stones, which the Spanyards call Piedra shijadas, & we vse for spleene stones: and for the disease of the stone we also esteeme them. Of these I saw diuers in Guiana: and commonly euery king or casique hath one, which their wiues for the most part weare; and they esteeme them as great iewels.

The seat of the
Amazones,

But to retorne to the enterprise of Berreo, who (as I haue sayd) departed from Nueuo reyno with 700 horse, besides the prouisions aboue rehearsed, he descended by the riuer called Cassanar, which riseth in Nueuo reyno out of the mountaines by the city of Tuuia, from which mountaine also springeth Pato; both which fall into the great riuer of Meta: and Meta riseth from a mountaine toyning to Pamplon in the same Nueuo reyno de Granada. These, as also Guaiare, which issueth out of the mountaines by Timana, fall all into Baraquan, and are but of his heads; for at their comming together they lose their names; and Baraquan farther downe is also rebaptized by the name of Orenoque. On the other side of the city and hilles of Timana riseth Rio grande, which falleth in the sea by Santa Marta. By Cassanar first, and so into Meta, Berreo passed, keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the countrey serued them for to march, and where otherwise, he was bound to imbarke them in boats which he builded for the purpose, and so came with the current downe the riuer of Meta, and so into Baraquan. After he entered that great & mighty riuer, he began dayly to lose of his companies both men and horse; for it is in many places violently swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and diuers Islands sharpe pointed with rocks: but after one whole yere, iourneying for the most part by riuer, and the rest by land, he grew dayly to fewer numbers; for both by sicknesse, and by encountering with the people of those regions, thorough which he trauelled, his companies were much wasted, especially by diuers encounters with the

the Amapaia: and in all this time hee neuer could learne of any passage into Guiana, nor any newes or fame thereof, untill he came to a further border of the sayd Amapaia, eight dayes iourney from the riuer Caroli, which was the furthest riuer that he entred. Among those of Amapaia, Guiana was famous, but few of these people accosted Berreo, or would trade with him the first three moneths of the six, which he sojourned there. This Amapaia is also marvellous rich in golde (as both Berreo confessed and those of Guiana with whom I had most conference) and is situate vpon Orenoque also. In this countrey Berreo lost 60 of his best souldiers, and most of all his horse that remained in his former peeres trauell: but in the end, after diuers encounters with those nations, they grew to peace; and they presented Berreo with tenne images of fine golde among diuers other places and croissantes, which, as he sware to me & diuers other gentlemen, were so curiously wrought, as he had not seene the like either in Italy, Spaine, or the Low-countries: & he was resolved, that when they came to the hands of the Spanish king, to whom he had sent them by his campmaster, they would appeare very admirable, especially being wrought by such a nation as had no yron instruments at all, nor any of those helps which our goldsmiths haue to worke withall. The particular name of the people in Amapaia which gaue him these pierces, are called Anebas, and the riuer of Orenoque at that place is about 12 English miles broad, which may be from his out fall into the sea 700 or 800 miles.

This prouince of Amapaia is a very low and a marish ground nere the riuer; and by reason of the red water which issueth out in small branches thorow the fenney and boggy ground, there breed diuers poisonfull wormes and serpents; and the Spaniards not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grievous kinde of flure by drinkeing thereof; and euen the very horses poisoned therewith: insomuch as at the end of the 6 moneths, that they abode there, of all their troupes, there were not left about 120 souldiers, & neither horse nor cattell: for Berreo hoped to haue found Guiana by 1000 miles nerer then it fel out to be in the end: by meanes whereof they sustained much want, and much hunger, oppressed with grieuous diseases, and all the miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in Guiana that had trauelled Amapaia, how they liued with that tawny or red water when they trauelled thither: and they tolde me that after the Sun was nere the middle of the skie, they vsed to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time, or towards the setting of the Sun it was dangerous to drinke of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of diuers other riuers of that nature among them, which were also (while the Sun was in the Meridian) very safe to drinke, and in the morning, euening, and night woonderfull dangerous and infectiue. From this prouince Berreo hasted away alsoone as the Spring and beginning of Summer appeared, and sought his entrance on the borders of Orenoque on the South side; but there ran a ledge of so high and impassable mountaines, as he was not able by any meanes to march ouer them, continuing from the East sea into which Orenoque falleth, euen to Quito in Peru: neither had he meanes to cary victuall or munition ouer those craggie, high, and fast hilles, being all woody, & those so thicke and spiny, & so full of prickles, thornes, and briers, as it is impossible to creepe thorow them: hee had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to perswade or treat with them: and more, to his disadvantage, the casiques and kings of Amapaia had giuen knowledge of his purpose to the Guianians, and that he sought to sacke and conquer the empire, for the hope of their so great abundance and quantities of golde: he passed by the mouthes of many great riuers, which fell into Orenoque both from the North and South, which I forbore to name for tediousnesse, and because they are more pleasing in describing then reading.

Berreo affirmed that there fell an hundred riuers into Orenoque from the North and South, whereof the least was as big as Rio grande, that passed betweene Popayan and Nueuo reyno de Granada (Rio grande being esteemed one of the renowned riuers in all the West Indies, and numbred among the great riuers of the world:) but he knew not the names of any of these, but Caroli onely; neither from what nations they descended, neither to what prouinces they led; for he had no meanes to discourse with the inhabitants at any time: neither was he curious in these things, being betterly vnlearned, and not knowing the East from the West. But of all these I got some knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine owne trauell, and the rest by conference: of some one I learned one, of others the rest, hauing with me an Indian that spake many languages, and that of Guiana naturally. I sought out all the aged men, and such as were greatest trauelers, and by the one and the other I came to vnderstand the situations, the riuers, the kingdomes from the East sea to the borders of Peru, and from Orenoque Southward as farre as Amazonas or Marannon, and the religions of Maria Tamball, & of all the kings of prouinces, and capitaines of towne and villages, how they stood in tearmes of peace or warre, and which were friends

Many great
riuers falling
into Orenoque.

friends or enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts, nor elsewhere: for by the dissention betweene Guascar and Atabalipa, Pizarro conquered Peru, and by the hatred that the Tlaxcallians bare to Mutezuma, Cortez was victorious ouer Mexico; without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprize, and of the great honour and riches which they attained vnto.

The prouince
of Emeria inhabi-
tied by gentle
Indians.
Carapana.

Now Berreo began to grow into dispaire, and looked for no other successe then his predecessors in this enterprize, vntill such time as hee arrived at the prouince of Emeria towards the East sea and mouth of the riuer, where he found a nation of people very fauourable, and the countrey full of all manner of victuall. The king of this land is called Carapana, a man very wise, subtile, and of great experience, being little lesse then an hundred yeeres olde: in his youth he was sent by his father into the Island of Trinidad, by reason of ciuill warre among themselves, and was bred at a village in that island, called Parico: at that place in his youth hee had seene many Christians, both French and Spanish, and went diuers times with the Indians of Trinidad to Margarita and Cumaná in the West Indies (for both those places haue euer beene relieved with victuall from Trinidad) by reason whereof he grew of more vnderstanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and armes of his countrey with those of the Christians, and euer after temporized so, as whosoever els did amisse, or was wasted by contention, Carapana kept himselfe and his countrey in quiet & plenty: he also held peace with the Caribes or Canibals his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations, whosoever els had warre.

Berreio sojourned and rested his weake troupe in the towne of Carapana sixe weeks, and from him learned the way and passage to Guiana, and the riches and magnificence thereof; but being then utterly disable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another yere, when he had renewed his provisions, and regathered more force, which hee hoped for as well out of Spaine as from Nueuo reyno, where hee had left his sonne Don Antonio Ximenes to second him vpon the first notice giuen of his entrance, and so for the present imbarcked himselfe in canoas, and by the branches of Orenoque arrived at Trinidad, hauing from Carapana sufficient pilots to conduct him. From Trinidad he coasted Paria, and so recovered Margarita: and hauing made relation to Don Iuan Sermiento the gouernour, of his proceeding, and perswaded him of the riches of Guiana, he obtained from thence fifty souldiers, promising presently to returne to Carapana, and so into Guiana. But Berreo meant nothing lesse at that time; for he wanted many provisions necessary for such an enterprize, and therefore departed from Margarita, seated himselfe in Trinidad, and from thence sent his camp-master, and his sergeant-majour backe to the borders to discouer the neereest passage into the empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and loue; without which, he knew he could neither passe safely, nor in any sort be relieved with victuall or ought els. Carapana directed his company to a king called Morequito, assuring them that no man could deliuer so much of Guiana as Morequito could, and that his dwelling was but five dayes iourney from Macureguaray, the first ciuill towne of Guiana.

Morequito.

Vides the gou-
uernour of Cu-
mana compells
for with Berreo
in the conquest
of Guiana.

Now your lordship shall vnderstand, that this Morequito, one of the greatest lords or kings of the borders of Guiana, had two or three yeeres before bene at Cumaná and at Margarita, in the West Indies, with great store of plates of golde, which he carried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his owne countrey, and was dayly feasted, & presented by the gouernours of those places, and held amongst them some two moneths, in which time one Vides gouernour of Cumaná wanne him to be his conductour into Guiana, being allured by those croissants and images of golde which hee brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of El Dorado: whereupon Vides sent into Spaine for a patent to discouer and conquer Guiana, not knowing of the precedence of Berreos patent, which, as Berreo affirmeth, was signed before that of Vides: so as when Vides vnderstood of Berreo, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and foregone his desire and hope, it was verily thought that Vides practised with Morequito to hinder and disturbe Berreo in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter thorow his signorie, nor any of his companies; neither to victuall, nor guide them in any sort; for Vides gouernour of Cumaná, and Berreo, were become mortall enemies, as well for that Berreo had gotten Trinidad into his patent with Guiana, as also in that he was by Berreo prevented in the iourney of Guiana it selfe: howsoever it was, I know not, but Morequito for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered Spanyards, and a frier (which Berreo had sent to discouer Manoa) to trauell thorow his countrey, gaue them a guide for Macureguaray, the first towne of ciuill and appareled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to Manoa the great city of Inga: and being furnished with those things which they had learned of Carapana were of most price in Guiana, went onward, and in eleuen dayes arrived at Manoa, as Berreo affirmeth for certaine: although

Macureguaray.

Ten Span-
iards arrived at
Manoa.

could not be assured thereof by the lord which now governeth the prouince of Morequito, for he tolde me that they got all the golde they had, in other townes on this side Manoa, there being many very great and rich, and (as he sayd) built like the townes of Christians, with many roomes.

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of Aromaiia, the people of Morequito set upon them, and slew them all but one that swam the riuer, and tooke from them to the value of forty thousand pezos of golde: and one of them onely liued to bring the newes to Berreo, that both his nine souldiers and holy father were benighted in the said prouince. I my selfe spake with the captaines of Morequito that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. Berreo enraged herewithall, sent all the strength he could make into Aromaiia, to be reuenged of him, his people, and countrey. But Morequito suspecting the same, fled ouer Orenoque, and thorow the territories of the Saima, and Wikiri, recovered Cumaná, where hee thought himselfe very safe, with Vides the gouernour. But Berreo sending for him in the kings name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one Fashardo on the sudden per he was suspected, so as he could not then be conueyed away, Vides durst not deny him, as well to auoid the suspicion of the practise, as also for that an holy father was slaine by him and his people. Morequito offered Fashardo the weight of three quintals in golde, to let him escape: but the poore Guianian, betrayed on all sides, was deliuered to the campe-master of Berreo, and was presently executed.

Aromaiia.

Saima and Wikiri.

Morequito executed.

After the death of this Morequito, the souldiers of Berreo spoiled his territorie, and tooke diuers prisoners, among others they tooke the vncle of Morequito, called Topiawari, who is now king of Aromaiia (whose sonne I brought with me into England) and is a man of great understanding and policy: he is aboute an hundred yeeres olde, and yet of a very able body. The Spaniards ledde him in a chaine seuentene dayes, and made him their guide from place to place betwene his countrey & Emericia, the prouince of Carapana aforesayd, and he was at last redeemed for an hundred plates of golde, and diuers stones called Piedras Hijadas, or Splene-stones. Now Berreo for executing of Morequito, and other cruelties, spoiles, and slaughters done in Aromaiia, hath lost the loue of the Orenoqueponi, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his souldiers any further into the land then to Carapana, which he called the port of Guiana: but from thence by the helpe of Carapana he had trade further into the countrey, and alwayes appointed ten Spaniards to reside in Carapanas towne, by whose fauour, and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the countrey thereabouts, as well for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

The towne of Carapana is the port of Guiana.

They also haue gotten a nephew of Morequito, whom they haue Christened, and named Don Iuan, of whom they haue great hope, endeououring by all meanes to establish him in the said prouince. Among many other trades, those Spaniards vied canoas to passe to the riuers of Barima, Pawroma, & Dissequebe, which are on the South side of the mouth of Orenoque, and there buy women and children from the Canibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or foure hatchets sell the sonnes and daughters of their owne brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more, euen their owne daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit: for buying a maid of twelue or thirteene yeres for three or foure hatchets, they sell them againe at Margarita in the West Indies for fifty and an hundred pezos, which is so many crownes.

Some fesse Spaniards are now seated in Dissequebe,

The master of my shippe, Iohn Dowglas, tooke one of the canoas which came laden from thence with people to be solde, and the most of them escaped; yet of those he brought, there was one as well fauoured, and as well shaped as euer I saw any in England, and afterwarde I saw many of them, which but for their tawny colour may be compared to any of Europe. They also trade in those riuers for bread of Cassai, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at Margarita for ten pezos. They also recouer great store of Cotton, Brasill wood, and those beds which they call Hamacas or Brasill beds, wherein in hot countreyes all the Spaniards vse to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we our selues while we were there. By meanes of which trades, for ranstone of diuers of the Guianians, and for exchange of hatchets and knives, Berreo recouered some store of golde plates, eagles of golde, and images of men and diuers birdes, and dispatched his campe-master for Spaine, with all that hee had gathered, therewith to leue souldiers, and by the shew thereof to draw others to the loue of the enterprise. And hauing sent diuers images as well of men as beasts, birds & fishes, so curiously wrought in gold, he doubted not but to perswade the king to yeeld to him some further helpe, especially for that this land hath neuer bene sacked, the mines neuer wrought, and in the Indies their works were well spent, and the golde drawn out with great labour and charge. He also dispatched messengers to his sonne in Nueuo reyno to leue all the forces he could, & to come downe the riuer Orenoque

to Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, to meet him: he had also sent to Saint Iago de Leon on the coast of the Caracas, to buy hozses and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed, I told him that I had resolved to see Guiana, and that it was the end of my iourney, and the cause of my comming to Trinidad, as it was indeed, (and for that purpose I sent Iacob Whiddon the peere before to get intelligence with whom Berreo himselfe had speech at that time, and remembered how inquisitiue Iacob Whiddon was of his proceedings, and of the countrey of Guiana) Berreo was stricken into a great melancholy and sadnesse, and vsed all the arguments he could to dissuade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost, and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded. And first he deliuered that I could not enter any of the riuers with any barke or pinnesse, or hardly with any ships boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were dayly grounded in their canoas, which drew but twelue inches water. Pee further sayde, that none of the countrey would come to speake with vs, but would all flie; and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burne their owne townes: and besides that, the way was long, the Winter at hand, and that the riuers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the current, and that we could not in those small boats by any means cary victuall for halfe the time, and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders of Guiana had decreed that none of them should trade with any Christians for golde, because the same would be their owne ouerthrow, and that for the loue of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossesse them of all together.

The riuer of
Capuri.

Many and the most of these I found to be true, but yet I resolving to make triall of all whatsoeuer happened, directed captaine George Gifford my vice-admirall to take the Lions whelpe, and captaine Calfield his barke to turne to the Eastward, against the mouth of a riuer called Capuri, whose entrance I had before sent captaine Whiddon, and Iohn Dowglas the master, to discover, who found some nine foot water or better vpon the flood, and five at low water, to whom I had giuen instructions that they should anker at the edge of the shoald, and vpon the best of the flood to thrust ouer, which shoald Iohn Dowglas bwoyed and beckoned for them before: but they laboured in vaine; for neither could they turne it vp altogether so farre to the East, neither did the flood continue so long, but the water fell per they could haue passed the sands; as wee after found by a second experience: so as now wee must either giue ouer our enterprise, or leauing our ships at aduenture foure hundred mile behinde vs, must run vp in our ships boats, one barge, and two wheries. But being doubtfull how to cary victuals for so long a time in such hables, or any strength of men, especially for that Berreo assured vs that his sonne must be by that time come downe with many souldiers, I sent away one King, master of the Lions whelpe, with his ship-boat, to trie another branch of a riuer in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to proue if there were water to be found for either of the small ships to enter. But when he came to the mouth of Amana, he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discover it thorowly, because he was assured by an Indian, his guide, that the Canibals of Guanipa would assaile them with many canoas, and that they shot poisoned arrowes; so as if he halted not backe, they should all be lost.

Iohn Hampton
captaine of the
Minion vnder
Sir Iohn Haw-
kins in his voy-
age to S. Iuan
de Villua.

In the meane time, fearing the worst, I caused all the carpenters we had, to cut downe a Galego boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to draw but five foot, for so much we had on the barre of Capuri at low water. And doubting of Kings returne, I sent Iohn Dowglas againe in my long barge, as well to relieue him, as also to make a perfect search in the bottome of that bay: for it hath bene held for infallible, that whatsoeuer ship or boat shall fall therein, can neuer disembogue againe, by reason of the violent current which setteth into the sayde bay, as also for that the brize and Easterly winde bloweth directly into the same. Of which opinion I haue heard Iohn Hampton of Plymmouth, one of the greatest experience of England, and diuers other besides that haue traded to Trinidad.

I sent with Iohn Dowglas an olde casique of Trinidad for a pilot, who tolde vs that we could not returne againe by the bay or gulfe, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the Eastward, and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and so returne in foure dayes. Iohn Dowglas searched those riuers, and found foure goodly entrances, whereof the least was as bigge as the Thames at Wolwich; but in the bay thitherward it was shoald, and but five foot water: so as we were now without hope of any ship or barke to passe ouer, and therefore resolved to go on with the boats, and the bottome of the Galego, in which we thrust 60 men. In the Lions whelps boat & whery we caried 20. Captaine Calfield in his whery caried ten more, and in my barge

barge other tenne, which made by a hundred: we had no other meanes but to cary victuall for a moneth in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boile and dresse our meat. Captaine Gifford had with him master Edward Porter, captaine Eynos, and eight more in his wheery, with all their victuall, weapons, and provisions. Captaine Calfield had with him my cousin Butthead Gorges, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers my selfe had captaine Thin, my cousin Iohn Greeneuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert, captaine Whiddon, captaine Keymis, Edward Handcocke, captaine Clarke, lieutenant Hewes, Thomas Vpton, captaine Facy, Ierome Ferrar, Anthony Welles, William Connocke, and aboue fifty more. We could not learne of Berreo any other way to enter but in bzanches, so farre to wind-ward, as it was impossible for vs to recouer: for wee had as much sea to crosse ouer in our wheries, as betweene Douer and Calice, and in a great billow, the winde and current being both very strong, so as we were driuen to goe in those small boats directly befoze the winde into the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those riuers which Iohn Dowglas had last discouered, and had with vs for pilot an Indian of Barema, a riuer to the South of Orenoque, betweene that and Amazonas, whose canoas we had formerly taken as hee was going from the sayd Barema, laden with Cassai-bread, to sell at Margarita. This Arwacan promised to bring me into the great riuer of Orenoque, but indeed of that which he entred he was viterly ignorant, for he had not seene it in twelue yeeres befoze; at which time he was very young, and of no iudgement: and if God had not sent vs another helpe, we might haue wandred a whole yere in that labyrinth of riuers, yee wee had found any way, either out or in, especially after wee were past ebbing and flowing, which was in foure dayes: for I know all the earth doeth not yeelde the like confluence of streames and bzanches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so faire and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if wee went by the Sunne or Compasse, hoping thereby to goe directly one way or other, yet that way wee were also caried in a circle amongst multitudes of Ilands, and euery Iland so bordered with high trees, as no man coulde see any further then the breadth of the riuer, or length of the breach. But this it chanced, that entering into a riuer, (which because it had no name, wee called the riuer of the Red crosse, our selues being the first Christians that euer came therein) the two and twentieth of May, as wee were rowing vp the same, wee espied a small canoa with three Indians, which (by the swiftnesse of my barge, rowing with eight oares) I ouertooke yee they could crosse the riuer, the rest of the people on the banks shadowed vnder the thicke wood, gazed on with a doubtfull conceit what might befall those three which we had taken. But when they perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entred their canoa with any of ours, nor tooke out of the canoa any of theirs, they then beganne to shew themselves on the banks side, and offered to traffique with vs for such chings as they had. And as wee drew neere, they all stayed, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creeke which came from their towne into the great riuer.

The bay of Guanipa.

Barema.

A wonderful confluence of streames.

The riuer of the Red crosse.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs goe ashore to their village, to fetch some fruits, and to drinke of their artificiall wines, and also to see the place, and know the lord of it against another time, and tooke with him a brother of his, which hee had with him in the iourney: when they came to the village of these people, the lord of the Iland offered to lay hands on them, purposing to haue slaine them both, yeelding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory, to spoile and destroy them. But the pilot being drinke, and of a disposed body, slippt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recovered the creekes mouth, where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slaine: with that we set hands on one of them that was next vs, a very olde man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot againe, we would presently cut off his head. This olde man being resolved that he should pay the losse of the other, cried out to those in the woods to saue Ferdinando our pilot: but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him vpon the foot with the Deere-dogges, and with so maine a cry, that all the woods ecked with the shout they made: but at the last this pooze chased Indian recovered the riuer side, and got vpon a tree, and as we were coasting, leaped downe and swamme to the barge halfe dead with feare. But our good happe was, that we kept the other olde Indian which we handfasted to redeeme our pilot withall; for being naturall of those riuers, we assured our selues hee knew the way better then any stranger could. And indeed, but for this chance, I thinke we had neuer found the way either to Guiana, or backe to our ships: for Ferdinando after a few dayes knew nothing at all, nor which way to turne, yea and many times the old man himselfe was in great doubt which riuer to take. Those people which dwell in these broken

Two nations
of the Tiutias,
called Ciawani,
and Warawecte.

A description
of the mighty
riuer of Oreno-
que of Baraquan.

What manner
of people the
Tiutias are.

The Arwacs
on the South
side of Oreno-
que.

The port of the
Ciawani.

A riuer called
The great A-
mana.

islands and drowned lands, are generally called Tiutias; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Warawecte.

The great riuer of Orenoque or Baraquan hath nine branches which fall out on the North side of his owne maine mouth: on the South side it hath seven other fallings into the sea, so it disemboueth by sixteene armes in all, betweene Islands and broken ground, but the Islands are very great, many of them as bigge as the Isle of Wight, and bigger, and many lesse. From the first branch on the North to the last of the South, it is at least 100 leagues, so as the riuers mouth is 300 miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be farre bigger then that of Amazonas. All those that inhabit in the mouth of this riuer vpon the severall North branches, are these Tiutias, of which there are two chiefe lords which haue continuall warres one with the other. The Islands which lie on the right hand, are called Pallamos, and the land on the left, Horotomaka, and the riuer by which Iohn Dowglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

These Tiutias are a very goodly people and very valiant, and haue the most manly speech and most deliberate that euer I heard, of what nation soeuer. In the Summer they haue houses on the ground, as in other places: in the Winter they dwell vpon the trees, where they build very artificiall towne and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the West Indies, that those people do in the low lands nere the gulfe of Vraha: for betweene May & September the riuer of Orenoque riseth thirty foot hygh, and then are those islands ouerflown twenty foot high aboue the leuell of the ground, sauing some few raised grounds in the middle of them: and for this cause they are enforced to liue in this manner. They neuer eat of any thing that is set or sown: and as at home they vse neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad, they refuse to feed of ought, but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They vse the tops of Palmicos for bread, and kill deere, fish, and porcs, for the rest of their sustenance. They haue also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowle.

And if to speake of them were not tedious, and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and formes, not else were to be found, for as much as I haue either scene or read. Of these people those that dwell vpon the branches of Orenoque, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoas, for they make the most and fairest canoas, and sel them into Guiana for golde, and into Trinidad for tabacco, in the excessive taking whereof, they exceed all nations; and notwithstanding the moistnesse of the aire in which they liue, the hardnesse of their diet, and the great labours they suffer to hunt, fish and fowle for their liuing; in all my life, either in the Indies or in Europe, did I neuer behold a more goodly or better fauoured people or a more manly. They were wont to make warre vpon all nations, and especially on the Canibals, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those riuers: but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they vse great lamentation, and when they thinke the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take by the carcase againe, and hang it in the caciques house that died, and decke his scull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his golde plates about the bones of his armes, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacs, which dwell on the South of Orenoque, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was) are dispersed in many other places, and doe vse to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wiues and friends drinke it all in their severall sorts of drinks.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani, wee passed by the riuer with the flood, and ankered the ebbe, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entered the riuer, our galley came on ground, and stucke so fast, as we thought that euen there our discovery had ended, and that we must haue left fourescore and ten of our men to haue inhabited like rooks vpon trees with those nations: but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and halling to and fro, we got her afloat, and went on. At foure dayes end wee fell into as goodly a riuer as euer I beheld, which was called The great Amana, which ranne more directly without windings and turnings then the other: but soone after the flood of the sea left vs; and being enforced either by maine strength to row against a violent current, or to returne as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to perswade the companies that it was but two or three dayes worke, and therefore desired them to take paines, euery gentleman & others taking their turnes to row, and to spell one the other at the houres end. Euery day we passed by goodly branches of riuers, some falling from the West, others from the East into Amana, but those I leaue to the description in the Cart of discovery, where euery one shalbe named with his rising and descent. When three dayes more were ouergone, our companies began to despair, the weather being extreme hot:

the

the riuer bordered with very high trees, that kept away the aire, and the current against vs euery day stronger then other : but we euermore commanded our pilots to promise an ende the next day, and used it so long, as we were driuen to assure them from foure reaches of the riuer to thzee, and so to two, and so to the next reach : but so long we laboured, that many dayes were spent, and wee driuen to drawe our selues to harder allowance, our bread euen at the last, and no drinke at all ; and our men and our selues so wearied and scorched, and doubtfull withall, whether wee should euer perfoyme it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line ; for wee were now in five degrees.

They are in five degrees.

The further we went on (our victuall decreasing and the aire breeding great faintnesse) wee grew weaker and weaker, when wee had most need of strength and abilitie ; for hourly the riuer ranne more violently then other against vs, and the barge, wheries, and shippes boat of captaine Gifford and captaine Calfield, had spent all their provisions ; so as we were brought into despaire and discomfort, had wee not perswaded all the company that it was but onely one dayes worke more to attaine the land where wee should be relieued of all wee wanted, and if we returned, that wee were sure to starue by the way, and that the world would also laugh vs to scozne. On the banks of these riuers were diuers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of such variety, as were sufficient to make tenne volumes of herbals : we relieued our selues many times with the fruits of the countrey, and sometimes with fowle and fish. Wee saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange-tawny, purple, watchet, and of all other sorts both simple and mixt, and it was vnto vs a great good passing of the time to beholde them, besides the reliefe we found by killing some stoze of them with our fowling pieces ; without which, hauing little or no bread, and lesse drinke, but onely the thicke and troubled water of the riuer, we had bene in a very hard case.

Our olde pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I sayd before, wee tooke to redeeme Ferdinando) tolde vs, that if we would enter a branch of a riuer on the right hand with our barge and wheries, and leaue the galley at anker the while in the great riuer, he would bring vs to a towne of the Arwacas, where we should finde stoze of bread, hennes, fish, and of the countrey wine ; and perswaded vs, that departing from the galley at noone, we might returne per night. I was very glad to heare this speech, and presently tooke my barke, with eight musketiers, captaine Giffords whery, with himselfe and foure musketiers, and captaine Calfield with his whery, and as many ; and so we entred the mouth of this riuer : and because we were perswaded that it was so nere, we tooke no victuall with vs at all. When we had rowed thzee houres, we marvelled we saw no signe of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the towne was : he tolde vs a little further. After thzee houres more, the Sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led vs that way to betray vs ; for hee confessed that those Spanyards which fled from Trinidad, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were ioyned together in some village vpon that riuer. But when it grew towards night ; and wee demanded where the place was : hee tolde vs but foure reaches more. When we had rowed foure and foure, we saw no signe ; and our poore water-men, euen heart-broken, and tired, were ready to giue vp the ghost : for wee had now come from the galley neere forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot ; and if wee had well knowen the way backe againe by night, hee had surely gone ; but our owne necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety : for it was as darke as pitch, and the riuer began so to narrow it selfe, and the trees to hang ouer from side to side, as wee were driuen with arming swords to cut a passage thorow those branches that couered the water. Wee were very desirous to finde this towne, hoping of a feast, because wee made but a short breakfast aboard the galley in the morning, and it was now eight a clocke at night, and our stomacks began to gnawe apace : but whether it was best to returne or goe on, we beganne to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more : but the poore olde Indian euer assured vs that it was but a little further, but this one turning and that turning : and at the last about one a clocke after midnight wee saw a light ; and rowing towards it, wee heard the dogges of the village. When we landed wee found few people ; for the lord of that place was gone with diuers canoas aboue foure hundred miles off, vpon a iourney to wardes the head of Orenoque to trade for golde, and to buy women of the Canibals, who after ward unfortunately passed by vs as wee rode at an anker in the port of Morequito in the darke of the night, and yet came so neere vs, as his canoas grated against our barges : he left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom wee vnderstood that hee had brought thirty young women, diuers plates of golde, and had great stoze of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good stoze of bread, fish, hennes, and Indian drinke, and so rested that night, and in the morning after we had traded

with such of his people as came downe, we returned towards our gally, and brought with vs some quantity of bread, fish, and hennes.

*A most beauti-
full countrey.*

On both sides of this riuer, we passed the most beautifull countrey that euer mine eyes beheld: and whereas all that we had seene befoze was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thoznes, here we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and in diuers parts groues of trees by themselves, as if they had beene by all the arte and labour in the world so made of purpose: and still as we rowed, the deere came downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had beene vsed to a keepers call. Upon this riuer there were great store of fowle, and of many sores: we saw in it diuers sortes of strange fishes, and of maruellous bignes: but for lagartos it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents; and the people call it for the abundance of them, The riuer of Lagartos, in their language. I had a Negro a very proper young fellow, who leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this riuer, was in all our sights taken and deuoured with one of those lagartos. In the meane while our companies in the gally thought we had bene all lost, (for wee promised to returne befoze night) and sent the Lions whelps shippes boat with captaine Whiddon to follow vs by the riuer; but the next day, after we had rowed vp and downe some fourescore miles, we returned, and went on our way, by the great riuer; and when we were euen at the last cast for want of victuals, captaine Gifford being befoze the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land vpon the banks to make fire, espied foure canoas comming downe the riuer; & with no small ioy caused his men to trie the vttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the foure gaue ouer, and ranne themselves ashore, euery man betaking himselfe to the fastnesse of the woods, the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay holde on these; and so turned into some by-creeke, we knew not whither. Those canoas that were taken, were loaden with bread, and were bound for Margarita in the West Indies, which those Indians (called Arwacas) purposed to cary thither for exchange: but in the lesser there were three Spanyards, who hauing heard of the defeat of their gouernour in Trinidad, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canoas: one of them was a cauallero, as the captaine of the Arwacas after tolde vs, another a souldier, and the third a refiner.

*Two canoas
taken.*

*Three Spany-
ards escaped.*

In the meane time, nothing on the earth could haue bene moze welcome to vs, nere vnto golde, then the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoas; for now our men cried, Let vs goe on, we care not how farre. After that captaine Gifford had brought the two canoas to the galley, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks side with a dozen shot, where the canoas first ranne themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out captaine Gifford, and captaine Thyn on one hand, and captaine Calfield on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods: and as I was creeping thorow the bushes, I sawe an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiners basket; for I found in it his quick-siluer, salt-peter, and diuers things for the triall of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined, but in those canoas which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and golde. I then landed moze men, and offered five hundred pound to what souldier soeuer could take one of those three Spanyards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe; for they put themselves into one of the small canoas: and so while the greater canoas were in taking, they escaped. But seeking after the Spanyards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spanyards, and rowed their canoas; of which I kept the chiefe for a pilot, and caried him with me to Guiana, by whom I vnderstood where and in what countreyes the Spanyards had laboured for golde, though I made not the same knowen to all: for when the springs began to breake, and the riuers to raise themselves so suddenly, as by no meanes wee could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stones, which wee call the White spar, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a worke, I thought it best not to houer thereabouts, least if the same had beene perceiued by the company, there would haue beene by this time many barks and shippes set out, and perchance other nations would also haue gotten of ours for pilots; so as both our selues might haue beene prevented, and all our care taken for good vsage of the people bene vtterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence of insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would haue changed their desire of our loue and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to haue brought a moze quantity (which I heare hath beene often objected) who soeuer had seene or procured the fury of that riuer after it beganne to arise, and had bene a moneth and odder dayes, as we were, from hearing ought from our shippes, leauing them meanly manned 400 miles off, would perchance haue turned some what sooner then we did, if all the mountaines had bene golde, or rich stones. And to say the truth, all the branches and small riuers which fell into Orenoque were raised with such speed,

*The Spanissh
golde-finers
basket & other
things taken.*

*The richest
mines defend-
ed with the
white spar.*

as if we waded them over the shoos in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day: and to stay to digge out gold with our nailes, had bene Opus laboris but not Ingenij: such a quantitie as would haue serued our turnes we could not haue had, but a discovery of the Mines to our infinite disadvantage wee had made, and that could haue bene the best profite of farther search or stay: for those Mines are not easily broken, nor opened in hast, and I could haue returned a good quantitie of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another marke, then present profit.

This Arwacan Pilot with the rest, feared that wee would haue eaten them, or otherwise haue put them to some cruel death (for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or in Guiana it selfe might come to speach with vs, perswaded all the nations, that we were men-eaters, and Canibals) but when the pooze men and women had seene vs, and that wee gaue them meate, and to euery one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they beganne to conceiue the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wiues and daughters dayly, and bled them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength. But I protest before the Maiestie of the liuing God, that I neither know nor beleue, that any of our company one or other, by violence or other wise, euer knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yong, and excellently fauoured, which came among vs without deceit, stark naked.

The Spaniards bluely lies.

Nothing got vs more loue amongst them then this vsage: for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a Pina, or a Potato roote, without giuing them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wiues or daughters: which course so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize ouer them in all things) drew them to admire her Maiestie, whose commaundement I tolde them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation.

But I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyle and stealing, when wee came to their houses: which because in all I coulde not preuent, I caused my Indian interpreter at euery place when wee departed, to knowe of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the partie punished in their sight, or else was payed for to their vttermost demand.

A notable course of iustice.

They also much wondered at vs, after they heard that we had slaine the Spaniards at Trinidad, for they were before resolu'd, that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence, and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great ouerthrow that her Maiesties armie and Fleet had giuen them of late yeeres in their owne Countreys.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with diuers baskets of rootes which were excellent meate, I gaue one of the Canoas to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the Captaine (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin) I sent backe in the same Canoa the olde Ciawan, and Ferdinando my first Pilot, and gaue them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victuall to cary them backe, and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliuer, and performed it, and then I went on, with my newe hired Pilot Martin the Arwacan: but the next or second day after, wee came a ground againe with our Galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our victuall and provision, and so lay on the sand one whole night and were farre more in despaire at this time to free her then before, because wee had no tide of flood to helpe vs, and therefore feared that all our hopes would haue ended in mishaps: but we fastened an ancker vpon the lande, and with maine strength drew her off: and so the fifteenth day wee discovered as farre off the mountaines of Guiana to our great ioy, and towards the euening had a sent of a Northerly winde that blew very strong, which brought vs in sight of the great Riuer Orenoque; out of which this Riuer descended wherein wee were: wee descried as farre off three other Canoas as farre as wee could descerne them, after whom wee hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the thirde entered by the great Riuer, on the right hande to the Westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that wee meant to take the way Eastward towards the prouince of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to goe vponwards to Guiana, the people in those parts being all their enemies, and those in the Canoas thought vs to haue bene those Spaniards that were fled from Trinidad, and had escaped killing: and when wee came so farre to the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being neere them with our barge and wherries, wee made after them, and ere they coulde land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what wee were, wherewith they came backe willingly aboord vs: and of such

They come on ground with their galley.

fish

fish and Tortugas egges as they had gathered, they gaue vs, and promised in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them, and to do vs all other seruices they could.

Two branches
of the river O.
renoque.

That night we came to an anchor at the parting of the three goodly Riuer (the one was the Riuer of Amana by which we came from the North, and ranne athwart towards the South, the other two were of Orenoque which crossed from the West and ranne to the Sea towards the East) and landed vpon a faire sand, where wee found thousands of Tortugas egges, which are very wholesome meate, and greatly restoring, so as our men were nowe well filled and highly contented both with the fare, and neerenesse of the land of Guiana which appeared in sight.

Toparimaca.

In the morning there came downe according to promise the Lord of that border called Toparimaca, with some thirtie or fourtie followers, and brought vs diuers sorts of fruites, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom wee also feasted as wee could, at least wee dranke good Spanish wine (whereof wee had a small quantitie in bottles) which aboue all things they loue. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boates to his owne port, and caried vs from thence some mile and a halfe to his Towne, where some of our Captaines karoused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the iuice of diuers hearbes, and fruites digested and purged, they keepe it in great earthen pots of tenne or twelue gallons very cleane and sweete, and are themselves at their meetings and feastes the greatest karousers and drunkards of the world: when wee came to his towne wee found two Casiques, whereof one was a stranger that had bene by the Riuer in trape, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the port where wee anchored, and the other was of that countrey a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotten Hamaca, which wee call brasill beds, and two women attending them with fire cuppes and a little ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they dranke each of them three of those cups at a time one to the other, and in this sort they drinke drunke at their feastes and meetings.

That Casique that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where wee anchored, and in all my life I haue seldome seene a better fauoured woman: Shee was of good stature, with blacke eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her haire almost as long as her selfe, tied vp againe in pretie knots, and it seemed she stood not in that awe of her husband, as the rest, for shee spake and discoursed, and dranke among the gentlemen and Captaines, and was very pleasant, knowing her owne comelinesse, and taking great pride therein. I haue seene a Lady in England so like to her, as but for the difference of colour, I would haue sworn might haue bene the same.

The towne of
Arowocay.

The great
breadth of the
riuer Orenoque.

The seat of this Towne of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compasse round aboute it, and two very faire and large ponds of excellent fish adioyning. This towne is called Arowocai: the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I sawe very aged people, that wee might perceiue all their sinewes and veines without any flesh, and but euen as a case couered onely with skinne. The Lord of this place gaue me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and traueile, and knew the Riuer most perfectly both by day and night: and it shall bee requisite for any man that passeth it, to haue such a Pilot, for it is foure, fise, and sixe miles ouer in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with wonderfull eddies, and strong currents, many great plands, and diuers sholles, and many dangerous rocks, and besides vpon any increafe of winde so great a bilowe, as wee were sometimes in great perill of drowning in the galley, for the small boates durst not come from the shoare, but when it was very faire.

They enter the
riuer Orenoque,
which runneth
East and
West.

The yle of A.
sapana.

The pland of
Iwana.

The next day we halted thence, and hauing an Easterly winde to helpe vs, we spared our armes from rowing: for after wee entred Orenoque, the Riuer lieth for the most part East and West, euen from the Sea vnto Quito in Peru. This Riuer is nauigable with barkes, litle lesse then a thousand miles, & from the place where we entred, it may be sailed vp in small pinnesses to many of the best parts of Nueuo reyno de Granada, and of Popayan: and from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and inuaded as from hence. All that day wee sailed by a branch of that Riuer, hauing on the left hand a great pland which they call Asapana which may containe some fise and twentie miles in length, and sixe miles in breadth, the great body of the Riuer running on the other side of this pland. Beyond that middle branch there is also another pland in the Riuer called Iwana, which is twise as bigge as the yle of Wight, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of Guiana, runneth a thirde branch of Orenoque called Arraroopana: all three are goodly branches, and all nauigable for great ships. I iudge the riuer in this place to be at least thirry miles brode, reckoning the plands which deuide the branches in it, for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

After

After wee reached to the head of the yland, called Assapana, a little to the Westward on the right hand there opened a riuer which came from the North, called Europa, and fel into the great Riuer, and beyond it on the same side, wee ankered for that night, by another yland like miles long, and two miles broad, which they call Ocauwita: From hence in the morning wee landed two Guianians, which wee found in the Towne of Toparimaca, that came with vs, who went to giue notice of our conning to the Lord of that countrey called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chiefe Lord of Aromaia, who succeeded Morequito, whom (as you haue heard before) Berreo put to death: but his towne being sacre within the land, he came not vnto vs that day, so as we ankered againe that night neere the bankes of another yland, of bignesse much like the other, which they call Putapayma, ouer against which yland, on the maine land, was a very high mountaine called Oecope: we couered to anker rather by these ylands in the Riuer, then by the maine, because of the Tortugas egges, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground serued better for vs to cast our nets for fish, the maine bankes being for the most part stonie and high, and the rocks of a blew metalline colour, like vnto the best Steele-ore, which I assuredly take it to be: of the same blew stone are also diuers great mountaines, which border this riuer in many places.

The ple of Ocauwita.

The ple of Putapayma.

Steele-ore.

The next morning towards nine of the clocke, wee weighed anker, and the brize increasing, we sailed alwayes West by the riuer, and after a while opening the land on the right side, the countrey appeared to bee champaine, and the bankes shewed very perfect red. I therefore sent two of the little barges with Captaine Gifford, and with him Captaine Thyn, Captaine Calfield, my cosen Greeneuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert, Captaine Eynus, Gasser Edward Porter, and my cosen Butthead Gorges, with some fewe souldiers, to march ouer the bankes of that red land, and to discouer what maner of countrey it was on the other side, who at their returne found it all a plaine leuell, as farre as they went or could discerne, from the highest tree they could get vpon: And my old Pilot, a man of great trauell, brother to the Casique Toparimica tolde mee, that those were called the plaines of the Sayma, and that the same leuell reached to Cumaná, and Caracas in the West Indies, which are a hundred and twentie leagues to the North, and that there inhabited foure principall nations. The first were the Sayma, the next Assawai, the thirde and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before mentioned was ouerthrowen, as hee passed with three hundred horse from Cumaná towards Orenoque, in his enterprize of Guiana: the fourth are called Aroras, and are as blacke as Negros, but haue smooth haire, and these are very ballant, or rather desperate people, and haue the most strong popson on their arrowes, and most dangerous of all nations, of which popson I will speake somewhat being a digression not vn-necessary.

The plaines of Sayma stretching to Cumaná, and the Caracas.

Aroras a blacke people being benemous arrowes.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, then to finde out the true remedies of these popsoned arrowes: for besides the mortallitie of the wound they make, the partie shorte indureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abiderth a most vgly and lamentable death, sometimes dying starke mad, sometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies: which are presently discoloured as blacke as pitch, and so vsuauoy, as no man can endure to cure, or to attend them. And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was neuer Spaniard either by gift or torment that could attaine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they haue martyred and put to inuenced torture I know not how many of them. But every one of these Indians know it not, no not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priestes, who doe concale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the sonne.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serue for the ordinarie popson, are made of the iuice of a roote called Tupara: the same also quencherth marueilously the heate of burning feauers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the Guianians then any other: for Anthonio de Berreo tolde mee that hee could neuer attaine to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught mee the best way of healing as well thereof, as of all other popsons. Some of the Spaniards haue bene cured in ordinary wounds, of the common popsoned arrowes with the iuice of garlike: but this is a generall rule for all men that shall hereafter trauel the Indies where poisoned arrowes are vled, that they must abstaine from drinke, for if they take any licour into their body, as they shall bee marueilously prouoked thereunto by drought, I say, if they drinke before the wound bee dressed, or soone vpon it, there is no way with them but present death.

The iuice of garlike good against ordinary popson, Speedy by drinking to be as uopbed of such as are wounded with popsoned arrowes.

And so I will returne againe to our tourney which for this thirde day we finished, and cast anker againe neere the continent or the left hand betweene two mountaines, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio: I made no stay here but till midnight, for I feared hourly least any raine

shoul

should fall, and then it had bene impossible to haue gone any further vp, notwithstanding that there is euery day a very strong bzize, and Easterly winde. I deferred the search of the countrey on Guiana-side, till my returne downe the riuer.

The ple of Manoripano.

The next day we sailed by a great pland in the middle of the riuer called Manoripano, and as wee walked a while on the pland, while the Galley got a head of vs, there came for vs from the maine a small Canoa with seuen or eight Guianians, to inuite vs to ancker at their port, but I deferred till my returne; It was that Casique to whom those Nepoios went, which came with vs from the towne of Toparumaca: and so the fift day we reached as high vp as the prouince of Aromaia the countrey of Morequito whom Berreo executed, and ankered to the West of an pland called Murrecotima, tenne miles long and fife broad: and that night the Casique Aramiary, (to whose towne we made our long and hungry voyage out of the riuer of Amana) passed by vs.

The prouince of Aromaia.
The ple of Murrecotima.

The next day wee arrived at the port of Morequito, and ankered there, sending away one of our Pilots to seeke the king of Aromaia, vncle to Morequito slaine by Berreo as aforesaid. The next day following before noone hee came to vs on foote from his house, which was foureteenne English miles (himselfe being a hundreth and tenne yeeres olde) and returned on foote the same day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bzing vs downe victuall, which they did in great plentie, as venison, porke, hennes, chickens, foule, fish, with diuers sorts of excellent fruites and rootes, and great abundance of Pinas, the princes of fruites, that grow vnder the Sunne, especially those of Guiana. They brought vs also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of Paraquitos, no bigger then wrennes, and of all other sorts both small and great: one of them gaue mee a beast called by the Spaniards Armadilla, which they call Cassacam, which seemeth to be all barred ouer with smal plates somewhat like to a Rinoceros, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as bigge a great hunting horne, which they vse to winde in stead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth that a little of the powder of that horne put into the eare, cureth deafenesse.

After this olde King had rested a while in a little tent, that I caused to be set vp, I beganne by my interpreter to discourse with him of the death of Morequito his predecessor, and after ward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any farther I made him knowe the cause of my comming thither, whose seruant I was, and that the Queenes pleasure was, I should undertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliuer them from the tyrannie of the Spaniards, dilating at large, (as I had done before to those of Trinidad) her Maiesties greatnesse, her iustice, her charitie to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and vertues, as either I could expresse, or they conceiue: all which being with great admiration attentiuely heard, and marueilously admired, I beganne to sound the olde man as touching Guiana, and the state thereof, what sort of common wealth it was, how gouerned, of what strength and policie, howe farre it extended, and what nations were friendes or enemies adioynning, and finally of the distance and way to enter the same: hee tolde mee that himselfe and his people with all those downe the Riuer towards the Sea, as farre as Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themselves Orenoqueponi, and that all the nations betweene the riuer and those mountaines in sight called Wacarima, were of the same cast and appellation: and that on the other side of those mountaines of Wacarima there was a large plaine (which after I discovered in my returne) called the halley of Amariocapana, in all that halley the people were also of the ancient Guianians.

The halley of Amariocapana.

I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the farther side of those mountaines, beyond the halley of Amariocapana: hee answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the losse of his Countrey and libertie, especially for that his eldest sonne was slaine in a battell on that side of the mountaines, whom hee most entirely loved) that hee remembred in his fathers life time when hee was very olde, and himselfe a yong man, that there came downe into that large halley of Guiana, a nation from so farre off as the Sunne slept, (for such were his owne wordes) with so great a multitude as they coulde not bee numbred nor resisted, and that they wore large coates, and hattes of crimson colour, which colour hee expresse, by shewing a piece of red wood, wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called Orejones, and Epuremei, those that had slaine and rooted out so many of the ancient people, as there were leaues in the wood vpon all the trees, and had nowe made themselves Lords of all, euen to that mountaine foote called Curaa, sauing onely of two nations, the one called Awarawaqueri, and the other Cassipagotos, and that in the last battell fought betweene the Epuremei, and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldest sonne was chosen to carry to the aide of the Iwarawaqueri, a great troupe of the Orenoqueponi, and was there slaine with all his people and friendes, and that hee had now remaining but one sonne: and farther tolde mee that those Epuremei had built a great Towne called

Orejones are the gentlemen of Peru. Lop de Gomar. Hist. Gen. cap. 119.

The towne of Macareguari.

Macu-

Macureguarai at the said mountaine foote, at the beginning of the great plaines of Guiana, which haue no ende: and that their houses haue many roomes, one ouer the other, and that there in the great King of the Orejones and Epuremei kept three thousande men to defend the borders against them, and withall dayly to inuade and slay them: but that of late yeeres since the Christians offered to inuade his territories, and those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, sauing onely the Iwarawaqueri, and those other nations vpon the head of the riuer of Caroli, called Cassipagotos, which we after wards discovered, each one holding the Spaniards for a common enemye.

After hee had answered thus farre, he desired leaue to depart, saying that hee had farre to goe, that hee was olde, and weake, and was euery day called for by death, which was also his owne phrase: I desired him to rest with vs that night, but I could not increate him, but hee tolde mee that at my returne from the countrey aboue, hee would againe come to vs, and in the meane time prouide for vs the best he could, of all that his countrey yeelded: the same night hee returned to Orotona his owne towne, so as hee went that day eight and twentie miles, the weather being very hot, the countrey being situate betweene foure and fise degrees of the Equinoctial.

Orotona lies
betweene 4. and
5. degrees of
Northern lati-
tude.

This Topiawari is helde for the proudest, and wisest of all the Orenoqueponi, and so hee behaued himselfe towards mee in all his answers at my returne, as I marvelled to finde a man of that grauitie and iudgement, and of so good discourse, that had no helpe of learning nor breed.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed Westward vnto the Riuer, to view the famous Riuer called Caroli, as well because it was marvellous of it selfe, as also for that I vnderstoode it ledde to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, that were enemies to the Epuremei, which are subiects to Inga, Emperour of Guiana, and Manoa, and that night we anchored at another yland called Caiama, of some fise or six miles in length, and the next day arrived at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it as lowe or further downe as the port of Morequito wee heard the great roze and fall of the Riuer, but when wee came to enter with our barge and whitties thinking to haue gone vp some fourtie miles to the nations of the Cassipagotos, wee were not able with a barge of eight oares to row one stone cast in an houre, and yet the Riuer is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and wee tried both sides, and the middle, and euery part of the Riuer, so as we incamped vpon the bankes adioyning, and sent off our Orenoquepone (which came with vs from Morequito) to giue knowledge to the nations vpon the Riuer of our being there, and that wee desired to see the Lordes of Canuria, which dwelt within the prouince vpon that Riuer, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this Riuer side that Morequito slew the Frier, and those nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the Citie of Inga, and tooke from them fourtie thousande pezos of golde) so as the next day there came downe a Lord or Casique called Wanuretona with many people with him, and brought all store of provisions to entertaine vs, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my coming knowne to Topiawari, so did I acquaint this Casique therewith, and howe I was sent by her Maestie for the purpose aforesaide, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of Guiana, and I founde that those also of Caroli were not onely enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, which abound in golde, and by this Wanuretona, I had knowledge that on the head of this Riuer were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this Riuer descended, & were called Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos, and that all those either against the Spaniards, or the Epuremei would ioyne with vs, and that if wee entered the land ouer the mountaines of Curaa, we should satisfie our selues with gold and aliother good things: he told vs farther of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before spoken off, that held dayly warre with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai the first ciuill towne of Guiana, of the subiects of Inga the Emperour.

The ple of Cai-
ama.

They arrive
at the mouth
of the riuer
Caroli.

Wanuretona.

Cassipagotos, E-
paragotos, and
Arawagotos
three mighty
nations seated
on a lake at the
head of the ri-
uer Caroli.

Upon this riuer one Captaine George, that I tooke with Berreo tolde mee there was a great fluer of fine, and that it was neere the bankes of the saide riuer. But by this time as well Orenoque, Caroli, as all the rest of the riuers were risen foure or fise foote in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoever to rowe into the Riuer against the streame. I therefore sent Captaine Thyn, Captaine Greeneuile, my nephew Iohn Gylbert, my tosen Burshead Gorges, Captaine Clarke, and some thirtie shotte moze to coast the Riuer by land, and to goe to a towne some twentie miles ouer the valley called Amnatapoi, and they found guides there, to goe farther towards the mountaine foote to another great towne called Capurepana, belonging to a Casique called Haharacoa (that was a nephew to olde Topiawari King of Arromaia our chiefe friend) because this towne and prouince of Capurepana adioyned to Macureguarai,

A great fluer
of fine.

Amnatapoi a
towne.

The strange
ouerfalls of
Caroli.

A most beau-
tiful countrey.

Abundance
of minerall
Sparre.

Calsipa a great
lake.

The river of
Arui.

The rivers of
Atoica and Ca-
ora.

Ewaipanoma a
strange head-
lesse nation.

cure guarai, which was a frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my selfe with Cap-
taine Gifford, Captaine Calfield, Edward Hancocke, and some halfe a dosen shotte marched ouer
land to viewe the strange ouerfalls of the riuer of Caroli which rozed so farre off, and also to see the
plaines adioyning, and the rest of the prouince of Canuri: I sent also Captaine Whiddon, Willi-
am Connecke, and some eight shotte with them, to see if they coulde finde any Minerall stone a-
longst the riuer side. When we were come to the tops of the first hilles of the plaines adioyning
to the riuer, we behelde that wonderfull breach of waters, which ranne downe Caroli: and might
from that mountaine see the riuer howe it ranne in three parts, aboue twentie miles off, and there
appeared some tenne or twelue ouerfalls in sight, euery one as high ouer the other as a Church-
tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of water made it seeme, as if it had bene all cou-
red ouer with a great shower of raine: and in some places we tooke it at the first for a smoke that
had risen ouer some great towne. For mine owne part I was well perswaded from thence to
haue returned, being a very ill footeman, but the rest were all so desirous to goe neere the saide
strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till wee came into the next val-
ley where we might better discern the same. I neuer saw a more beautifull countrey, nor more
liuely prospectes, hills so raised here and there ouer the valleys, the riuer winding into diuers bran-
ches, the plaines adioyning without bush or stubble, all faire greene grasse, the ground of hard sand
easie to march on, either for horse or foote, the deere crossing in euery path, the birdes towards the
euening singing on euery tree with a thousand senerall tunes, cranes and herons of white, crim-
son, and carnation pearching in the riuers side, the aire fresh with a gentle Easterly winde, and
euery stone that we stouped to take up, promised either golde or siluer by his complexion. Your
Lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot bee bettered vnder the Sunne,
and yet we had no meanes but with our daggers and fingers to teare them out here and there, the
rockes being most hard of that minerall Sparre aforesaide, which is like a flint, and is altogether
as hard or harder, and besides the veins lye a fathome or two deepe in the rockes. But we wanted
all things requisite saue onely our desires and good will to haue performed more if it had pleased
God. To be short, when both our companies returned, each of them brought also senerall sorts
of stones that appeared very faire, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for
the most part but coloured, and had not any golde fired in them, yet such as had no iudgement or
experience kept al that glittered, and would not be perswaded but it was rich because of the lustre,
and brought of those, and of Marquesite with all, from Trinidad, and haue deliuered of those
stones to be tried in many places, and haue thereby bzied an opinion that all the rest is of the same:
yet some of these stones I shewed after ward to a Spaniard of the Caracas, who tolde mee that it
was El Madre del oro, that is the mother of gold, and that the Mine was farther in the ground.

But it shall be found a weake policie in me, either to betray my selfe, or my countrey with ima-
ginations, neither am I so farre in loue with that lodging, watching, care, perill, diseases, ill sa-
uours, bad fare, and many other mischiefes that accompany these voyages, as to woo my selfe a-
gain into any of them, were I not assured that the Sunne couereth not so much riches in any
part of the earth. Captaine Whiddon, and our Chirurgion Nicholas Millechap brought mee a
kinde of stones like Saphires, what they may proue I know not, I shewed them to some of the O-
renoqueponi, and they promised to bring mee to a mountaine, that had of them very large pieces
growing Diamond wise: whether it be Christall of the mountaine, Bristol-Diamond, or Saphire
I doe not yet know, but I hope the best, sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence
all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height or very neere.

On the left hand of this riuer Caroli are seated those nations which are called Iwarawakeri
before remembred, which are enemies to the Epuremei: and on the head of it adioyning to the great
lake Calsipa, are situate those other nations which also resist Inga, and the Epuremei, called Casse-
pagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I farther vnderstood that this lake of Calsipa is so
large, as it is aboute one dayes tourney for one of their Canoas to crosse, which may bee some four-
tie miles, and that therein fall diuers riuers, and that great store of graines of gold are found in
the Summer time when the lake falleth by the banckes, in those branches.

There is also another goodly riuer beyond Caroli which is called Arui, which also runneth
thorow the lake Calsipa, and falleth into Orenoque farther West, making all that land betwene
Caroli and Arui an yland, which is likewise a most beautifull countrey. Next vnto Arui there
are two riuers Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora, are a nation of
people, whose heads appeare not aboue their shoulders; which though it may be thought a meere
fable, yet for mine owne part I am resolued it is true, because euery childe in the prouinces of
Arromaia and Canuri affirme the same: they are called Ewaipanoma: they are reported to
haue

haue their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breasts, and that a long craine of haire groweth backward betweene their shoulders. The sonne of Topiawari, which I brought with me into England told me that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and vse bowes, arrowes, and clubbes thrice as big as any of Guiana, or of the Orenoqueponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeri tooke a prisoner of them the yeere before our arrivall there, and brought him into the borders of Aromaia his fathers countrey. And farther when I seemed to doubt of it, hee told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the provinces, and had of late yeeres slaine many hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbours, but it was not my chance to heare of them till I was come away, and if I had but spoken one worde of it while I was there, I might haue brought one of them with mee to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Mandevile, whose reports were holden for fables many yeeres, and yet since the East Indies were discovered, we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there bee any profit in the imagination; for mine owne part I saw them not, but I am resolved that so many people did not all combine, or forgethinke to make the report.

When I came to Cumana in the West Indies afterwards by chance I spake with a Spaniard dwelling not farre from thence, a man of great travell, and after hee knew that I had bene in Guiana, and so farre directly West as Caroli, the first question hee asked me was, whether I had seene any of the Ewaipanoma, which are those without heads: who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all things else, tolde mee that hee had seene many of them: I may not name him, because it may be for his disadvantage, but hee is well knownen to Monsieur Mucherons sonne of London, and to Peter Mucheron merchant of the Flemish shippe that was there in trade, who also heard what he avowed to be true of those people.

The fourth river to the West of Caroli is Casnero which falleth into Orenoque on this side of Amapaia, and that river is greater then Danubius, or any of Europe: it riseth on the South of Guiana from the mountaines which divide Guiana from Amazonas, and I thinke it to bee navigable many hundred miles: but wee had no time, meanes, nor season of the yeere, to search those rivers for the causes aforesayd, the Winter being come upon vs, although the Winter and Summer as touching colde and heate differ not, neither doe the trees ever sensibly lose their leaves, but haue alwayes fruit either ripe or greene, and most of them both blossome, leaves, ripe fruit, and greene at one time: but their Winter onely consisteth of terrible raines, and overflowing of the rivers, with many great stormes and gulses, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned.

On the North side, the first river that falleth into Orenoque is Cari, beyond it on the same side is the river of Limo, betweene these two is a great nation of Canibals, and their chiefe towne beareth the name of the river, and is called Acamacari: at this towne is a continuall market of women for three or foure hatchets a piece, they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them sold into the West Indies. To the West of Limo is the river Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari and Capuri which falleth out of the great river of Meta, by which Berreo descended from Nuevo reyno de Granada. To the Westward of Capuri is the province of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had so many of his people popponed with the tawny water of the marshes of the Anebas. About Amapaia toward Nuevo reyno fall in Meta, Pato, and Casanar. To the West of those towards the provinces of the Ashaguas and Catetios are the rivers of Beta, Dawney, and Vbarro, and toward the frontier of Peru are the provinces of Thomebamba, and Caxamalca. Adioyning to Quito in the North side of Peru are the rivers of Guiacar and Goauar: and on the other side of the sayd mountaynes the river of Papamene which descendeth into Maranon or Amazonas passing thorough the province Mutylones where Don Pedro de Osua who was slaine by the traytour Agiri before rehearsed, built his brigandines, when he sought Guiana by the way of Amazonas.

Betweene Dawney and Beta lyeth a famous Island in Orenoque now called Baraquan (for above Meta it is not knownen by the name of Orenoque) which is called Achule, beyond which, ships of burden cannot passe by reason of a most forcible overfall, and current of waters: but in the eddy al smaller vessels may be drawn euen to Peru it selfe: But to speake of more of these rivers without the description were but tedious, and therefore I will leaue the rest to the description. This river of Orenoque is navigable for ships little lesse then 1000 miles, and for lesser vessels neere 2000. By it (as aforesayd) Peru, Nuevo reyno, and Popaian, may be invaded: it also leadeth to the great empire of Inga, & to the provinces of Amapaia, and Anebas which abound

The river of
Caluco.

The Winter of
Guiana.

Meta, Pato,
Casanar.

Papamene.

The Isle of
Baraquan.

Orenoque a
mighty river
by which Peru,
Nuevo reyno, &
Popaian may
be invaded.

Canuri.

They retorne

The last conference of Sir Walter Raleigh with Topiawari, whose sonne he brought into England.

Counsell to be followed in other conquests

Macureguarai first towne of Guiana, and of rich and apparelled people.

in gold: his branches of Cosnero, Manta, Caora descended from the middle land & valley, which lieth betweene the easter prouince of Peru and Guiana; and it falles into the sea betweene Marannon and Trinidad in two degrees and a halfe: all which your Honours shall better perceiue in the general description of Guiana, Peru, Nueuoreyno, the kingdome of Popayan, and Roidas, with the prouince of Venecuela, to the bay of Vraba, behind Carragena Westward: and to Amazonas Southward. While we lay at ankor on the coast of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations vpon the head and branches of this riuer, and had found out so many several people, which were enemies to the Epuremei, and the new conquerours: I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of Orenoque began dayly to threaten vs with dangers in our returne: for no halfe day passed, but the riuer began to rage and ouerflowe very fearefully, and the raines came downe in terrible showers, and gusses in great abundance: and withall, our men began to crie out for want of shifte, for no man had place to bestowe any other apparell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was thoroughly washt on his body for the most part tenne times in one day: and we had now bene wel neere a moneth, euery day passing to the Westward farther and farther from our shippes. Wee therefore turned towards the East, and spent the rest of the time in discovering the riuer towards the sea, which we had not viewed, and which was most materiall.

The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arriued againe at the port of Morequito where we were before: for passing downe the streame we went without labour, and against the winde, little lesse then a hundred miles a day. Assoone as I came to ankor, I sent away one for oloe Topiawari, with whom I much desired to haue further conference, and also to deale with him for some one of his countrey, to bring with vs into England, as well to learne the language, as to conferre withall by the way, the time being now spent of any longer stay there. Within three houres after my messenger came to him, he arriued also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and euery one laden with somewhat, as if it had beene a great market or faire in England: and our hungry companies clustered thicke and threefold among their baskets, euery one laying hand on what he liked. After he had rested a while in my tent, I shut out all but our selues, and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his countrey and nations: that the one had conquered Guiana already, and the other sought to regaine the same from them both: and therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the passage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the ciuill townes and apparelled people of Inga. Wee gaue mee an answer to this effect: first that hee could not perceiue that I meant to goe onward towards the citie of Manoa, for neither the time of the yeere serued, neither could hee perceiue any sufficient numbers for such an enterprize: and if I did, I was sure with all my company to bee buried there, for the Emperour was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too fewe: besides hee gaue mee this good counsell and aduised mee to holde it in minde (as for himselfe hee knewe, hee could not liue till my returne) that I should not offer by any meanes hereafter to invade the strong parts of Guiana without the helpe of all those nations which were also their enemies: for that it was impossible without those, either to bee conducted, to be victualled, or to haue ought caried with vs, our people not being able to indure the march in so great heate, and trauell, vnlesse the borderers gaue them helpe, to carie with them both their meate and furniture: For hee remembered that in the plaines of Macureguarai three hundred Spaniards were ouerthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes: but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were environed on all sides, and the people setting the long drie grasse on fire, smothered them, so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discerne their enemies for the great smoke. He told me farther that 4 daies iourney from his towne was Macureguarai, and that those were the next and merest of the subiects of Inga, and of the Epuremei, and the first towne of apparelled and rich people, and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers and caried to other nations farre and neere, came from the sayd Macureguarai and were there made, but that those of the land within were farre finer, and were fashioned after the images of men, beastes, birds, and fishes. I asked him whether hee thought that those companies that I had there with me, were sufficient to take that towne or no: He told me that he thought they were. I then asked him, whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to ioyne with vs: He answered that he would go himselfe with al the borderers, if the riuers did remaine sozdable, vpon this condition that I would leaue with him til my return againe fifty souldiers, which hee undertooke to victuall: I answered that I had not aboue fiftie good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers, & that I had no prouision to leaue with them

them of powder, shot, apparell, or ought else, and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should bee in danger of the Spaniards in my absence, who I knewe would vse the same measure towards mine, that I offered them at Trinidad: And although vpon the motion Captaine Calfeild, Captaine Grenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert and diuers others were desirous to stay, yet I was resolu'd that they must needs haue perished, for Berico expected daylie a supply out of Spaine, and looked also hourely for his sonne to come downe from Nueuo reyno de Granada, with many horse and foote, and had also in Valencia in the Caracas, two hundred horse ready to march, and I could not haue spared aboue fortie, and had not any store at all of powder, leade, or match to haue left with them, nor any other provision, either spade, pickeaxe, or ought else to haue fortified withall.

When I had giuen him reason that I could not at this time leaue him such a companie, he then desired mee to forbear him and his countrey for that time, for he assured mee that I should bee no sooner thre dayes from the coast, but those Epuremei would inuade him, and destroy all the remaine of his people and friendes, if hee should any way either guide vs or assist vs against them.

He further alleaged, that the Spaniards sought his death, and as they had already murdered his nephew Morequito lord of that prouince, so they had him seuentene dayes in a chaine before hee was king of the countrey, and ledde him like a dog from place to place, vntill hee had payde an hundred plates of golde, and diuers chaines of Syleen-stones for his ranome: and now since he became owner of that prouince, that they had many times layd waite to take him, and that they would bee now more vehement, when they should vnderstand of his conference with the English, and because, sayd hee, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay handes on mee, they haue gotten a nephew of mine called Eparacano, whom they haue Christened Don Iuan, and his sonne Don Pedro, whom they haue also apparell'd and armed, by whom they seeke to make a partie against me in mine owne countrey: hee also had taken to wife one Louiana of a strong familie, which are borderers and neighbours, and my selfe now being olde and in the handes of death am not able to trauell nor to thiste, as when I was of yonger yeeres: hee therefore prayed vs to deferre it till the next yeere, when he would vndertake to draw in all the borderers to serue vs, and then also it would bee more seasonable to trauell, for at this time of the yeere, wee should not bee able to passe any riuer, the waters were and would bee so growen ere our returne.

He farther told me, that I could not desire so much to inuade Macureguari, and the rest of Guiana, but that the borderers would be more vehement then I, for hee peeled for a chiefe cause that in the warres with the Epuremei, they were spoyled of their women, and that their wiues and daughters were taken from them, so as for their owne parts they desired nothing of the golde or treasure, for their labours, but onely to recouer women from the Epuremei: for hee farther complayned very sadly (as it had bene a matter of great consequence) that whereas they were wont to haue tenne or twelue wiues, they were now inforced to content themselves with three or foure, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or a hundred: And in truth they war more for women then either for gold or dominion: For the lords of countreys desire many children of their owne bodie, to increase their races and kinreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Diuers of his followers afterwards desired mee to make haste againe, that they might sacke the Epuremei, and I asked them of what? They answered, of their women for vs, and their gold for you: for the hope of those many of women they more desire the war, then either for gold, or for the recovery of their ancient territories. For what betwene the subiects of Inga, and the Spaniards, those frontiers are growen thinne of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the Spaniards.

After I receiued this answer of the old man, we fell into consideration, whether it had bene of better aduice to haue entred Macureguari, and to haue begun a warre vpon Inga at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yeere, and all things else had sorted. For mine owne part (as we were not able to march it for the riuers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the coming of the Winter, or to tarry any longer from our ships) I thought it were euill for vsell to haue attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answer many obiections: but it would haue bin in mine opinion an vtter overthrow to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Maiesty accepted: for then (whereas now they haue heard we were enemies to the Spaniards & were sent by her Maiesty to relieue them) they would as good cheape haue ioyned with the Spaniards at our returne, as to haue peeled vnto vs, whē they had proued that we came both for one errant, and that both sought but to sacke & spoile them, but as yet our desire of gold,

of our purpose of inuasion is not knowen to them of the empire : and it is likely that if her Maestie vndertake the enterprize, they will rather submit themselves to her obedience then to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselves and the borderers haue already tasted : and therefore till I had knowen her Maesties pleasure, I would rather haue lost the sacke of one or two townes (although they might haue bene very profitable) then to haue defaced or indangered the future hope of so many millions, & the great good, & rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby. I am assured now that they will all die euen to the last man against the Spaniards in hope of our succour and returne : whereas otherwise if I had either layd handes on the borderers, or ransomed the lords, as Berreo did, or inuaded the subjects of Inga, I know all had bene lost for hereafter.

After that I had resolved Topiawari lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leaue with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbear the enterprize against the Epuremei till the next yeare, he freely gaue me his onely sonne to take with me into England, and hoped, that though hee himselfe had but a short time to liue, yet that by our meanes his sonne should be established after his death : and I left with him one Francis Sparrow, a seruant of captain Gifford, (who was desirous to carie, and could describe a countrey with his pen) and a boy of mine called Hugh Goodwin, to learne the language. I after asked the maner how the Epuremei wrought those plates of golde, and howe they could melt it out of the stone; hee tolde mee that the most of the golde which they made in plates and images, was not leuered from the stone, but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other riuers they gathered it in graines of perfect gold and in peeces as bigge as small stones, and that they put it to a part of copper, otherwise they could not worke it, and that they vled a great earthen pot with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metall ran, & then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and images. I haue sent your Honours of two sortes such as I could by chance recouer, more to shewe the maner of them, then for the value : For I did not in any sort make my desire of gold knowen, because I had neither time, nor power to haue a greater quantity. I gaue among them manie more peeces of gold, then I receiued, of the new money of 20 shillings with her Maesties picture to weare, with promise that they would become her seruants thenceforth.

I haue also sent your Honours of the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yeeldeth any, of which I know there is sufficient; if nothing else were to be hoped for. But besides that we were not able to carrie and search the hills, so we had neither pioneers, barres, sledges, nor wedges of yron to breake the ground, without which there is no working in mines : but wee saw all the hills with stones of the colour of gold and silver, and we tried them to be no Marquesite, and therefore such as the Spaniards call Ekinadre del oro, or, The mother of gold, which is an vndoubted assurance of the generall abundance; and my selfe saw the outside of many mines of the Sparre, which I know to be the same that all couer in this world, and of those, more then I will speake of.

Hauiing learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and receiued a faithfull promise of the principallest of those prouinces to become seruants to her Maestie, and to resist the Spaniards, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwarawaqueri, I then parted from olde Topiawari, and receiued his sonne for a pledge betweene vs, and left with him two of ours as aforesayd. To Francis Sparrowe I gaue instructions to trauell to Marcureguarai, with such merchandizes as I left with them, thereby to learne the place, and if it were possible, to goe on to the great citie of Manoa : which being done, we weped ankoy, and coasted the riuer on Guiana side, because wee came vpon the North side, by the launes of the Saima and Wikiri.

There came with vs from Aromaia a Cassique called Putijma, that commanded the prouince of Warapana, (which Putijma slewe the nine Spaniards vpon Caroli before spoken of) who desired vs to rest in the Port of his countrey, promising to bring vs vnto a mountaine adioyning to his towne that had stones of the colour of golde, which hee performed. And after wee had rested there one night, I went my selfe in the morning with most of the Gentlemen of my company, ouer land towards the said mountaine, marching by a riuers side called Manoa, leauing on the right hand a towne called Tuteritona, standing in the prouince of Taracoa, of the which Wariaaremagoto is principall. Beyond it lieth another towne towards the South, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name of the sayd valley, whose plaines stretch themselves some sixtie miles in length, East and West, as faire ground, and as beautiful

fields

fields, as any man hath euer seene, with diuers coppies scattered here and there by the riuers side, and all as full of deere as any forrest or parke in England, and in euerie lake and riuier the like abundance of fish and foule, of which Iraparragora is lord.

From the riuier of Mana, we crost another riuier in the said beautiful valley called Oiana, & re- Oiana.
sted our selues by a cleere lake, which lay in the middle of the said Oiana, and one of our guides kindling vs fire with two stickes, wee stayed a while to drie our shirts, which with the heate hong very wette and heauie on our sholders. Afterwards wee sought the foyd to passe ouer towards the mountaine called Iconuri, where Putijma foze told vs of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call Manati, being most excellent and hol- Great fishes
called Manati
most excellent
meate.
some meate. But after I perceiued, that to passe the said riuier would require halfe a dayes march moze, I was not able my selfe to indure it, and therefore I sent Capraine Keymis with fire shot to goe on, and gaue him order not to returne to the port of Putijma, which is called Chiparepare, but to take leisure, and to march downe the sayd valley, as farre as a riuier called Cumaca, where I promised to meete him againe, Putijma himselfe promising also to bee his guide: and as they marched, they left the towne of Emparepana, and Capurepana, on the right hand, and marched from Putijmas house, downe the sayd valley of Amariocapana, and wee returning the same day to the riuers side, saw by the way many rockes, like unto gold ore, and on the left hand, a round mountaine which consisted of minerall stone.

From hence we rowed downe the streame, coasting the prouince of Parino: As for the branches of riuers which I ouerpasse in this discourse, those shall be better expressed in the description with the mountaines of Aio, Ara, and the rest, which are situate in the prouinces of Parino and Carricurina. When we were come as farre down as the land called Ariacoa, (where Orenoque deuidenth it selfe into thre great branches, each of them being most goodly riuers) I sent away captaine Henric Thin, and captaine Greeneuile with the galley, the neerest way, and tooke with mee captaine Gifford, captaine Calfield, Edward Porter, and captaine Eynos with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that branch of Orenoque, which is called Cararoopana, which leadeth towards Emeria the prouince of Carapana, and towards the East sea, as well to finde out captaine Keymis, whome I had sent ouer land, as also acquaint my selfe with Carapana, who is one of the greatest of all the lords of the Orenoqueponi: and when I came to the riuier of Cumaca (to which Putijma promised to conduct captaine Keymis) I left captaine Eynos and master Porter in the sayd riuier to expect his comming, & the rest of vs rowed downe the streame towards Emeria.

In this branch called Cararoopana were also many goodly Islands, some of sixe miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty. When it grew towards sunne-set, we entred a branch of a riuier that fell into Orenoque called Winicapora: where I was enformed of the mountaine of Chzi- Winicapora.
fall, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the euill season of the peere, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer upon the iourney: wee saw it as farre off and it appeared like a white Church-tower of an exceeding height. There falleth ouer it a mighty riuier which cou- A mighty ca-
taract or ouer-
fall of water.
theth no part of the side of the mountaine, but russeth ouer the toppes of it, and falleth to the ground with so terrible a noyse and clamor, as if a thousand great bels were knockt one against another. I thinke there is not in the world so strange an ouer-fall, nor so wonderfull to behold: Berreo told mee that there were Diamonds and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very farre off: but what it hath I know not, neither durst he or any of his men ascend to the top of the sayd mountaine, those people adioynning being his enemies (as they were) and the way so it so impassable.

Upon this riuier of Winicapora wee rested a while, and from thence marched into the coun- Wacarina.
tre to a town called after the name of the riuier, whereof the captaine was one Timitwara, who also offered to conduct mee to the top of the sayd mountaine called Wacarina: But when wee came in first to the house of the sayd Timitwara, being upon one of their sayd feast dayes, we found them all as drunke as beggers, and the pots walking from one to another without rest: we that were weary, and hote with marching, were glad of the plenty though a small quantitie satisfied vs, their drinke being very strong and headie, and so rested our selues a while; after wee had fedde, we drew our selues backe to our boats, upon the riuier and there came to vs all the lordes of the countrey, with all such kinde of victuall as the place yeelded, and with their delicate wine of Pinas, and with abundance of hens, and other prouisions, and of those stones which wee call Splene stones.

Wee vnderstood by the chieftaines of Winicapora, that their lord Carapana was departed from Emeria which was now in sight, & that he was fled to Cairamo, adioynning to the mountaines

of Guiana, ouer the balley called Amariocapana, being perswaded by those tenne Spaniards which lay at his house, that we would destroy him, and his countrey.

But after these Cassiques of Winicapora & Saporatona his followers perceiued our purpose, and saw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards onely, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no though we found them to be of the Spaniards owne seruants, they assured vs that Carapana would be as ready to serue vs, as any of the lords of the prouinces, which we had passed; and that he durst doe no other till this day but entertaine the Spaniards, his countrey lying so directly in their way, and next of all other to any entrance that should be made in Guiana on that side.

And they farther assured vs, that it was not for feare of our comming that he was remooued, but to be acquitted of the Spaniards or any other that should come hereafter. For the prouince of Cairoma is situate at the mountaine foote, which deuideth the plaines of Guiana from the countreys of the Orenoqueponi: by meanes whereof if any should come in our absence into his townes, hee would slip ouer the mountaines into the plaines of Guiana among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durst not follow him without great force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I assure my selfe, that Carapana (being a notable wise and subtil fellow, a man of one hundred yeeres of age, and therefore of great experience) is remooued, to looke on, and if he finde that we returne strong he will be ours, if not, hee will excuse his departure to the Spaniards, and say it was for feare of our comming.

Wee therefore thought it bootlesse to rowe so farre downe the streame, or to seeke any farther of this olde for: and therefore from the riuer of Waricapana (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria) we returned againe, and left to the Eastward those foure riuers which fall from the mountaines of Emeria into Orenoque, which are Waracayari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma: below those foure are also these branches and mouches of Orenoque, which fall into the East sea, whereof the first is Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fift Moroo-ca, the sixt Paroma, the last Wijmi: beyond them there fall out of the land betweene Orenoque and Amazones 14 riuers which I forbear to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and Canibals.

It is now time to returne towards the North, and wee found it a wearisome way backe from the borders of Emeria, to recouer by againe to the head of the riuer Carerupana, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entred first.

All the night it was stormie and darke, and full of thunder and great showers, so as wee were driuen to keepe close by the bankes in our small boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible current of the riuer. By the next morning we recouered the mouth of the riuer of Cumaca, where we left captaine Eynus and Edward Porter to attend the comming of captaine Keymis ouer land: but when wee eured the same, they had heard no newes of his arriual, which bred in vs a great doubt what might become of him: I rowed up a league or two farther into the riuer, shooting off pieces all the way, that hee might know of our being there. And the next morning wee heard them answere vs also with a piece: wee tooke them aboard vs, and tooke our leaue of Putima their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offered to send his sonne with vs into England, if we could haue stayed till he had sent backe to his towne: but our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increase of Orenoque, and therefore departed, and turned toward the West, till we had recouered the parting of the thre branches aforesayd, that we might put downe the streame after the galley.

The next day we landed on the Island of Assapano (which deuideth the riuer from that branch by which we sent downe to Emeria) and there feasted our selues with that beast which is called Armadilla presented vnto vs before at Winicapora, and the day following we recouered the galley at anko at the port of Toparimaca, & the same euening departed with very foule weather and terrible thunder, and showers, for the Winter was come on very farre: the best way, we went no lesse then 100 miles a day, downe the riuer: but by the way we entred, it was impossible to returne, for that the riuer of Amana, being in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, cannot be sayled backe by any meanes, both the brize and current of the sea were so forcible: and therefore we followed a branch of Orenoque called Capuri, which entred into the sea Eastward of our ships, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede, for we had by that way as much to crosse of the maine sea after we came to the riuers mouth, as between Grauelyn and Douer, in such boats as your Hon. hath heard.

To speake of what past homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the riuers, Islands, or villages of the Tiuiuias which dwell on trees: we will leaue all those to the generall

mappe:

The port of
Toparimaca.

mappe: and to be short, when we were arrived at the sea side, then grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our journey forepassed, for I protest before God, that we were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we anchored in the mouth of the river of Capuri, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mightie storme, and the rivers mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ranne before night close under the land with our small boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but she had as much a doe to live as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her: for mine owne part I confesse, I was very doubtfull which way to take, either to goe over in the pestered Galley, there being but fire foote water over the sandes, for two leagues together, and that also in the channell, and she drew five: or to adventure in so great a billow, and in so doubtfull weather, to crosse the seas in my barge. The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I tooke Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfeild, and my cosen Greeneuile into my barge; and after it cleared up, about midnight we put our selves to Gods keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leauing the Galley at anker, who durst not adventure but by day-light: And so being all very sober, and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to shewe courage, it pleased God that the next day about nine of the clocke, wee descried the Ilande of Trinidad, and steering for the neerest part of it, wee kept the shore till wee came to Curipan, where wee founde our shippes at ankor, then which there was neuer to vs a more ioyfull sight.

Now that it hath pleased God to sende vs safe to our shippes, it is time to leaue Guiana to the Sunne, whom they worships, and steare away towards the North: I will therefore in a fewe wordes finish the discovery thereof. Of the severall nations which we found upon this discovery I will once againe make repetition, and howe they are affected. At our first entrance into Amana, which is one of the outlets of Orenoque, we left on the right hand of vs in the bottom of the bay, lying directly against Trinidad, a nation of inhumaine Canibals, which inhabit the rivers of Guanipa and Berbeese; in the same bay there is also a third river which is called Areo, which riseth on Paria side towards Cumaná, and that river is inhabited with the Wikiri, whose chiefe towne upon the sayd river is Sayma; In this bay there are no more rivers, but these three before rehearsed, and the foure branches of Amana, all which in the Winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken up fresh, two or three leagues from the land. In the passages towards Guiana (that is, in all those landes which the eight branches of Orenoque fashion into Ilands) there are but one sort of people called Tiniuas, but of two castes as they tearme them, the one called Ciawani, the other Waraweei, and those warre one with another.

On the hithermost part of Orenoque, as at Toparimaca, and Winicapora, those are of a nation called Nepoios, and are of the followers of Carapana, Lord of Emeria, Betweene Winicapora and the port of Morequito which standeth in Aromaia, and all those in the valley of Amariocapana are called Orenoqueponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Upon the river of Caroli, are the Canuri, which are governed by a woman (who is inheritor of that Province) who came farre off to see our Nation, and asked me diuerse questions of her Maiestie, being much delighted with the discourse of her Maiesties greatnesse, and wondering at such reports as we truly made of her Highnesse many vertues. And upon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Cassipa, are the three strong Nations of the Cassipagotos. Right South into the land are the Capurepani, and Emparepani, and beyond those adioyning to Macureguarai (the first citie of Inga) are the Iwarawakeri: all these are professed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei also. To the West of Caroli are diuerse nations of Canibals, and of those Ewaipanoma without heads. Directly West are the Amapaias and Anebas, which are also marvellous rich in gold. The rest towards Peru we will omit. On the North of Orenoque, betweene it and the West Indies are the Wikiri, Saymi, and the rest before spoken of, all mortall enemies to the Spaniards. On the South side of the maine mouth of Orenoque, are the Arwacas; and beyond them the Canibals and to the South of them the Amazonas.

To make mention of the severall beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, flowers, gummes, sweet woods, and of their severall religions and customes, would for the first require as many volumes as those of Gesnerus, and for the rest another bundle of Decades. The religion of the Epuremei is the same which the Ingas, Emperours of Peru used, which may be read in Cieça, and other Spanish stories, how they beleue the immortalitie of the soule, worship the Sunne, and burie with them aliae their best beloved wiues and treasure, as they likewise doe in Pegu in the East Indies, and other places. The Orenoqueponi bury not their wiues with them, but their iewels, hoping to

A rehearsal & description of all the nations and rivers found in this discovery.

Pedro de Cieça.

injoy

intoy them againe. The Arwacas by the bones of their Lords, and their wiues and friends drinke them in powder. In the graues of the Peruians the Spaniards found their greatest abundance of treasure: the like also is to be found among these people in euery Prouince. They haue all many wiues, and the Lords fine sould to the common sort: their wiues neuer eate with their husbands, nor among the men, but serue their husbands at meales, and afterwarde feede by themselves. Those that are past their younger yeeres, make all their bread and drinke, and worke their corten beds, and doe all else of seruice and labour, for the men doe nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drinke, when they are out of the warres.

I will enter no further into discouise of their manners, lawes and customes: and because I haue not my selfe seene the cities of Inga, I cannot auow on my credit what I haue heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour Inga hath built and erected as magnificent pallaces in Guiana, as his ancestors did in Peru, which were for their riches and rarenesse most maruellous and exceeding all in Europe, and I thinke of the world, China excepted, which also the Spaniards (which I had) assured me to be true, as also the Nations of the borderers, who being but Salvages to those of the in-land, doe cause much treasure to be buried with them: for I was enformed of one of the Cassiques of the valley of Amariocapana which had buried with him a little before our arriual, a chaire of golde most curiously wrought, which was made either in Macureguaray adioyning, or in Manoa: but if we should haue grieued them in their religion at the first, before they had bene taught better, and haue digged by their graues, we had lost them all: and therefore I helpe my first resolution, that her Maestie should either accept or refuse the enterprise, ere any thing should be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if Peru had so many heapes of golde, whereof those Ingas were Princes, and that they delighted so much therein; no doubt but this which now liueth and reigneth in Manoa, hath the same honour, and I am assured hath more abundance of golde, within his territorie, then all Peru and the West Indies.

Great riches.

Exceeding commendation of the river of Orenoque.

For the rest, which my selfe haue seene, I will promise these things that follow, which I know to be true. Those that are desirous to discouer and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth forth so many armes and branches leading to severall countries, and prouinces, about 2000 miles East and West, and 800 miles South and North, and of these, the most eyther rich in golde, or in other marchandizes. The common souldier shall here fight for golde, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other warres for prouant and penury. Those commanders and chieftaines that shoot at honour and abundance, shall finde there more rich and beautifull cities, more temples adorne with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, then either Cortez found in Mexico, or Pizarro in Peru: and the shining glorie of this conquest will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation. There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for those common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, or the rest, then Guiana doth. It hath so many plaines, cleere riuers, abundance of Pheasants, Partridges, Quailles, Railes, Cranes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deere of all sorts, Horses, Hares, Lions, Tygers, Leopards, and diuers other sortes of beastes, either for chase, or food. It hath a kind of beast called Cama, or Anta, as bigge as an English beefe, and in great plentie.

To speake of the severall sorts of euery kind, I feare would be troublesome to the Reader, and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleasure, and riches I am resolu'd it cannot bee equalled by any region either in the East or West. Moreover the countrey is so healthfull, as of an hundred persons & more (which lay without shift most sluttishly, and were euery day almost melted with heate in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet againe with great showers, and did eate of all sortes of corrupt fruits, and made meales offresh fish without seasoning, of Tortugas, of Lagartos or Crocodiles, and of all sortes good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open aire euery night) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found any Calentura, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so neere the Equinoctiall line.

The holtsomenesse of the countrey.

Gold.

Brasil wood, Excellent dyes.

Cotton, Silke, Balsamum, gummes, and Pepper.

Where there is store of gold, it is in effect needlesse to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the South part of the river, great quantities of Brasil-wood, and diuerse berries that die a most perfect crimson and carnation: And for painting, all France, Italy, or the East Indies yeelde none such: For the more the skin is washed, the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which, euen those browne and tawnye women spot themselves, and colour their cheekes. All places yeeld abundance of cotton, of silke, of balsamum, and of those kindes most excellent, and neuer known in Europe, of all sortes of gummes, of Indian pepper: and what else the countries may affoord within the land we knowe not, neither had we time to abide the triall; and

search.

search. The soile besides is so excellent and so full of rivers, as it will carrie sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities, which the West Indies haue.

The nauigation is short, for it may be sayled with an ordinarie winde in six weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee shore, enemies coast, rockes, nor sandes, all which in the voyages to the West Indies, and all other places we are subiect vnto, as the channell of Bahama, comming from the West Indies, cannot well be passed in the Winter, & when it is at the best, it is a perillous and a fearefull place. The rest of the Indies for calmes, and diseases very troublesome, and the sea about the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and stormes.

The short, easie, and commodious nauigation to Guiana.

This very yeere there were seuentene sayle of Spanish ships lost in the channell of Bahama, and the great Philip like to haue sunke at the Bermudas was put backe to Saint Iuan de Puerto rico. And so it falleth out in that Nauigation euery yeere for the most part, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of yeere to leaue England is best in Iuly, and the Summer in Guiana is in October, Nouember, December, Ianuarie, Februarie, and March, and then the ships may depart thence in Aprill, and so returne againe into England in Iune, so as they shall neuer be subiect to Winter-weather, either comming, going, or staying there: which for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and encouragements that can be thought on, hauing (as I haue done) tasted in this voyage by the West Indies so many calmes, so much heat, such outrageous gulses, foule weather, and contrarie winde.

1595.

To conclude, Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead, neuer sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not bene tozned, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graues haue not bene opened for golde, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples. It hath neuer bene entered by any armie of strength, and neuer conquered or possessed by any christian Prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two forts be builded in one of the Prouinces which I haue seene, the flood setteth in so neere the banke, where the channell also lyeth, that no ship can passe by but within a Pikes length of the artillerie, first of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two Forts will be a sufficient garde both to the Empire of Inga, and to an hundred other seuerall kingdomes, lying within the said riuer, euen to the citie of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference betwene the easinesse of the conquest of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East Indies: Guiana hath but one entrance by the sea (if it hath that) for any vessels of burden: so as whosoever shall first possesse it, it shall be found vnaccessible for any enemy, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or Canoas, or else in flat bottomed boates, and if he doe offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thicke two hundred miles together vpon the rivers of such entrance, as a mouse cannot sit in a boat vnbit from the banke. By lande it is more impossible to appoach, for it hath the strongest situation of any region vnder the sunne, and is so enuironed with impassable mountaines on euery side, as it is impossible to victuall any company in the passage: which hath bene well proued by the Spanish nation, who since the conquest of Peru haue neuer left five yeeres free from attempting this Empire, or discovering some way into it, and yet of three and twentie seuerall Gentlemen, Knights, and Noblemen, there was neuer any that knewe which way to leade an army by land, or to conduct shippes by sea, any thing neere the said countrey. Orellana, of whom the riuer of Amazonas taketh name, was the first, and Don Antonio de Berreo (whom we displanted) the last: and I doubt much, whether he himselfe or any of his yet knowe the best way into the sayde Empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength be formerly set downe, but in one or two places; and but two or three crumsters or gallies built, and furnished vpon the riuer within: The West Indies haue many portes, watering places, and landings, and nearer then three hundred miles to Guiana, no man can harbour a shippe, except he knowe one onely place, which is not learned in halfe, and which I will undertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it.

Besides by keeping one good Fort, or building one towne of strength, the whole Empire is guarded, and whatsoeuer companies shall be afterwarde planted within the land, although in twentie seuerall Prouinces, those shall be able all to reuiewe themselves vpon any occasion eyther by the way of one riuer, or be able to march by land without either wood, bogge, or mountaine: whereas in the West Indies there are fewe townes or Prouinces that can succour or relieue one the other, eyther by land or sea: By land the countreies are either desert, mountaynous, or strong enemies: by sea, if any man inuade to the Eastward, those to the West cannot in many moneths turne against the byze and Eastern wind, besides the Spaniards are therein so dispersed, as they are no where strong, but in Nueva Espanna onely: the Sharpe mountaines, the thornes,

thornes, and poysoned prickles, the sandie and deepe wayes in the valleys, the smothering heate and aire, and want of water in other places are their onely and best defence, which (because those nations that invade them are not victualled or provided to stay, neither have any place to friend adoyning) doe serve them in steede of good armes and great multitudes.

The West Indies were first offered her Maiesties grandfather by Columbus a stranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceit, and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands & regions neuer written of before. This Empire is made known to her Maiestie by her owne vassall, and by him that oweth to her moze duetie then an ordinary subject, so that it shall fill soot with the many graces and benefices which I haue receiued to abuse her Highnesse, either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is already discovered, many nations wonne to her Maiesties loue and obedience, and those Spaniards which haue latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which among these nations were thought inuincible. Her Maiestie may in this enterprize employ all those souldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captaines and chieftaines that want employment, and the charge will be onely the first setting out in victualling and arming them: for after the first or second yeere I doubt not but to see in London a Contractation house of moze receipt for Guiana, then there is now in Siuill for the West Indies.

And I am resolu'd that if there were but a small army a foote in Guiana, marching towards Manoa the chiefe citie of Inga, he would yeeld to her Maiestie by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yeerely, as should both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he would besides pay a garrison of three or foure thousand souldiers very royally to defend him against other nations: For he cannot but knowe, how his predecessors, yea how his owne great vnckles Guascar and Atabalipa sonnes to Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, were (while they contended for the Empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late yerres and euer since the said conquest, the Spaniards haue sought the passages and entrep of his countrey: and of their cruelties vsed to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladnesse, if not, he hath neither shot nor yron weapon in all his Empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I farther remember that Berreo confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Maiestie of God to be true) that there was found among prophesies in Peru (at such time as the Empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chieftest temples, amongst diuers others which foretold the losse of the said Empire, that from Inglaciera those Ingas should be againe in time to come restored, and deliuered from the seruitude of the said Conquerours. And I hope, as we with these few hands haue displanted the first garrison, and driuen them out of the said countrey, so her Maiestie will giue order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Emppesse of the same. For whatsoever Prince shall possesse it, shall be greatest, and if the king of Spaine enioy it, he will become vnrresistable. Her Maiestie hereby shall confirme and strengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the South border of Guiana reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the Amazonas, those women shall hereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbours, but also to invade and conquer so great Empires and so farre remoued.

To speake more at this time, I feare would be but troublesome: I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is King of all Kings and Lord of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Ladie of Ladies to possesse it, if not, I will iudge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leaue will undertake it of themselves.

**An abstract taken out of certaine Spaniards letters concerning
Guiana and the countries lying vpon the great river Orenoque: with cer-
taine reports also touching the same.**

An advertisement to the Reader.



Those letters out of which the abstracts following are taken, were surpris'd at sea as they were passing for Spaine in the yeere 1594. by Captaine George Popham: who the next yeere, and the same that Sir Walter Ralegh discovered Guiana, as he was in a voyage for the West Indies, learned also the reports annexed. All which, at his returne, being two moneths after Sir Walter, as also so long

long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discouerie: he made knowne and deliuered to some of her Maiesties most honourable priuie Councell & others. The which seeing they confirme in some part the substance, I meane, the riches of that countrey: it hath bene thought fit that they should be thereunto adioyned. Wherein the Reader is to be aduertised, that although the Spaniards seeme to glorie much of their formall possession taken before *Morequito* the Lord of *Aromaya*, and others thereabouts, which throughly vnderstood them not at that time, whatsoeuer the Spaniards otherwise pretend: yet, according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by *Cayworaco*, the sonne of *Topiamay* now chiefe Lord of the said *Aromaya*, who was brought into England by Sir Walter Ralegh, and was present at the same possession and discouerie of the Spaniards mentioned in these letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their countrey, the Indians then hauing farther consideration of the matter, and more then coniecture of their intent, hauing knowen and heard of their former cruelties vpon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere: At their next comming, there being ten of them sent and imployed for a farther discouery, they were provided to receiue and entertaine them in an other maner of sort then they had done before; that is to say, they slew them and buried them in the countrey so much sought. They gaue them by that meanes a full and complete possession, the which before they had but begunne. And so they are minded to doe, to as many Spaniards as come after. Other possession they haue had none since. Neither doe the Indians meane, as they protest, to giue them any other. One other thing to be remembred is that in these letters the Spaniards seeme to call *Gniana* and other countries neere it, bordering vpon the riuer of *Orenoque*, by the name of *Nueno Dorado*, because of the great plentie of golde there in most places to be found. Alluding also to the name of *El Dorado* which was giuen by *Martinez* to the great citie of *Manoa*, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to aduertise. As for some other matters, I leaue them to the consideration and iudgement of the indifferent Reader.

W. R.

Letters taken at sea by Captaine George Popham. 1594

Alonso his letter from the *Gran Canaria* to his brother being commander of *S. Lucar*, concerning *El Dorado*.

There haue bene certaine letters receiued here of late, of a land newly discovered called *Nueno Dorado*, from the sonnes of certaine inhabitants of this citie, who were in the discouery: they wryte of wonderfull riches to be found in the said *Dorado*, and that golde there is in great abundance: the course to fall wityh it is fiftie leagues to the windward of *Margarita*.

Alonso's letter from thence to certaine Marchantes of *Sant Lucar* concerning *El Dorado*.

Sirs, we haue no newes worth the wryting, sauing of a discouery lately made by the Spaniards in a new land called *Nueno Dorado*, which is two dayes sayling to the windward of *Margarita*: there is golde in such abundance, as the like hath not bene heard of. We haue it for certaine in letters wrytten from thence by some that were in the discouerie, vnto their parents here in this citie. I purpose (God willing) to bestow tenne or twelue dayes in search of the said *Dorado*, as I passe in my voyage towards *Carthagena*, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I haue sent you therewith part of the information of the said discouerie, that was sent to his Maiestie.

Part of the Copie that was sent to his Maiestie, of the discouery of *Nueno Dorado*.

In the riuer of *Pato* otherwise called *Orenoque*, in the principall part thereof called *Warismero*, the 23 of April 1593 *Domingo de vera* master of the campe, and Generall for *Antonio de Berreo* Gouvernour and Captaine generall for our lord the king, betwixt the riuers of *Pato* and *Papamene* alias *Orenoque*, and *Marannon*, and of the Island of *Trinidad*, in presence of me *Rodrigo de Carançá* Register for the sea, commanded all the souldiers to be gathered together and

and put in order of battraile, the Captaines and souldiers, and Master of the campe standing in the midst of them, said vnto them: Sirs, Souldiers, and Captaines, you vnderstand long since that our General Antonio de Berreo, with the trauell of eleuen yeeres, and expence of more then an hundred thousand pezos of golde, discovered the royall Prouinces of Guiana and Dorado: of the which he tooke possession to gouerne the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessarie munition, he issued out at the Island Magarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad. But now they haue sent me to learne out and discover the wayes most easily to enter, and to people the said Prouinces, and where the campes and armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof I intend so to doe in the name of his Maiestie, and the saide gouernour Antonio de Berreo, and in token thereof I require you Francis Carillo, that you aide mee to aduance this crosse that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end towarde the East, and the said Master of the campe, the captaines and souldiers kneeled downe, and did due reuerence vnto the saide crosse, and thereupon the master of the campe tooke a bowle of water and dranke it off, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he also drew out his sword and cut the grasse off the ground, and the boughes off the trees saying, I take this possession in the name of the king Don Philip our master, and of his Gouernour Antonio de Berreo: and because some make question of this possession, to them I answer, that in these our actions was present the Cassique or principall Don Antonio, otherwise called Morequito, whose land this was, who yelded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gaue his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the said Gouernour Antonio de Berreo. And the said master of the campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the Captaines and souldiers said, that the possession was well taken, and that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whosoever would say the contrary. And the said master of the campe hauing his sword drawn in his hand saide vnto me: Register, that art here present, giue me an instrument or testimoniall to confirme me in this possession, which I haue taken of this land, for the Gouernour Antonio de Berreo, and if it be needefull I will take it a newe. And I require you all that are present to witnesse the same, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the possession of all these landes wheresoeuer I shall enter. Signed thus,

Domingo de vera, and vnderneath, Before me Rodrigo de Carança, Register of the armie.

AND in prosecution of the said possession, and the discoverie of the way and Prouinces, the 27 of April of the said yeere, the master of the campe entred by little and little with all the campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the in-land, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him vnderstand by meanes of Antonio Bisante the Interpreter, that his Maiestie and Antonio de Berreo had sent him to take the said possession. And the said frier Francis Carillo by the Interpreter, deliuered him certain things of our holy Catholique faith, to all which he answered, that they vnderstood him well and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should aduance the crosse, in what part or place of the towne it pleased them, for he was for the Gouernour Antonio de Berreo, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of the campe tooke a great crosse, and set it on end towarde the East, and requested the whole campe to witnesse it, and Domingo de vera firmed it thus,

It is well and firmly done. And vnderneath, Before me Rodrigo Carança, Register of the armie.

THE first of May they prosecuted the said possession and discoverie to the towne on Carapana. From thence the said Master of the campe passed to the towne of Toroco whose principall is called Topiawary being five leagues farther within the land then the first Nation, and well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the Interpreter they gaue to vnderstand that his Maiestie and the said Corrigidor commanded them to take the possession of that lande, and that they should yelde their obedience to his Maiestie, and to his Corrigidor, and to the master of the campe in his name, and that in token thereof he would place a crosse in the middle of his towne. Whereunto the said Cassique answered they should aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the said Gouernour Antonio de Berreo whose bassall he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a Prouince aboue five leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and met vs in peaceable maner: and he is called Reuato, he brought vs to a very large house where he entertained vs well, and gaue vs much

vs much Golde, and the interpreter asking him from whence that golde was, he answered, ffrom a Province not passing a dayes iourney off, where there are so many Indians as would shade we the sunne, and so much Golde as all yonder plaine will not containe it. In which Countrey (when they enter into the Borracheras or their drunken feasts) they take of the said Golde in dust and anoynt themselves all ouer therewith to make the bzauer shew; and to the end the Golde may couer them, they anoynt their bodies with stamped herbes of a glewy substance: & they haue warre with those Indians. They promised vs that if we would goe vnto them, they would ayde vs; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill vs. And being asked how they gat y same Golde, they tolde vs they went to a certaine Downe or playne, and pulled or digged vp the grasse by the roote: which done, they tooke of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they caried to wash at the riuer, and that which came in powder they kept for their Borracheras or drunken feasts: and that which was in peeces they brought into Eagles.

The eight of May wee went from thence, and marched about fife leagues: at the foote of a Hill wee found a principall called Arataco with three thousand Indians, men and women all in peace and with much victuall, as Pennes and Venison in great abundance, and many sortes of wine. Wee intreated vs to goe to his house, and to rest that night in his Towne, being of fife hundred houses. The interpreter asked whence hee had those Pennes: he sayde they were brought from a mountaine not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, pea so many as grasse on the ground, and that these men had the points of their shoulders higher then the Crownes of their heads, and had so many Pennes as was wonderfull; and if wee would haue any, wee should send them Jewes harpes, for they would giue for euery one two Pennes. Wee tooke an Indian, and gaue him fife hundred Harpes; the Pennes were so many that hee brought vs, as were not to be numbred. Wee sayde wee would goe thither; they tolde vs they were now in their Borracheras or drunken feasts, and would kill vs. Wee asked the Indian that brought the Pennes, if it were true; hee sayde it was most true. Wee asked him how they made their Borracheras or drunken feasts; hee sayde, they had many Eagles of golde hanging on their breasts, and Pearles in their eares, and that they daunced being all couered with Golde. The Indian sayde vnto vs, if wee would see them, wee should giue him some Watchers, and he would bring vs of those Eagles. The Master of the Campe gaue him one Watchet (hee would giue him no more because they should not vnderstand we went to seeke golde) he brought vs an Eagle that weighed 27. pounds of good Golde. The Master of the Campe tooke it, and shewed it to the souldiers, and then threw it from him, making shewe not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and sayd vnto him, Giue mee a Pickeaxe, and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders meane to doe. The Interpreter tolde the Master of the Campe, who commanded one to be giuen him: hee then tolde vs, those Indians were comming to kill vs for our marchandize. Whereupon the Master of the Campe caused his company to bee set in order, and beganne to march. The eleuenth day of May wee went about seuen leagues from thence to a Province, where wee found a great company of Indians apparelled: they tolde vs that if wee came to fight, they would fill vp those plaines with Indians to fight with vs; but if wee came in peace, wee should enter and bee well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians: and there they tolde vs of all the riches that was. I doe not heere set it downe, because there is no place for it, but it shall appeare by the information that goeth to his Maiestie: for if it should heere bee set downe, foure leaues of paper would not containe it.

Indians with
high shoul-
ders.

The Letter of George Burien Britton from the sayde Canaries vnto his cousin a French man dwelling in S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

Sir, and my very good cousin, there came of late certaine Letters from a new discovered countrey not farre from Trinidad, which they write, hath Golde in great abundance: the newes seemeth to bee very certaine, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this Citie. Part of the information of the Discovery that went to his Maiestie, goeth inclosed in Alonsos letters; it is a thing worth the seeing.

The report of Domingo Martinez of Iamaica concerning El Dorado.

He sayth that in 1593, being at Carchagena, there was a generall report of a late discovery called Nueuo Dorado, and that a litle before his comming thither, there came a Frigate from

Kkk

from the said Dorado, bringing in it the portrature of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47. kintals, which the Indians there held for their Idoll. But now admitting of Christianitie and obedience to the King of Spaine, they sent their sayd Idoll vnto him in token they were become Christians, and held him for their King. The company comming in the said frigate, reported Golde to be there in most abundance, Diamonds of inestimable value, with great store of pearle.

The report of a French man called Bountillier of Sherbrouke, concerning *Trinidad* and *Dorado*.

1591.

Paracoa.

HE saith that beeing at *Trinidad* in 1591. he had of an Indian there a peece of Golde of a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife; the sayde Indian tolde him hee had it at the head of that riuer which commeth to *Paracoa* in *Trinidad*: and that within the Riuer of *Orenoque*, it was in great abundance. Also in 1593. beeing taken by the Spaniards, and brought prisoner into the Island of *Madera* (the place for his prison) there came in this meane time a Barke of fortye Tunnes from a new Discouery, with two millions of Golde; the company whereof reported Golde in that place to be in great abundance, and called it *El Nuevo Dorado*. This Frenchman passed from Spaine in the Barke, and hauing a cabbenecere a gentleman, one of the Discouerers that came from that place in the sayde Barke, had diuers times conference with him, and amongst other things, of the great abundance of Golde in the sayd *Dorado*, being as they sayd within the riuer of *Orenoque*.

Reportes of certaine Marchants of *Rio de Hacha*, concerning *El Nuevo Dorado*.

They sayd (aduancing the kings great treasure in the Indies) that *Nuevo Reyno* peesed beery many Golde mines, and wonderfull rich; but lately was discouered a certaine Province so rich in Golde, as the report thereof may seeme incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called *El Nuevo Dorado*: Antonio de Berreo made the said discouerie.

The report of a Spaniard, Captaine with *Berreo* in the discouerie of *El Nuevo Dorado*.

That the information sent to the King was in euery poynt truely sayde, that the riuer *Orenoque* hath seuen mouths, or outlets into the sea, called *Las Siete bocas de dragon*, that the sayd riuer runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that *Anth. de Berreo* lay at *Trinidad*, making head to goe to conquire and people the sayd *Dorado*.

A Relation of the second Voyage to *Guiana*, performed and written in the yeere 1596. by Laurence Keymis Gent.

TO THE APPROVED, RIGHT VALOROUS, AND worthy Knight, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Lord warden of the Stanneries, Captaine of her Maiesties Guard, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of *Cornewall*.



HAue here briefly set downe the effect of this your second Discouerie without any enlargement of made wordes: for in this argument, single speech best becometh a simple truth. Where the affinitie of the matter with your person, leadeth mee to write of your selfe, vnto your selfe, that small libertie which I haue therein vsed, shall, I doubt not, without offence or sinister construction, be giuen to the cause in hand: which, whether it suffer not detriment, by attributing lesse then of right belongeth; the iudgement bee theirs, that vprightly and indifferently shall weigh the consequents of their euill purpose, who in seeking to detract from the Author of these Discoueries, doe so much as in the lieth, wound, deface, & tread vnder foot the thing it selfe. But this is no nouelty, nor proper only to these our dayes. For long since it hath bin said, *Landes eo vsque sunt tolerabiles, donec ea dicuntur, qua auditores se quoque facere posse existimant: si maiora prosperantur, inuidens, non credunt*. The feruent zeale & loyalty of your minde in labour with this birth of so honorable expectation, as it hath deserued a recompence farre different, so needeth it not my poore suffrage to endear the toyle, care and danger that you

Pericles.

you haue willingly vndergone for the good and aduancement of our weale publique. The praise-worthinesse thereof doeth approue it selfe, and is better read in your liuing doings, then in my dead vnregarded papers. All that I can wish, is that my life were a sufficient pledge, to iustifie, how much more easie, and more materiall, the course for *Guiana* would bee then others, which requiring greater charge, yeelde not so large benefit, and are subiect to more doubtfull euent. If vnto their wisdomes who sit in place and authority, it shall appeare otherwise, and that in following of other attempts there is lesse difficultie, certainer profit, and needfuller offence vnto the enemy: the cost and trauaile which you haue bestowed, shall not, I hope, be altogether lost, if vnto your Honour I can proue how, and where the amends is to be had, maugre the force and preuention of all Spaniards.

Your Lordships to be commanded in all service,

LAVRENCE KEYMIS.

To the Fauourers of the Voyage for Guiana.

IN things earnestly desired, though neuer so likely, we are still suspicious: thinking it more credite to our common wisdom, to discredite most noble and profitable inducements with distrust, then touch to our valours and safeties, to lie wilfully idle. So that howsoeuer an action well and iudicially attempted, bee esteemed halfe performed; yet is this my ielous conceite concerning *Guiana*, that nothing is begun, before all be ended. In this regarde (gentle Reader) I haue presumed to burthen thine eares with the weake plea of a good cause, and in stead of opening it thoroughly to thy prudent consideration, to note only mine owne vn-satisfied affection: hoping that because I doe name *Guiana* vnto thee, thou wilt vouchsafe *hoc nomine*, to vaile and couer all other my defects in the desert of a good meaning. In publishing this Treatise, my labor principally tendeth to this end; to remoue all fig-leaues from our vn-beliefe, that either it may haue cause to shake off the colourable pretences of ignorances: or if we will not be perswaded; that our selfe-will may rest inexcusable. They that shall apply, and construe this my doing, to serue the Spaniard his turne so wel as our owne; in so much as it may seeme to instruct, warne, and arme him: for their satisfaction herein, they must not be ignorant, that his eyes, in seeing our shipping there, doe as effectually informe him, that many of our hearts are toward that place, as if it should be credibly aduertised by some corrupt hireling, that we thinke, write, and discourse of nothing els. Neither can I imagine, that to conceale our knowledge herein (which to conceale may perhaps proue, & be hereafter taken for worse the paricide) would be of better purpose, then to hobdwinke our selues, as who would say, No man shall see vs. Besides, if the action were wholly to bee effected at her Maiesties charge; then might it at her Highnesse pleasure be shadowed with some other drift, and neuer be discovered, vntill it were acted. But since it craueth the approbation and purses of many Aduenturers, who cannot be so prodigall both of their possessions and liues, as voluntarily to run themselues out of breath, in pursuing they know not what: great reason it is, that where assistance is to be asked, due causes be yeilded to perswade & induce them vnto it. The Spaniard is not so simple, vnsetled, & vncertaine in his determinations, as to build them on our breath, or to make our papers his Bulwarks; nor so slow as to expect a precedent of our forwardnes. His proceedings are sufficiently strengthened with the trauailes, reports, & substantiall proofes of his own men, that haue about 60. yeres beaten round about this bush. And to say a trueth, the expedition that he hath vsed in sending so many ships in February last to people this country, & disappoint vs; as it doth consequently shew, that he findeth his chiefest force and sinewes to consist in golde: so doeth he thereby plainly to our faces exprobrate our remisnesse & long deliberations, that in 12. moneths space haue done, or sought to doe nothing worthy the ancient fame & reputation of our English nation, interested in so weighty businesse. * His late prouision of a new supply of whole families to the number of 600. persons, bound for *Guiana*, but that it pleased God, that by meanes of that right honourable service most resolutely performed in the sea-fight, and sack of *Cadiz*, the ships wherein they should haue bin conueyed, were conuerted into ashes: what might it signifie? Certes, as it doth evidently proue, that *El Dorado* hath vndoubted credit & account in their iudgements: so pointeth it at vs, whilst we only to entertaine idle time, sit listening for *Guiana* newes, & instantly forget it, as if it were nought els, but a pleasing dreame of a golde fancy.

In June 1596

If we with our selues shall expostulate, how this commeth to passe, that the aduantage wholly resting on our side, in respect that *Berre* was this last yere beaten out, the countrey thoroughly discovered, & the Inhabitants made desirous of her sacred Maiesties happy gouernment; they notwithstanding by entring before vs, haue now gotten y^e start of vs: what may we thinke? Shall wee iudge that their native countrey is lesse deare, or more wearisome vnto them, then ours is vnto vs? Their *Peruleri*, who going bare & empty out of *Spaine*, do againe within 3. or 4. yeres returne from *Pern*, rich and in good estate, doe apparantly disproue all such conceits of them. Shall wee say that they haue more spare men to be employed in such actions? It is no secret to know the contrary. Are they subiect to penury? In all parts of Christendom, where money is not scant, all other things are plentiful. Or is their land not able to sustain their numbers of people? They buy many slaues to follow their husbandry, & themselves disdainig base idleness & beggery, do all honour military profession, highly esteeming it in their mercenaries and strangers. Is it then want of ability, in those that are willing, lacke of encouragement, or default of speedy order and direction for those that doe voluntarily offer themselves, their substance, & best indeuour to further this cause; that maketh vs to be thus coated of the Spaniard? The first is no question. The later needeth no answer. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is, not to loose opportunitie by delay, or to seeme feareful and dismayed, where there is no cause of doubt. For as yet their post-haste doeth no way preiudice our aduised leisure in setting forward, since their preparations of *Negros* to worke in the mynes, their horses, cattell, and other necessities may (by the fauour of God) at our first comming, both store vs wth quantities of gold oare, and ease vs of much trouble, paines, and trauaile. If we should suppose our selues now to liue in the dayes of King *Henry* the seuenth of famous memory, and the strange report of a *West Indies*, or new world abounding with great treasure should entice vs to beleue it: perhaps it might be imputed for some blame to the grauity of wise men, lightly to be carried with the perswasion and hope of a new found *Utopia*, by such a one as *Columbus* was, being an alien, and many wayes subiect to suspition. But since the penance of that incredulity lieth euen now heauy on our shoulders; the example forethreatning. I know not what repentance: and that we haue the personal triall of so honourable and sufficient a Reporter, our own Countirman: let it be farre from vs to condemne our selues in that, which so worthily we reprove in our predecessors; and to let our idle knowledge content it selfe with naked contemplation, like a barren wombe in a Monastery. We cannot denie that the chiefe commendation of vertue doth consist in action: we truly say, that *Orum* is *anima viva sepultura*: we beleue, that perfect wisdom in this mobility of all humaine affaires, refuseth not with any price to purchase safetie: and we iustly do acknowledge that the Castilians from barelegged mountainer haue attained to their greatnesse by labour & industrie. To sleepe then, because it costeth nothing; to imbrace the present time, because it flattereth vs with deceitfull contentment; and to kisse security, saying, What euill happeneth vnto vs? is the plaine high way to a fearefull downfall: from which the Lord in his mercy deliuer vs, and giue vs an vnderstanding heart, in time to see, and to seeke that, which belongeth vnto our peace.

De Guiana carmen Epicum.



What worke of honour and eternall name,

For all the world t^enuie and vs t^earchieue,

Filles me with furie, and giues armed hands

To my hearts peace, that els would gladly turne

My limmes and euery sense into my thoughts

Rapt with the thirsted action of my mind?

O *Clio*, Honors Muse, sing in my voyce,

Tell the attempt, and prophetic th^e exploit

Of his *Eliza*-consecrated sworde,

That in this peacefull charme of *Englands* sleepe,

Opens most tenderly her aged throte,

Offring to powre fresh youth through all her vaines,

That flesh of brasse and ribs of Steele retaines.

Riches, and Conquest, and Renowne I sing,

Riches with honour, Conquest without blood,

Enough

Enough to seat the Monarchie of earth,
 Like to *Jones* Eagle on *Elizas* hand,
GUIANA, whose rich feete are mines of golde,
 Whose forehead knockes against the roofe of Starres,
 Stands on her tip-toes at faire *England* looking,
 Kissing her hand, bowing her mightie breast,
 And euery signe of all submission making,
 To be her sister, and the daughter both
 Of our most sacred Maide: whose barrenesse
 Is the true fruite of vertue, that may get,
 Beare and bring forth anew in all perfection,
 What heretofore sauage corruption held
 In barbarous *Chaos*; and in this affaire
 Become her father, mother, and her heire.

Then most admired Soueraigne, let your breath
 Goe forth vpon the waters, and create
 A golden world in this our yron age,
 And be the prosperous forewind to a Fleete,
 That seconding your last, may goe before it
 In all successe of profite and renoume:
 Doubt not but your election was diuine,
 (Aswell by *Fate* as your high iudgement ordred)
 To raise him with choise Bounties, that could adde
 Height to his height; and like a liberall vine,
 Not onely beare his vertuous fruite aloft,
 Free from the Presse of squint-eyd *Ennies* feete,
 But decke his gracious Proppe with golden bunches,
 And shroude it with broad leaues of *Rule* oregrowne
 From all blacke tempests of inuasion,

Those Conquests that like generall earthquakes shooke
 The solid world, and made it fall before them,
 Built all their braue attempts on weaker grounds,
 And lesse perswasive likelihoods then this;
 Nor was there euer princely Fount so long
 Pow'd forth a sea of *Rule* with so free course,
 And such ascending Maiestie as you:
 Then be not like a rough and violent wind,
 That in the morning rends the Forrests downe,
 Shoues vp the seas to heauen, makes earth to tremble,
 And toombes his wastfull brauery in the Euen:
 But as a riuer from a mountaine running,
 The further he extends, the greater growes,
 And by his thriftie race strengthens his streame,
 Euen to ioyne battell with th'imperious sea
 Disdayning his repulse, and in despight
 Of his proud furie, mixeth with his maine,
 Taking on him his titles and commandes:
 So let thy Soueraigne Empire be encrease,
 And with *Iberian Neptune* part the stake,
 Whose *Trident* he the triple world would make,

You then that would be wise in Wisdomes spight,
 Directing with discredite of direction,
 And hunt for honour, hunting him to death,
 With whom before you will inherite gold,

Kkk 3 You

You will loose golde, for which you loose your soules;
 You that chuse nought for right, but certaintie,
 And feare that valour will get onely blowes,
 Placing your faith in *Incredulitie*.
 Sit till you see a wonder, *Verine* rich:
 Till *Honour* hauing golde, rob golde of honour,
 Till as men hate desert that getteth nought,
 They loath all getting that deserues not ought;
 And vse you gold-made men as dregges of men;
 And till your poysoned soules, like Spiders lurking
 In sluttish chinckes, in mystes of Cobwebs hide
 Your foggie bodies, and your dunghill pride.

O *Incredulitie*, the wit of Foppes,
 That flouently will spit on all things faire,
 The *Cowards* castle, and the *Sluggards* cradle
 How easie 'tis to be an Infidel?

But you *Patrician* Spirites that refine
 Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame
 On braue indeuours, knowing that in them
 The tract of heauen in morne-like glory opens,
 That know you cannot be the Kings of earth,
 (Claiming the Rights of your creation)
 And let the Mynes of earth be Kings of you;
 That are so farre from doubting likely drifts,
 That in things hardest y'are most confident:
 You that know death liues, where power liues vnusde,
 Ioying to shine in waues that burie you,
 And so make way for life euen through your graues;
 That will not be content like horse to hold
 A thread-bare beaten way to home affaires:
 But where the sea in enuie of your reigne,
 Closeth her wombe, as fast as 'tis disclosde,
 That she like *Anarice* might swallow all,
 And let none find right passage through her rage:
 There your wise soules as swift as *Eurus* lead
 Your Bodies through, to profit and renowne,
 And skorne to let your bodies choke your soules,
 In the rude breath and prisoned life of beastes:
 You that herein renounce the course of earth,
 And lift your eyes for guidance to the starres,
 That liue not for your selues, but to possesse
 Your honour'd countrey of a generall store;
 In pitié of the spoyle rude selfe-loue makes,
 Of them whose liues and yours one ayre doth feede,
 One soile doeth nourish, and one strength combine;
 You that are blest with sence of all things noble,
 In this attempt your compleat woorthes redouble.

But how is *Nature* at her heart corrupted,
 (I meane euen in her most ennobled birth)
 How in excessse of Sence is Sence bereft her!
 That her most lightening-like effects of lust
 Wound through her flesh, her soule, her flesh vnwounded;
 And she must neede incitements to her good,
 Euen from that part she hurtes! O how most like
 Art thou (*héroike* Autor of this Act).

To

To this wrong'd soule of *Nature*, that sustaint
 Paine, charge, and perill for thy countreys good,
 And she much like a bodie numb'd with surfeits,
 Feeles not thy gentle applications
 For the health, vse, and honour of her powers!
 Yet shall my verse through all her ease-lockt eares
 Trumpet the Noblesse of thy high intents
 And if it cannot into act proceed,
 The fault and bitter penance of the fault
 Make red some others eyes with penitence,
 For thine are cleare; and what more nimble spirits,
 Apter to byte at such vnhooked baytes,
 Gaine by our losse; that must we needs confesse
 Thy princely valure would haue purchast vs.
 Which shall be fame eternall to thy name,
 Though thy contentment in thy graue desires,
 Of our aduancement, faile deseru'd effect.
 O how I feare thy glory which I loue,
 Least it should dearly grow by our decrease.
 Natures that sticke in golden-graueld springs,
 In mucke-pits cannot scape their swallowings.

But we shall soorth I know; Golde is our Fate,
 Which all our actes doth fashion and create.

Then in the *Thespiads* bright Propheticke Fount,
 Me thinkes I see our Liege rise from her throne,
 Her eares and thoughts in steepe amaze erected,
 At the most rare endeouour of her power.
 And now she blesteth with her woonted Graces
 Th'industrious Knight, the soule of this exploit,
 Dismissing him to conuoy of his starres,
 And now for loue and honour of his woorth,
 Our twise-borne Nobles bring him Bridegroome-like,
 That is espoused for vertue to his loue
 With feasts and musicke, rauishing the aire,
 To his *Argolian* Fleet, where round about
 His bating Colours English valure swarms
 In haste, as if *Guianian Orenoque*
 With his Fell waters fell vpon our shore.
 And now a wind as forward as their spirits,
 Sets their glad feet on smooth *Guianas* breast,

Where (as if ech man were an *Orpheus*)

A world of Sauages fall tame before them,
 Storing their theft-free treasures with golde,
 And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fields,
 There *Learning* eates no more his thristlesse bookes,
 Nor *Valure* Estridge-like his yron armes.
 There *Beantie* is no trumpet for her wants,
 Nor *Gallique* humours putrifie her blood:
 But all our Youth take *Hymens* lights in hand,
 And fill ech rooffe with honor'd progenie.
 There makes *Societie* Adamantine chaines,
 And ioyns their hearts with wealth, whom wealth disioin'd.
 There healthfull Recreations strow their meades,
 And make their mansions daunce with neighbourhood,
 That here were drown'd in churlish *Auarice*.
 And there do Pallaces and temples rise

Out

Out of the earth, and kisseth enamored skies,
Where new *Britannia* humbly kneeles to heauen,
The world to her, and, both at her blest feet,
In whom the Circles of all Empire meete.

G. C.

Ad Thomam Hariotum Matheseos, & vni-
uersæ Philosophiæ peritissimum, de *Guiana*
Carmen. Dat. Anno. 1595.

Montibus est Regio, quasi muris, obstita, multis:
Circumsepit aquis quos *Raleana* suis.

Intus habet largos *Guaiana* recessus:

hostili gestans libera colla iugo.

Hispanus clinis illis sudavit, & alit

septem annos, nonies: nec tamen inualuit.

Numen, & omen inest numeris. Fatale sit illi:

Et nobis virtus sit recidua, precor.

Gualtero, patefacta via est duce & auspice *Ralegh*

Mense uno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?

Nocte dieq; datis velis, remisque laborans,

Exegit summa dexteritatis opus.

Scilicet expensis magnis non ille pepercit,

Communi natus consuluisse bono.

Providus excubuit simili discrimine *Ioseph*:

Sic fratres, fratrem deseruere suum:

Fama coloratam designet si bona, vestem:

Vestis Scissa malis sic fuit illa modis.

Mirales. Aureque animumque tuum arrige, *Tellus*

Hec aurum, & gemmas graminis instar habet.

Veri ibi perpetuum est: ibi prodiga terra quotannis

Luxuriat, sola fertilitate nocens.

Anglia nostra licet dives sit, & undique felix:

Anglia, si confers, indigna frugis erit.

Expertes capitum, volucres, piscesque ferasq;

Prætereo: hand profunt, quæ nouitate, placent.

Est ibi, vel nusquam, quod quarimus. Ergo petamus:

Det Deus, hanc *Canaan* possideamus. Amen.

Tui Amantis. L. K.

The second voyage to *Guiana*.

They sail with
the Canary
Isles.

Cape Verde.



Onday the 26. of January, in the yeere of our Lord 1596. we departed from
Portland road, in the Darling of London, hauing in company the Discou-
rer, a small pinnesse, whom we lost at sea, in foule weather, the Thursday next
following. Friday the 13. of February, wee fell with the Canarie Islands,
where we expected our pinnesse, according to our appoyntment, seuen or eight
dayes. Here we tooke two boats, the one a passenger, we bulged, the other wee
towed at our shippe sterne, steering Southsouthwest for the Islands of Cape Verde. There-
hence we set saile the 28. of February, keeping a Westsouthwest course. In this passage wee
found very smooth seas, faire weather, and steddie winds, blowing ordinarily betweene the East
and Northeast pointes. Neere 30. leagues from these Islands, wee came into a growne sea, the
swollen waters making a strange noise & hurling together, as if it might be two strong currents
encountering ech other. The 12. of March wee sounded, and had sandie ground in 47. fathome. At
midnight in twelue fathom wee came to an anker, the ground sandie oaze. Sunday the 14. to-
wards night, about some five leagues from the shore, wee descried a low land in the bottome of a
Bay. From the 9. of March vntill this time, we kept for the most part a Southsouthwest course.
The water in this place is smooth, but muddie, and the colour red or tawny. From the West-
most

most of the Cape Verde-Islands vnto this Bay I doe estimate the distance to be neere 550. leagues. It seemed to most of our sea-men, to be the very banke of a shoale vpon a lee-shore: the rather because without it, in the cleane greene sea wee had but 7. fathome depth: but after by prooue finding that there is no sudden alteration in any part of the coast, and that the sea is smoothest neere the land, we alwayes at night sought to anker in three or foure fathome. And doubtlesse as the hand of God is woonderfull in all his workes: so herein his mercifull prouidence is most admirable, that vpon a lee-shore subiect vnto a perpetuall Easterly gale, neither much wind can endanger shipping, by reason that the foule heauie water is not capable of vehement motion, and the soft light oaze, if they touch, cannot bruise them: nor is there any teopardie in beeing wind-bound, or imbayed: for the most forcible windes make the greatest flood-tides, whereby the freshets when they take their ordinarie course of ebbe, doe grow strong and swift, setting directly off to sea against the wind. Wee by turning went cleere of all Bayes: howbeit in this case, as also in the riuers, the vse of a brone sayle seemeth a good and readie helpe. The first place wherein wee ankered, was in the mouth of Arrowari, a faire and great riuier. It standeth in one degree and fourtie minutes: for we fell so farre to the Southwardes by your lordships direction. The barre without hath at the least three fathome, at the shoalest place, when it is lowe ebbe. The depth within is eight and tenne fathome. The water alwayes brackish. We found not any inhabitants in this place neere the sea coast. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their towne, Captaines and commodities that their countreys doe yeelde, as also the soundings, tydes, and how the coast lyeth &c. thinking it fittest to reduce these disioyned and scattered remembrances to one place. As wee passed we alwayes kept the shore within viewe and stopped the floods, still ankering at night in three or foure fathome. When we came to the North headland of this Bay (which wee named Cape Cecyl) we sawe two high mountaines like two Islands, but they ioyned with the mayne. In this tract lying Northnorthwest neere 60. leagues, there fall into the sea these seuerall great riuers, Arrowari, Iwaripoco, Maipari, Coanawini, Caipurogh. Wee ankered in two fathome not farre from these hills, and filled all our caskes with fresh water by the shippe side, for in the sea thirtie miles from the mouth of any riuier it is fresh and good. This second Bay extendeth it selfe aboute thirtie leagues to the Westward, and containeth within it these riuers Arcooa, Wiapoco, Wanari, Caparwacka, Cawo, Caian, Wia, Macuria, Cawroor, Curassawini. Here leauing the ship at anker, I tooke into the boate Iohn Prouost, my Indian Interpreter, Iohn Linsey, and eight or nine others, intending to search some of these riuers, and to seeke speech with the Indians. In Wiapoco, at the foote of the Eastermost mountaine, where the riuier falleth into the sea, wee found twentie or thirtie houses, but not inhabited. Wee stayed there but one night. Wanari we ouerpassed, because the entrance is rockie and not deepe. In Caparwacka we sailed some fourtie miles, but could see no Indian. At one of their portes vnder the side of a hill, wee tooke in so much Brasill wood as our boate could carrie. Amongst other trees we cut downe one for an example, which I do verily beleue to be the same sort of sinamon, which is found in the streights of Magellan. From Caparwacka wee passed to Cawo, and there met with a Canoa, wherein were two Indians. It was long time befoze wee could procure them to come neere vs, for they doubted least wee were Spanish. When my interpreter had perswaded them the contrarie, and that wee came from England, they without farther speech or delay, brought vs to Wareo their Captaine, who entertained vs most friendly, and then at large declared vnto vs, that hee was lately chased by the Spaniards from Moruga, one of the neighbour riuers to Raleana, or Orenoque: and that hauing burnt his owne houses, and destroyed his fruites and gardens, hee had left his countrey and towne to bee possessed by the Arwaccas, who are a vagabound nation of Indians, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, doe for the most part serue and follow the Spaniards. Hee shewed me that he was of the nation of the Iaos, who are a mightie people, and of a late time were Lords of all the sea coast so farre as Trinidad, which they likewise possessed. Howbeit, that with a generall consent, when the Spaniards first began to borrow some of their wiues, they all agreed to change their habitation, and doe now liue vnted for the most part towards the riuier of Amazonas. But the especiall cause of his present remooue was, because two or three yeeres past, twentie Spaniards came to his towne, and sought to take his best wife from him: but befoze they carried her away, hee at time and place of aduantage killed halfe of them: the rest fledde, most of them sore hurt. Now in this case hee thought it best to dwell farre ynough from them. Your Indian pilot Ferdinando, who conducted you by Amana, and now abideth neere the head of Deslekebe, is one of this mans subiects: By whom (as it may seeme) hee hath taken good notice of our princeesse and countrey. For hee descended more particularly

A notable observation.

They anker in the mouth of Arrowari situate in one deg. 40. minutes.

20 sea of fresh water.

The Iaos a mightie nation.

Ferdinando the Indian pilot of Sir Walter Raleigh.

particularly to inquire what forces were come with vs, assuring me of the Spaniards beeing in Trinidad, and that the Indians our friends betwixt hope and feare, haue earnestly expected our returne from England these foure or five moneths. When I had answered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards alive to annoy them; that we now came only to discover, and trade with them; and that if her Maestie should haue sent a power of men, where no enemy was to resist, the Indians might perhaps imagine, that wee came rather to invade, then to defend them: He replied, that this course very wel sorted with the report which they had heard of our Princesses iustice, rare graces, and vertues: the fame of whose power in beeing able to vanquish the Spaniards, and singular goodnesse in vnder taking to succour and defend the afflicted Indians, was now so generall, that the nations farre and neere were all agreed to ioyne with vs, and by all meanes possible to assist vs in expelling and rooting out the Spaniards from all parts of the land: and that we were deceived, if wee thought this countrey not large ynough to receiue vs, without molestation or intrusion vpon the Indians, who wanted not choise of dwelling places, if they forsooke one to lue in another: but stood in neede of our presence at all times to ayde them, and maintaine their libertie, which to them is deeter then land or liuing. He then farther desired, that he with his people might haue our fauour against the Arwaccas, who not being content to enioy their groundes and houses, had taken from them many of their wiues and children, the best of whose fortune was, if they liued, to lue in perpetuall slauerie vnder the Spaniards. Wee put him in good hope and comfort thereof. And hee to deserve some part of this friendship, commended vnto vs an elderly man to be our Pilote in hying vs to Raleana. When we were ready to depart, he demanded whether we wanted any Vrapo, which is the wood, that is vsually carried from these parts to Trinidad in Canoas, and is there sold to the French for trade: he offered, if we would hying our ship neere his port, to put in her lading thereof. But because most of our calke was not yron-bound, and in making stowage-way to remooue it, would haue bene the losse of our Sider and other drinke; I therefore referred the taking of any quantitie to fitter opportunitie: thinking it sufficient at this time, to haue only my boats lading therof: which afterwards in extremitie of foule weather, befoze we could get aboard our ship, wee were enforced in a darke night to heaue all our boord: thinking our selues happy, to haue recovered thither at seven dayes ende, with safetie of life onely. All which time wee could no where set foote on shore, but rested day and night wet and weather beaten in our couertlesse boate, which was sometimes ready to sinke vnder vs. For wee had in this place without comparisson moze raine, wind, and gustes, then else where at any time. To bee brieue, my men became weake and sicke, and if wee had stayed any longer time out, I doubt whether the greatest part of vs had euer come aboard againe. I afterwards vnderstood by my Indian pilot, that this weather is for most part of the yeeze vsuall, neere the Island Oncairie, which lyeth North from the riuer Capurwacka some fife leagues into the sea: and that they hold opinion how this Island is kept by some euil spirit: for they verily beleene, that to sleepe in the day time neere it (except it be after much drinke) is present death. The only season wherein little raine doth fall there, is (as I gathered by their speech, they diuiding all times by their Moones) at our Winter Solstice. The mother-wind of this coast is for the most part to the Northward of the East, except when the Sunne is on this side of the Equinoctiall, for then it often beares Southerly, but most in the night. This our guid is of the Laos, who doe almarke themselves, thereby to bee knowne from other nations after this maner. With the tooch of a small beaust like a Rat, they race some their faces, some their bodies, after diuers formes, as if it were with the scratch of a pin, the print of which rasure can neuer bee done away againe during life. When he had sometime conuersed with our Indians, that went from England with vs, hee became willing to see our countrey. His sufficiencie, trustinesse, and knowledge is such, that if the pretended voyage for Guiana doe take place, you shall (I doubt not) find him many wayes able to steere your Lordship in your designs and purposes. For besides his precise knowledge of all the coast, and of the Indian townes and dwellings, he speaketh all their languages, was bred in Guiana, is a swayne brother to Putima, who slewe the Spaniards in their returne from Manoa, can direct vs to many golde mines, and in nothing will vnder take moze, then hee assuredly will perfoyme.

To the Westward this Bay hath many good roads vnder small Islands, whereof the greatest named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaios: and besides the plenty of foule, fish, fruits, wilde porcs and deere, which are there to be had, where Caiane fallies into the sea, (for it standeth in the mouthes of Wia and Caiane) it yeeldes safe and good harbour in foure and five fathome for ships of great burthen. On all that coast we found not any like it: wee therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. The road vnder Triangle Islands, which are the Westmost from

Spain wood.

Unseasonable weather about the Isle of Oncairie.

How the nation of the Laos marke themselves, to be knowne from other people.

Port Howard otherwise called Gowateri.

from the rest and stand in five degrees, which haue also store of fish, foule, deere, and Iuanas, is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all windes and weather, shippes, though they be many, may all ride securely. The hills and high lands are limits to this bay on each side: for to the Eastward beyond it appeare none at all, and to the Westward of mount Hobbeigh very few. Where the mountaines faile, there Brasill wood is no farther to bee sought for: but in all parts cotton, pepper, silke, and Balsamum trees doe grow in abundance. The rootes of the herbe Wiapassa are here most plentifull: I finde them in taste nothing different from good ginger, and in operation very medicinable against the sicke and headach. These riuers, as also others neerer Raleana, doe all fall out of the plaines of this empire ouer rocks, as the riuier Caroli doeth into Raleana: and in most places within the utmost hedge of woods, the land within is plaine, voyd of trees, and beareth short grasse like Arramaiaries countrey.

Nert adioyning vnto these, are the riuers Cunanamma, Vracco, Mawari, Mawarparo, Amonna, Marawini, Oncowi, Wiawiami, Aramatappo, Camaiwini, Shurinama, Shurama, Cupanamma, Inana, Guritini, Winitwari, Berbice, Wapari, Maicaiwini, Mahawaica, Wappari, Lemdrare, Dessekebe, Caopui, Pawrooma, Moruga, Waini, Barima, Amacur, Aratoori, Raleana. From Cape Cecyl to Raleana, the coast trendeth two hundred leagues nert hand West-northwest. In this varietie of goodly riuers, Amonna amongst the rest poynteth himselfe into the sea in a large and deepe chanell: his swiftnesse suffereth no barre, nor refuseth any shipping of what burthen soeuer they be: within his mouth for good and hopefull respectes is port Burley placed. The inhabitants that dwell Eastward, doe neuer passe lower then Berbice to trade. Aboue Curitini in the woods they gather great quantities of hony. Farther to the Eastward then Dessekebe, no Spaniard euer trauelled. In which respect, and that no sea-card that I haue seene at any time, doth in any sort neere a truely, describe this coast: I thought the libertie of imposing English names to certaine places of note, of right to belong vnto our labours; the rather because occasion thereby offereth it selfe gratefully to acknowledge the honour due vnto them that haue beene, and I hope will still continue fauourers of this enterprize. The Indians to shew the worthinesse of Dessekebe (for it is very large and full of Islands in the mouth) doe call it the brother of Orenoque. It lyeth Southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it vnto the head, they passe in twentie dayes: then taking their prouision they carrie it on their shoulders one dayes iourney: after wards they retorne for their Canoas, and beare them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime: which is of such bignesse, that they know no difference between it & the maine sea. There be infinite numbers of Canoas in this lake, and (as I suppose) it is no other then that, whereon Manoa standeth: In this riuier, which we now call Deuoricia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne. In Moruga it was, that they hunted Wareo and his people, about halfe a yere since. Arramaiarie, who was so great credit by ouerthrowing the Tiucinas of Amana, and making free the passage of that riuier (but now againe liueth in disgrace, by reason that the Charibes of Guanipa haue killed most of his followers, and burnt his townes) was present with them, and tooke away many of the women of that place. Arracuri, another Indian of the nation of the Arwaccas inhabiting in Barima, was likewise present, and conducted the Spaniards to all the Indian dwellings. They were not of Anthonie de Berreo his companie, that followed this chase, but were the Spaniards of Margarita, and the Caraccas, with whom * Santiago forsaking his gouernour Berreo, ioynd himselfe. For which fact he now lyeth in fetters at Trinidad, euery day expecting sentence of death. The occasion hereof grew as followeth.

When Berreo, hauing lost his men, was left with Fasshardo at Cumana all alone, as forlorne, and neuer likely to compasse his intended conquest of Guiana: the gouernours of the Caraccas and Margarita consulting together, sent with all speede into Spaine, to aduertise their king, that Berreo was utterly vnable to follow this enterprize, that he had giuen it ouer, and did now sojorne in his old dayes at Fasshardo his house, minding nothing else but his solace, and recreation. They farther declared, of how great importance this matter was: and that an English gentleman of such reckoning, as they named your lordship to be, hauing bene in Guiana, and vnderstanding so much of the state thereof, and the nations therunto adioyning, as Topiawarie, being both olde and wise, could informe you of, who also in confirmation of friendship, had giuen you his onely sonne, to whome the inheritance of the countrey did belong after him: there was no other likelihood; but that you, who aduentured so farre, and in such sort as you did, onely to see, and knowe a certaintie, would leaue nothing vnattempted to possesse so rich a countrey, and without all doubt would retorne presently. That meane time, you had left this aged Sire aliue, to bee a blocke in their way, to whom after his decease, this enterprize by patent did belong, and to bee a weake aduersarie

From Cape Cecyl to Raleana 200. leagues.

Dessekebe called The brother of Orenoque.

The great lake whereon Manoa or El Dorado standeth. In September.

This Spaniard vnderstandeth the Guianian language, and is reputed a very sufficient man.

adversarie against your selfe, whom at all times you knew easily how to distresse: and that therefore it might be behoofefull for his maiestie to reuoke Berreo his grant, and to vse their seruice, who were readie and willing without any delay to undertake the charge. These newes being at large amplified and deliuered to the king: Domingo de Vera, Berreo his Camp-master, who was sent into Spaine, five moneths befoze your arriual at Trinidad, with a sufficient quantitie of gold gotten out of Guiana, to leuie and furnish 500. men, hauing gotten knowledge of this practise, so solicited this cause in Berreo his behalfe, that present order was giuen for the victualling and manning of tenne ships to be sent to Berreo: and farther, this gold boze such waight, that the king commanded other 18. of his ships to stop at Trinidad, and not to follow their other directions, befoze they saw that place secured from enemies.

Francis Sparrow
taken prisoner.

Berreo supposing that these gouernours in sending with such speede into Spaine, meant him no good: to approue his care and constancie, and that he neuer would preelde vnder the burthen of his aduerser fortune; giuing no time or breath to his aduersaries nor himselfe; returned forthwith to Carapana his port, onely with fiftene men, being the scattered remnant of those whom you lately dispossessed of Trinidad. These gouernours followed him, and assuring themselves of present imploymment from their king, preoccupating the time of their directions to bee returned from Spaine, entered Guiana with their men, with full determination to murder Berreo, and to dispatch all his company. They indeed killed two or thre, but Berreo fledde towarde Caroli, where hee stayed hoping for succour from his sonne Antonie de Ximenes, to come downe the riuer from Nucuio Reyno de Granada. The Margaritanes with their accomplices busied themselves, some in searching the countrey, others in purueying of victuals out of the riuers that doe lie Eastward, of which number these were, that entred into Moruga with twentie Canoas. Santiago passed by into Topiawaries countrey, and there tooke Francis Sparrowe sir George Gifford his man prisoner, who with plenty of gold ransomed his life, and is now abiding in Cumana. This done, they all returned to Trinidad, and beganne to builde their towne there, when unhappily to their small comfort the eight and twentie sayles arriued, and tooke Santiago prisoner. The other Actozs in this Enterlude vanished, and in Canoas recovered Margarica and Cumana againe. Eightene of the said ships leauing all things in good order, departed from Trinidad to follow their others directions: ten doe yet remaine fortifying at Conquerabia, and expecting our comming.

This particular relation I had from an Indian, seruant to Berreo, that could speake Spanish, whom I tooke in the riuer. He is of the nation of the Iaos, and from a child bred by with Berreo. I gaue him trade to buy him a Canoa to returne into his countrey, and so left him glad, that hee had met with vs.

Now the Indians of Moruga being chased from their dwellings, doe seeke by all meanes possible to accorde all the nations in one, so to inuade the Arwaccas who were guides to the Spaniards, in shewing their townes, and betraying them. For they are fully perswaded, that by ouerthrowing these Arwaccas, who serue the Spaniards (for a great part of this nation doth also hate, or not know them) out of their territories, and Trinidad, the Spaniards for want of bread, will bee inforced to seeke habitation farther off, or at the least in time consume and be wastled.

They anker
within Raleana,
or Orenoque.

The 6. day of Aprill we came to an anker within the mouth of the riuer Raleana, hauing spent twentie and thre dayes in discouerie vpon this coast. The chanell of this riuer hath five or seuen fathome depth, nine or ten miles off at sea, the barre lyeth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fathome. It highes not aboue five foote, except at a spring tyde. Wee ankered in ten fathome the first night: the next morning twelue Canoas came vnto vs, furnished and provided of victuals after their maner for the warres. Their Captaines names were Anwara, and Aparwa. These Cassiques, when the Spaniards made the last inrode in those parts, were in the inland amongst the Iwarewakeri their neighbours, by which occasion hauing lost some of their wiues (for notwithstanding their profession of Christianitie, some of these Spaniards keepe ten or twelue women, thinking themselves wel and surely blessed, howsoeuer they liue, if their towne and houses be religiously crossed) they kept together 30. Canoas, hoping at our comming, which they had now long expected to recouer this losse vpon them and the Arwaccas, who in their absence had done this wrong. They shewed me this their purpose, & required to be toynd in league of friendship with vs against our enemies. When of them I had learned so much of the present estate of the countrey, as they did know: they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with vs, but onely one ship: I answered them as befoze I did the others, that wee now came only to trade, not knowing vntil this present that any Spaniards were in Guiana; that vpon our returne our whole fleete will hasten to set forwarde, and that in the meane time, wee would

Spanish Pa-
ganisme.

now

now visite our friendes, and helpe them so farre as wee could in any thing that wee should finde needefull presently to bee done. After long discourse (for their chiefe man stayed with mee all night) when hee had caused mee to spit in my right hand, with many other ceremonies which they vse in confirming friendship, hee went to the shoare, and one of his Canoas hee sent to bring forwardes the other twentie: one other hee caused to goe by the riuer before vs, to bring intelligence. Then calling together the chiefe of his companie, they made small fyres, and sitting in their Hamacas, or Indian beddes, each one sorted himselfe with his companion, recounting amongst themselves the worthiest deedes, and deaths of their Ancestours, execrating their enemies most despitefully, and magnifying their friendes with all titles of prayles and honour, that may bee deuised. Thus they sate talking, and taking Tabacco some two houres, and vntill their pipes bee all spent (for by them they measure the time of this their solemne conference) no man must interrupt, or disturbe them in any sort: for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a precise fast one whole day, in honour of the great Princes of the North, their Patronesse and defender. Their Canoas being made ready, they accompanied vs, and in their way shewed vs, where the shoalbes of the riuer doe lye. By this Captaine I learned that Muchikeri is the name of the Countrey where Macureguera is the first towne of the Empire of Guiana, that lyeth towardes Raleana, is seated in a fayre and exceeding large plaine, belowe the high mountaines, that beare Northwesterly from it, that it is but three dayes iourney distant from Carapana his Porte, and that Manoa is but sixe dayes farther. That they themselves doe passe in three dayes into the Countrey of the Iwarewakeri by the Riuer Amacur, which though it bee not the directest, yet it is the readiest way to Macureguera, for that which leadech to Carapana his dwelling, is in some places difficult, and mountainous. That a nation of clothed people, called Cassanari, doe dwell not farre from the place, where the Riuer doeth first take the name of Orenoque, and that farre within, they border vpon a Sea of salt water, named Parime. That a great Riuer, called Macurwini, passeth through their Countrey into Orenoque. That Manoa standeth twentie dayes iourney from the mouth Wiapoco: sireeteene dayes from Barima, thirteene dayes from Amacur, and tenne dayes from Aratoori. That the best way vnto it, is not by Macureguera. That of all others the Charibes that dwell high by in Orenoque, knowe most of the inlande, and of those nations, and they speake no other language, then such as Iohn your Interpreter doeth well vnderstand. Hee certified mee of the headlesse men, and that their mouthes in their breastes are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the Charibes language is Chiparemai, and the Guianians call them EwJapanomos. What I haue heard of a sorte of people more monstrous, I omit to mention, because it is no matter of difficultie to get one of them, and the report other wise will appeare fabulous. Lastly hee tolde mee of an inland Riuer, named Cawrooma, adioyning to Aratoori, and that the Quepyn mountaines, where Carapana dwelleth, are hardly accessible. That the Amapagotos haue images of gold of incredible bignesse, and great store of unmanned horses of the Caracas breed: and they dwell five dayes iourney by the Riuer about Caroli. Wee with our flecte of Canoas were now not farre from Carapanas Porte, when our intelligencer returned and informed vs that tenne Spaniards were lately gone with much trade to Barima, where these Indians dwelt, to buy Cassai bread; and that within one day two other Canoas of Spaniards were appointed to come by the Riuer Amana, to Carapana his Porte.

Her Maestie,
Muchikeri the
name of the
Province
where Macure-
guera is the first
towne of Gu-
iana is situate

Parime an In-
land sea of salt
water.

They haue
eminent heads
like dogs, and
use all the day
time in the sea,
they speake the
Charibes lan-
guage.

A sudden assault
of the Spaniards
by the
Indians.

Upon this occasion they tooke counsell, and in the ende desired to returne to their houses, least the Spaniards finding them from home, and imagining that they did purposely absent themselves, shoulde take away their wiues and spoyle their dwellings. They farther resolved if it were possible to cut them off: which after wardes they did performe. For when they were dispersed in their houses seeking Cassai, suddenly at one time, in all places they were assaulted, and not one of them escaped. Carapana, whose hand was in laying this plot, sent vs this newes, as wee returned downe the Riuer. The two other Canoas that came from Trinidad by Amana, notwithstanding that wee kept a league before the shippe with our boates, sawe the shippe before wee had sight of them, and presently with all speede went to Berreo to aduertize him of our comming. Hee forthwith dispatched two or three messengers to Trinidad. One of his Canoas mette with our spie, whome the Indians of Barima had left to goe with vs: they rifled him of his victuals, gaue him kniues, and dismissed him.

In eight dayes sayling still before a winde, wee arrived at Topiawaries Porte, in all which time no Indian that wee knewe came abourd vs. For the time of our returne promised at your Lordshippes departure from thence being expired; they in dispaire severed themselves amongst

A Rancheria of
village plan-
ted by the
Spaniards at
a Port of
Topiawary.

the other nations. Here the Spaniards haue seated their Rancheria of some twentie or thirtie houses. The high rockie Island, that lyeth in the midst of the Riuer, against the mouth of Caroli, is their Forte or refuge, when they misdoubt safetie in their Towne, or hauing notice of any practise against them: but now leauing both Towne and Island, they ioynd them selues altogether, and retiring to the mouth of the Riuer Caroli, placed there a secret ambush, to defend the passage to those mines, from whence your Dare and white stones were taken the last yeere: Wee all not without griefe to see our selues thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made voyde, were witnesses of this their remooue. As we rood at an ancor within musket shot of their Towne, an Indian came vnto vs with leane cheekes, thynne haire, and a squint eye, to informe vs that they were very strong, that Berreo his sonne was with him, that they had but two small pinnisses at Trinidad, which they dayly looked for to come vp the Riuer, and lastly, to view our shippe well, and our prouision, but especially to learne whether Gualtero, Topiawarie his sonne were with vs.

This Informers very countenance gaue him to bee suspected, and therefore partlie by threatening, partlie by promise of rewarde wee wonne him to confesse the truth. Which hee did, assuring vs that Berreo had not full fiftie five men with him, whereof twentie came lately from Trinidad, twentie from Nueuo Reyno, and the rest hee brought with him about sixe moneths since, when hee fledde from Carapana his Porte, and was driven with his small companie to keepe the aforesaide Island neere Caroli. And that though nowe his number is thus increased, yet dareth hee not aduenture at any time to leaue the fast woodes, and to goe but halfe a league from his holde into the plaines. That some fewe of the Arwaccas are abiding with him. That hee dayly looketh for his sonne from Nueuo Reyno, for his Campe-master from Trinidad, and for horses from the Caraccas. That Topiawarie is dead: the Indians of that coast all fledde, and dispersed, excepting the sonne of one Curmatoi, and another woman of account, whome the Spaniards holde prisoners, for consenting to the death of their nine men, and the holy Fryer in Morekito his time. This Curmatoi is fledde towardes Guanipa, and is a man of speciall note amongst the Indians. That Iwiakanarie Gualtero his neere kinsman, hath helde the Countrey to his vse, by his fathers appointment, euer since your being in the Riuer. That there are tenne ships, and many Spaniards at Trinidad. That the Indians our friends did feare, least you with your company were all slaine, and your shippes sunke at Cumanà (for so the Spaniards noryed it amongst them,) that some of Gualtero his friends with Putijma, were in the mountaines not farre from the hill Aio. And that Berreo had sent for sixe peeces of ordnance, which he meant to plant, where they might best command the Riuer.

When wee had stayed here two dayes, considering that where no hope was left of doing good, to abide there in harmes way doing nothing, would be bootlesse: I resolved to seeke Putijma in the mountaines: and turning downe the Riuer with the force of the streame some twentie miles in sixe houres: the next morning with ten shot I went ashore, intending if the Indians should thinke themselves too weake, with our helpe to displant the Spaniards: to set some of them on worke, for hatchets and kniues to retorne vs golde graines, and white stones from such places, as they should be directed vnto. When wee came to the place of their vsuall abode, wee sawe that they lately had bene there, but could speake with none of them. It may be that feare, which is easie of beliefe, perswaded them that we were Spaniards. Gilbert my Pilot here offered to bring vs either to the myne of white stones neere Winicapora, or else to a gold myne, which Putijma had shewed him being but one dayes iourney ouerland, from the place where we now stayed at an ancor. I sawe farre off the mountaine adioyning to this gold myne, and hauing measured their pathes neere the same place this last yeere, could not iudge it to bee fiftene miles from vs. I doe well remember howe comming that way with Putijma the yeere before, he pointed to this same mountaine making signes to haue me goe with him thither. I vnderstood his signes and marked the place, but mistooke his meaning, imagining that he would haue shewed mee the ouerfall of the Riuer Curwara from the mountaines. My Indian shewed me in what sort without digging they gather the gold in the sand of a small riuer, named Macawini, that springeth and falleth from the rockes, where this myne is. And farther tolde me, that hee was with Putijma, at what time Morekito was to be executed by the Spaniards, and that then the chiefe of Morekito his friends were in consultation, to shewe this myne vnto them if so they might redeeme their Captaines life: but vpon better aduise, supposing them in this case to bee implacable, and that this might prouoe a meane to loose not onely their king, but their Countrey also: they haue to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the richest, and most plentifull. The aged sort to keepe this from common knowledge, haue deuised a fable of a dangerous Dragon that haunteth this place

Topiawarie his
sonne.

The common
lives of the
Spaniards.

place and deuoureth all that come neere it. But our Indian, if when we returne, we doe bring store of strong wine (which they loue beyond measure) with it will vnder take so to charme this Dragon, that he shall doe vs no harme.

I, that for this ende came from home, and in this iourney had taken much more paines to lesse purpose, would very gladly from this mountaine haue taken so good a prooffe to witnes my being in the Countrey: but withall considering that not one Indian of our knowne friends came vnto vs: that Don Iuan the cousin of Guakero, who liueth here a reuolt from the Spaniard, was now in election to bee chiefe commander of all the Indian forces in these partes, cannot in pollicie, for Guakero his sake, whose inheritance hee sought to vnrpe, bee a fast friend vnto vs: that the Spaniardes abiding in Winicapora (for there were trinne) might well before wee could doe any thing, and returne, cause some others of Berreo his men to ioyne with them, in the way to intercept vs: and forthinkning withall, that there being no meanes, but our selues, to make knowne our discouerie, if wee returned not; in our misfortune the hope of following this voyage would bee buried: but besides all this, and the respect of such spalls, as the Spaniardes kept to obserue our dooings, foreknowing that if the enemye should by our lingring, stop our passage, which in one or two places of aduantage, fewe of them might easilie doe: it would bee a question howe with our shippe to get out of the Riuer, except first wee could remooue them: I thought it best (all other possibilities set apart) to seeke in time to bee free from the hazard of the aforesaid euill passages.

Whilist wee were searching at the shoare for the Indians, my Barge tooke a Canoa, with three men in her: the one a seruant to Berreo, (as before is mentioned) the other two marchants of Cassau. They had a letter sent from the Gouvernour to bee conueied to Trinidad, which I receiued. There was also a great hatchet, and twentie kniues, wherewith this Indian seruant should buy a Canoa, and hire Indians to cary her by the Riuer towarde Nucuo Reyno. This Canoa forsooth with foure other were to bee sent to bring downe Berreo his sonne with all his forces, which nowe haue bene, I thinke, full three peeres in preparing. If five such boates bee sufficient to conuoy him, his men and all their prouision: it may seeme, hee cometh with no great strength.

The small forces of Ximenes.

This seruant, as hee was a man of especiall trust, and neere Berreo: so appeared hee to haue some insight in his proceedings. He shewed mee that the Indians, who with these kniues should be hired, were to passe by so high, as where some of the Cassanari doe dwell in small villages. That Berreo his purpose was, when they came thither to leaue them there, and make them officers ouer the other Indians: and in their places some of the Cassanari should returne, who likewise should be made Iustices and Constables ouer them of Guiana: that from Trinidad he meant to remoue most of the olde inhabitants, that would be tractable; and interpose them amongst the Cassanarians of Guiana, and the Guianians of the Cassanari. That the Arwaccas should wholly possesse Trinidad, and the riuer side of Raleana. That they already were prouided of threescore Negros, to worke the mynes in these places. And that by this meanes Berreo hoped to keepe these seuerall nations in mutual enmitie each against other, all to serue his turne, and neuer to become strong, or likely to ioyne themselves against him. He farther shewed me, that Topiawary, soone after our departure from the riuer, fledde into the mountaines, carying Hugh Godwyn with him, and leauing a Substitute in his Countrey, as aforesayde: and that the next newes they heard of him was, that hee was dead, and the English boy eaten by a Tyger. That the Spaniardes beleue neither the one nor the other. That about the ende of Iune, when the Riuer shall bee impassable, the tenne shippes shall depart from Trinidad. And that Berreo euer since his comming to Guiana, hath spent his time altogether in purueying of victuals, whereof there is such scarcitie, by reason that the Indians forsaking their houses, haue not this halfe peere planted any of their grounds, so that the Spaniardes are enforced to seeke their bread farre off, and content themselves to liue with litle.

This transplanting of Indians is worthy of consideration.

In sayling by the Riuer, wee passed by Toparimacko his Port, which in one place is very shoalde, the chanell lying close aboard the shoare. Wee returned therefore another way by the maine riuer on the South side: this branch wee found large, deepe, and without danger. When wee were come neere Carapana his Port, hee sent five or sixe seuerall Canoas, promising this day and the next, that hee would come and speake with vs. Thus wee lingred sixe or seuen dayes, but hee came not. In the ende hee sent one of his aged followers, to certifie vs, that hee was sicke, olde, and weake: that the wayes neere his dwelling are not easie: and that therefore he desired vs to holde him excused for not comming. This olde man dilated vnto vs, that Carapana in hope of our returne, hath euer since your Loshippes being in that Countrey, kept the

The Port of Toparimacko.

The porte of Carapana.

mountaines, where the Spaniards can hardly any way inforce him; that they haue taken from him and his people many of their wiues, because they refused to furnish them weekly with a certaine proportion of bread and victuals: that Don Iuan otherwise called Eparacano hath the commandement of all his subiects, excepting onely a choise garde of men sufficient to keepe the place hee nowe dwelleth in. That it repenteth him of his ambition, euer to haue sought by the Spaniards meanes, to haue enlarged his Countreys and people. For true it is that from the beginning hee was a Lorde of no other then ordinarie power amongst them, untill hee had entered into friendship with Berreo: for then the Indians on all sides left some their habitations, and manie their commanders to become his subiectes, that they might haue the priuiledge to trade with the Spaniards for hatchets and knives, which are iewels of great price amongst them: that hee nowe saue no other choise, but that the Indians must, if they will doe well, without farther dissembling of their necessitie, either entertaine vs their friends, or else giue place to the Spaniards their enemies. For the plenty of golde that is in this Countrey, heeing nowe knowne and discovered, there is no possibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one side they coulde feeble no greater miserie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were sure to finde, if the Spaniards preuailed, who perforce doe take all things from them, vsing them as their slaues, to rime, to rowe, to bee their guides, to carry their burthens, and that which is worst of all, to bee content, for safetie of their liues, to leaue their women, if a Spaniard chance but to set his eye on any of them to fancie her: on the other side they could hope for, nor desire no better state and vsage, then her Maiesties gracious gouernment, and Princely vertues doe promise, and assure vnto them. For, sayde he, the other yeere, when wee fledde into the mountaines, and measured your doings by the Spaniards in like case, we made no other account, but that your Commander being able, as hee was, would doubtlesse haue persecuted vs to the vttermost, as the onely maintainers and suppoztors of your enemies, and would at the least, if hee could not reach vs, take our Townes, and make vs ransome our wiues and children: wee found it farre otherwise, and that none of your well gouerned companie durst offer any of vs wrong or violence, no not by stealth, when vnknowne they might haue done it. We then beleueing it to bee true, that your grand Captaine reported of his Princessse, tooke this for a good prooofe of her royall commandement and wisdom, that had framed her subiectes to such obedience, and of your happinesse, that inioyed the benefite thereof: that Carapana weighing the good and friendly course of our proceedings, doeth humbly craue of her Maiestie for himselfe and his people, that with the rest of the Indians, which wholly depende on her Princely regarde towards them, hee also may inioy her fauourable protection: that hee doeth this, not as a man left vnto himselfe and forsaken by the Spaniards, but as one that knoweth their iniustice, hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his best choise, vnto to disclaime their friendship. It may bee pertinent (as surely it is a thing worth the noting) to consider howe this president of your moderation and good order, which to vs seemeth a matter but of small, and ordinarie respect, hath both alienated their heartes altogether from the Spaniard, and stirred vp in them true loue and admiration thereof. For as gouernement is the onely bond of common societie: so to men lawlesse, that each one to another are, Omnes hoc iure molesti, quo fortes: To men, I say, that liue in dayly tumultes, feares, doubttes, suspitions, barbarous cruelties, neuer sleeping secure, but alwayes either drunke, or practising one anothers death: to such men as these bee, who wanting discipline, iustice and good order to confirme them in a quiet and peaceable course of liuing, knowing not where to finde it: the sence and sweetenesse thereof is as the dewe of Hermon: it is as the Harmonie of a well tuned Instrument: to bee briebe, it carrieth in it selfe not onely a due and worthy commendation; but is auayleable without stroke striking to gaine a kingdome. For the Indians in all partes within and neere Guiana, doe offer their seruice, and promise to prouide victuall, and what else their countrey yeeldeth, desiring onely that some force of men may remaine with them, to deliuer them from oppression and tyrannie. And nowe by generall consent (though hatchets and knives bee the onely things of request and vlesfull vnto them) they haue agreed by no meanes to trade with the Spaniard for any thing.

Carapana a
great Lord
bordering vpon
on Guiana cra-
ueth her Maie-
sties protec-
tion.

Farther this old man shewed mee, whence most of their golde commeth, which is formed in so many fashions: whence their Spleene-stones, & others of al sorts are to be had in plenty: where golde is to bee gathered in the sandes of their riuers: from what partes the Spaniards, both by trade, & otherwise, haue retuned much gold. This he vttered with Carapana his consent (I doubt not) hoping thereby to induce vs to retorne againe. For contrarie to their lawe of secrecie, which

which in this case they doe all generally obserue, sharply punishing the breakers thereof, as enemies vnto their native Countrey: I found this man no whit scrupulous, but very free and libe-
rall of speech in all things.

And because we might knowe, that wee should not want handes or helpe, in this or any other
our enterprises, if perhaps wee should finde cause to passe vp to the head of this River: hee decla-
red that the Spaniards haue no Indians to trust vnto but some of the Arwaccas, which since
they were not many, could bee but of small force: That the Charibes of Guanipa, the Ciawan-
nas amongst the Tiuituas, the Shebaicos, Iaos, Amaipagotos, Cassipagotos, Purpagotos, Sami-
pagotos, Serowos, Etraiguinams, Cassamari, with the rest of the nations faire and neere,
were all ready, on what side soeuer the Spaniards shall stirre, to fight against them: that the
Pariagotos, through whose countrey they must first passe, are alone sufficient to encounter them,
such is the strength of their countrey, and the valure of the men. The Indians holde opinion,
that they are notable forcerers, and invulnerable. In the mountaines where they dwell, white
stones are found of such hardnesse, that by no arte or meanes they can bee pierced; they imagine
that these Pariagotos become invulnerable, by eating these stones. The fable omitted, happily
they may prooue good Diamonds.

Then he shewed howe the Iwarewakeri haue nourished grasse in all places, where passage is,
these three yeeres, and that it is at this present so high, as some of the trees, which they meane
to burne, so soone as the Spaniard shall bee within danger thereof. Lastly, hee shewed mee
that Wariarimagoto the Emperours chiefe Captaine for those partes, hath gathered together
many thousandes of the Epuremei, to keepe the borders of the Empire; and that hee lay now on
the South side of the mountaines, some one dayes iourney or little more from the Spaniards.
To be short, hee certified mee, that they all were resolu'd not to seeke vpon them (for indeede they
feare their shot) but to defend their owne, and to expect our coming. In the meane time they
take opportunities, when they finde any of them straggling or deuinded from their strength, by li-
tle and little to lessen their number.

Wariarimagoto
one of the
Emperour of
Guiana his
chiefe Cap-
taines by in
armes against
the Spaniards.

The place where wee were at ancor was but one dayes iourney from Carapana: I therefore
made motion to this Captaine to stay with two or three of his company aboard the shippe, and to
cause his men to bring mee with my Interpreter to Carapana his dwelling: hee answered mee
that it were not good so to doe, least perhaps some Spie might informe the Spaniards thereof,
whereby danger would growe to Carapana. If or they haue many times vs'd many meanes to
reconcile him vnto them: but hee from time to time hath delyed with them, neither professing
himselfe their enemy, nor in ought shewing them any friendship. Nowe (sayde hee) if the
Spaniards shall by any meanes come to knowledge, that you haue conferred together, they
will take this occasion to persecute him with all extremitie, as their open enemy, whom they now
neglect, or at the least feare not, as being an harmelesse old man. And for this cause only hath Ca-
rapana forborne to come vnto you.

By this I perceiued, that to stay longer for him (though gladly I could haue bene content
to spend one seuenights more to speake with him) would bee purposelesse. Wherefore hauing as-
sured so many of the Indians as at any time came vnto vs, of our speedie returne, promising them
plentie of knives, beades, and hatchets, if they would reuerie their Cassari, and prouide store
of their pieces of golde for vs: I desired this Captaine to bee a meanes that our friends of Tri-
nidad might vnderstand of our being in the River and that wee meane to relieue them so soone,
as conueniently might bee. Hee promised in Carapana his behalfe, that this should not bee
forgotten. One of the Captaines of the Cyawannas, who doe now dwell in the River Ara-
wawo, neere Trinidad, vnderooke also without fayle to ascertaine them thereof. It was the
more carefull herein, because so many ships being heere, I doubted least they would take order
that no Indian should speake with vs. For so indeede it fell out.

This Captaine of the Cyawannas came likewise to ioyne with vs, and had prouided fif-
teene Canoas for that purpose. Their dwelling was lately in Macureo, where the Spani-
ards one night stealing on them, killed twentie of their men, and burne their houses, because
they refused to trade with them for certaine images of golde made with many beades which
they had gotten out of Guiana. I sent a present of Iron to Carapana, and then set
sayle.

In turning downe the river wee spent eight dayes. In many places where the channell lyeth
wee found twentie fathome depth: where it is shallowest, wee had two fathome and a halfe, and
that but in one or two places. Of the worthinesse of this River, because I cannot say ynough, I
will

The chanel of
Raleana, or O-
renoque very
large & good.
They meete
with their
Pinnelle.

will speake nothing. Wee haue presumed to call it by the name of Raleana, because your selfe was the first of our nation that ever entred the same, and I thinke it nothing inferiour to Amazones, which is best knowne by the name of Orellana, the first discoverer thereof. By turning onely, without helpe of oares to passe so long away in so short a time, against the winde, may sufficiently prooue, that the chanel is very large, good, and likely to second our hopes in all that wee can desire. Without the mouth of this Riuer, our Pinnelle, the Discoverer, whome wee lost neere the coast of England, came vnto vs. Shee fell with this land somewhat to the Southwarde of Cape Cecyl, and had spent three weekes and odde dayes in ranging alongst the coast, when shee mette with vs. William Downe the Master informed mee that they entred, and searched these foure riuers. In Wiapoco they sayled so farre, vntill the rockes stopped their passage. In Caiane they went up one dayes iourney. In Cunanama they found many inhabitantes. Curitini was the last Riuer they had bene in. Whence, hauing no other meanes to finde Raleana, they were inforced to borrow a Pilot against his will: whom afterwards I would haue returned with reward to his contentment; but he would not.

A good cause.

Our English that to steale the first blessing of an vntreated place, will perhaps secretly hasten thither, may bee beholding to mee for this caueat, if they take notice thereof. They may bee assured, that this people, as they no way sought our harme, but vsed our men with all kindnesse: so are they impatient of such a wrong, as to haue any of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtlesse seeke reuenge. The example of the like practise vpon the coast of Guinie, in the yeere 1566, and againe at Dominica, where Alderman Wais his shippe hardly escaped being taken, may serue for our warning in like case to looke for no good, before they bee satisfied for this iniury.

The Isle of
Tabago.

When wee had taken aboard vs such victuals as were in the Pinnelle: wee set fire in her, (for her Rudder could serue her to no longer vse) and stopping the floodes, plyed to windwarde with the ebbe neere the shoare, vntill wee were sixteene leagues to the Eastwarde of the Riuer's mouth, and then standing off to Sea, wee fell in twentie foure houres sayling with Punta de Galera the Northeastermost part of Trinidad. But hauing Tabaco-Island in sight, wee first went thither. This Island is plentifull of all things, and a very good soyle. It is not now inhabited, because the Charibes of Dominica are euill neighbours vnto it. They of Trinidad haue a meaning and purpose to flie thither, when no longer they can keepe Trinidad. Their onely doubt is, that when they are seated there, the Spaniard will seeke to possesse it also. The Governour of Margarita went lately in a Pinnelle to vewe this Island. Gilbert my Pilot who sometime liued there, noteth it for the best and fruitfullest ground that hee knoweth.

Post danges
from Canibals.

Thence wee returned to Punta de Galera and anchored in tenne fathome vnder the North side of the Island some five or sixe miles from the sayde point. The flood-tyde striketh alongst the coast to the Eastward very strongly. Wee discharged a peece of ordinance, and afterwards went to the shoore in our boat: but no Indian came vnto vs. I would haue sent Iohn of Trinidad to procure some of them to speake with vs: but he was altogether unwilling, alleaging that their dwellings were farre within the mountaines, and that hee knewe no part of that side of the Island. From this place we set sayle for Santa Lucia, but fell with Granata, which wee found not inhabited. Saint Vincene we hardly recovered, by turning vnder the lee of the island. The Tabaco of this place is good: but the Indians being Canibals, promising vs store, and delaying vs from day to day, sought onely oportunitie to betray, take, and eate vs, as lately they had deuoured the whole companie of a French shippe. This their treacherie being by one of their slaues reuealed, from thenceforth they did all forbare to come vnto vs. To sit downe on their lowe stools, when they by offering such ease, will seeme to shewe curtesie, abodeth death to strangers, that shall trust them. At Matalino or Martinino we found not any inhabitants. Lastly, wee came to Dominica, where we could get no good Tabaco. But hauing intelligence of a Spanish shippe, that was taking in of fresh water, at the North-west side of the Island, wee wayned anchored to seeke him. Wee discrying vs, stole away by night. The Indians of this place haue determined to remooue, and loyne with them of Guanipa, against the Spaniards, who lately dispeopled one of their Islands, and at our being there one of their Canoas returned from Guanipa, and certified vs, that the tenne Spanish shippes at Trinidad doe ride, some of them at Conquerabia, the rest at the small Islands neere the disemboging place. Wherefore we steered North and by East, taking the directest course to shorten our way homewards.

Thus

Thus haue I emptied your purse, spending my time and trauell in following your lordships directions for the full discouerie of this coast, and the riuers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your priuate profite, I pretend nothing. Sozie I am, that where I sought no excuse, by the Spaniards being there I found my defect remedied. And for mine owne part, I doe protest, that if the consideration of the publique good that may ensue, had not ouerpoysed all other hopes and desires: I would rather haue aduentured by such small and weake meanes as I had, to doe well with danger, then to returne onely with safetie. Nowe although in a cause not doubtfull, my allegation is no way needfull: yet because the weightinesse thereof, and the expectation of others, seemeth of due and right to claime something to bee sayde by mee, whome your especiall trust and fauour hath credited and graced with this employment: Pardon it (I beseech your honour) if, where my lampe had oyle, it borrow light also; and my speech, which is altogether vsfauorie, season it selfe with some of the leauen of your owne discourse touching this discouerie. The particular relation of some certaine things I haue referred, as properly belonging to your selfe, who onely, as knowing most, can make best vse thereof. So much in generall is here touched, as (I hope) may serue to refresh the memorie of this worthe enterprise in those whome it may concerne, and testifie your care and expence in following the same: that in a second age, when in time truely shall haue credite, and men wondering at the riches, and strength of this place (which nature it selfe hath maruelously fortified, as her chiefe treasure-house) shall mourne and sigh to holde idle cicles, whilst others reape and gather in this harvest, it bee not sayde, that Sir Walter Raleigh was of all men liuing in his dayes, most industrious in seeking, most fortunate in attaining to the fulnesse of an inestimable publique good: if, knowing that for enuie and priuate respectes, his labours were lessened, his informations mistrusted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deserts imparted to others; If (I say) seeing, knowing and bearing all this, hee with patience had persisted in so good a way in doing his Princeesse, and countrey service; and had but perfected his first discouerie by sending a shippe or two for that purpose: for then surely all lets and doubts being remooued, and so large a kingdome, so exceeding rich, so plentiful of all things, as this by his discourse appeared to bee, being offered: no deuises and vaine surmises could haue taken place, no illusions could haue preuailed: it had bene blindness and deafenesse in those, that being neere her Maiestie doe spend their dayes in seruing the common weale, not to see, and knowe in so weightie a matter: it had bene malicious obstinacie, impotencie of minde, and more then treason to the common wealth, the matter standing onely vpon acceptance, to seeke either to foreshowe so fit an occasion, or forsake so generall a blessing. This (if) is nowe cut off through a singular and incomparable temper, in ouercomming euill with good.

This your seconde discouerie hath not onely founde a free and open entrance into Raleana, which the Naturals call Orenoque: but moreouer yeeldeth choysie of fourtie seuerall great riuers (the lesser I do not reckon) being for the most part with small vessels nauigable for our marchants & others, that do now finde little profit in setting forth for reprisall, to exercise trade in. To such as shall be willing to aduenture in search of them, I could propose some hope of gold mines, and certaine assurance of peeces of made golde, of Spleene-stones, Kidney-stones, and others of better estimate. But because our beleefe seemeth to bee mated in these greater matters, and a certaintie of smaller profits is the readiest inducement to quicken our weake hopes; I not going so farre as mine owne eyes might warrant mee, doe onely promise in the aforesayd riuers Brazil-wood, honey, cotton, Balsamum, and drugs to helpe to defray charges: and further, because without a beginning there can bee no continuance of these benefites vnto our countrey to any that shall be the first undertakers hereof, I am gladly content to giue such light and knowledge, as by conference with the Indians I haue attained vnto.

By selfe, and the remaine of my fewe yeeres, I haue bequeathed wholly to Raleana, and all my thoughts lye onely in that action. The prosecuting whereof is in it selfe iust, profitable, and necessarie. Just, because it is intended for the defence of harmlesse people, who fearing chardome and oppression, desire to protect themselves and their countrey vnder her Maiesties tuition: Profitable, as may bee gathered not onely by many Spanish letters intercepted, but also by the proofes mentioned in the discourse of the first discouerie, and since that, by the Indians owne voluntarie relations: and lastly, by the prouision that the Spaniards doe make to acquite vs thereof. Necessary it is, as being the onely helpe to put a bitte in the mouth of the vnhyndeled Spaniards; the onely way to enter into his treasure of Nueuo Reyno, and Peru; the onely meanes to animate the wronged Indians, with our assistance to seeke reuenge for the extreme murders and cruelties,

cruelties, which they haue endured, and to ruinate his naked cities in all those parts of the Iu-land, whose foundations haue beene layd in the blood of their parents and ancestors.

The forces that the Spaniards hath already sent to Trinidad, to fortifie there, and keepe the passage of this riuer, are an euident argument that the king feareth and doubteth the sequelle of this discoverie. For can it bee a small matter? Or hath hee so waste employment for his men and shipping, that vpon no ground, hee would send eight and twentie shippes, to keepe vs onely from Tabacco? For what els that good is can Trinidad yeelde vs? No doubtlesse, if the returne of Berreo his Campe-masser with tenne of these shippes bee compared with precedent aduertisements concerning him: it will appeare more then probable, that the Guiana-golde waged these men and shipping: and that they are now more carefull to obtaine this place, then to keepe others, which they haue already gotten, which note, except in matters of extraordinarie account, is not incident to their policie and proceedings. Again, it cannot bee thought that either it was senselesse madnesse in the gouernours of Margarita, and the Caracas, to bring their states and liues in question, by seeking, contrarie to their kings order, to enter Guiana, and kill Berreo with his followers: or else the abundance of pearle in Magarita, and the golde mines in the Caracas, seeming matters of small account: Guiana onely was in their iudgement, rich, plentifull, and able of it selfe to redeeme their trespassse and offence, howe great soeuer it should bee.

The sundry attemptes and ouerthrowes of the Spaniards being men of power, and honourable place, in labouring threescore and thre yeeres and bywardes, to enlarge the kingdome of Spaine with this mightie and great empire, doe plainly shewe, that they long time sought a path, where in one moneth a high way was found: that the losse of their liues witnesseth their desires, and the worthinesse of the thing, where to vs the easinesse of obtaining discredite th the greatnes of the attempt: and that if now at the last they doe preuaile, they must holde by tyrannie that which they get by the sword; where then our returne nothing by the Indians is more wished for, nothing expected more earnestly.

Those objections, which haue beene made by many seeming wise, and the impediments likely to arise, as they haue supposed, are best answered by the vnrerequed witness of thole mens actions. Some haue termed these discoveries fables, and fantasies, as if there had beene no such land or territorie: others allowing both of the place, and that such a kingdome or countrey is discovered, make conclusion, that if it had beene so rich as wee haue supposed, that no doubt the king of Spaine would by this time haue possessed it. But if they consider that the Spanish nation hath already conquered the two empires of Mexico and Peru, with so many other kingdoms and prouinces: wee may very well answer, that his power is not infinite, and that hee hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifest, that this very empire hath beene by all those seuerall Spaniards (the catalogue of whose names is by it selfe hereunto annexed) at sundry times undertaken, and neuer performed. Howbeit, the world hath reason to admire their constancie, and their great labours, and wee may well blush at our owne idle, despairfull, and loytering dispositions, that can finde abilitie in another barren, and sterued nation, to possesse so much of the worlde, and can doe nothing but frame arguments against our selues, as unfit and powerlesse to possesse one prouince already discovered, and of which our nation hath assurance of the peoples loue, and that all the Chieftaines and principals haue bowed their obedience to her Maiestie; the navigation being withall so short, dangerlesse, and free from infectious sicknesses. If doubt of perills might moderate the mindes of our men once mooued with steadfast hope, that golde shall bee the reward of their trauels: it may easily bee perceiued, that all those lets and hinderances that can any way bee alleaged, or wrested so much, as but to touch vs, doe deeply and neerely concerne the Spanish king, and in a manner violently withhold him from that, which hee notwithstanding carrieth with successe, whilst wee out of leason do affect the bare stile, to be named men stayed and circumspect in our proceedings. It is reported, that Calanus the Indian threw downe before Alexander the great, a drie leare peece of leather, & then put his foot on one of the endes of it: the leather being trode downe at that side, & so on all parte else. By this the wise man did shewe vnto him a figure and similitude of his kingdome, which being exceeding large, must of necessity in all other parts, excepting the place of the kings residence be alwayes full of strifes, tumults and insurrections. The end afterwards confirmed, that this empire consisting of sundry nations, could not keepe it selfe from dissolution. No potentate liuing hath, or can haue so faithfull and incorrupt counsellors, as bee the examples and histories of for-past times and ages. Wee may therefore bee bolde to thinke that the Gouernours of the Spanish affaires should

should minde it, that their kings lustfull desire, and ambitious thoughts to establish ouer all Europe one lawe, one Lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous vngrounded resolution: Considering that many of the neighbour kingdomes being of equall force in men, or greater then hee can make, are settled in a long continued estate, are entire within themselves, and hate to heare the voyce of a stranger. It is not unlikely that they in this case should lay before their king the fatall destinies of many worthies, that haue bene constrained for wante of sufficient numbers of their naturall subiects, after many peeres spent in the warres, to retire to their owne countreys, and haue bene glad peaceably to holde their owne Signiories at home, resigning all that vnto others, which they haue gotten abroad by hard aduenture, and much effusion of blood. The King of Spaine cannot but discern, that his spacious empires and kingdomes being so many, and so farre diuided one from another, are like the members of a monstrous bodie, tyed together with cables onely. For take away the traffique of vnnecessarie commodities transported out of Spaine: those huge countreys of the Indies hauing no common linke of affinitie, lawe, language, or religion, and being of themselves able to maintaine themselves without forreine commerce, are not so simple, as not to knowe their owne strength, and to finde, that they doe rather possesse Spaniards, then that they are possessed by them. Hee cannot bee ignorant that Spaine it selfe is on all sides environed with many puissant enemies, mightie and great princes, who knowing it to bee rich without men, confident without reason, proud and aduenturous without meanes sufficient; may happily confederate to chastise him, as an insolent intruder, and disturber of all quietnesse; and going no further then Spaine it selfe, may euen there shake the foundation of his long contrived deuises, and in one acte redeeme the time, controll his aspiring humors, and breake the bandes in sunder that import seruitude, and subuersion to all the dominions of Christendome. Again, his counsell may well informe him, that to dispeople and disable himselfe at home, in hope to obtaine Guiana, being a countrey strong of it selfe, and defended with infinite multitudes of Indian enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitants offered vnto the English: his contempt towardes vs would seeme so intollerable and despighfull, as might bee sufficient to prouoke vs; though otherwise wee had no such inclination; if hee vnprouided of able helpees to effect it, should rest himselfe on a carelesse presumption, that wee cannot, wee dare not, wee will not stirre in a matter that promisseth vs so great benefite, and may so highly offend him. Hee may bee perswaded, that to leaue no other succour or safetie to his nakednesse, but the olde stale practise of spreading rumours, and giuing out false intelligences of preparations to inuade England, thereby to keepe vs at home; or els of hyring and suborning some Machauellian vnder hande by secret conueyance, to stop the course of our proceedings; or lastly, of procuring some wilde outlaw to disquiet our tranquillitie; is but a poore, weake, and vncertaine stay to vpholde his estate by. And yet setting such like vnties aside: what can bee imagined likely to hinder vs from preuailing in Guiana, rather then him, whose disaduantage is to bee embroyled with the selfe same, and manifolde more impediments, then can any way bee supposed, with good cause to impeach, or diuorce vs fro so profitable an attempt: All this notwithstanding, if the Spanissh king not being able to dissemble his desire, or beare the losse of this one kingdom; putting himselfe out of his strength at home, and exposing his people to the hazard of all casualties abroad, bee resolved, whatsoever shall happen, not to relinquish Guiana, but to keepe this one yron more in the fire, on no other assurance, but a peremptorie disbaire of preuention: If hee appeare so eagerly bent for Guiana, as if it were enacted for a lawe amongst themselves, Viis & modis to thrust for it, and not to heare, conceiue, or beleue any thing, that may dissuade or deterre from the conquest thereof: it then appertaineth vnto vs, not to inforce those obiections against our selues, which hee with lesse reason reiecteth as frivoulous; since by howe much the more earnest hee is in following this purpose, by so much the lesse cause haue wee to bee diuerted from it. To such as shall bee willing further to wade in this argument; for vntities sake, I doe propose onely this bare assertion: that England and Guiana conioyned, are stronger, and more easily defended, then if England alone should repose her selfe on her owne force, and powerfullnesse. The reasons that might bee inferred to prooue this neede no rationall discourse: they are all intimated in the onely example of Spaine it selfe; which without the Indies is but a purse without money, or a painted sheath without a dagger. In summe: it seemeth vnto me, that whereas the difficultie of performing this enterpryse hath bene produced for a discouragement: it were a dull conceite of strange weakenes in our selues, to distrust our own power so much, or at least, our owne hearts and courages; as valewing the Spanissh nation to be omnipotent; or peelding that the poore Portugall hath that mastering spirit and conquering industrie,

about

aboue vs; as to bee able to seate himselſe amongst the many mightie princes of the East Indies, to frontire China, to holde in subiection The Philippinas, Zeilan, Calcut, Goa, Ormus, Mozambique, and the rest; the nauigation being so tedious and full of perill: to suffer our selues to bee put backe for worthlesse cyphers, out of place, without account. All which Regions being nowe also by the late conquest of Portugall, entituled to the Spanishe king: to whom the Colonies of those parts doe yet generally refuse to sweare fealtie and allegiance: and the care depending on him, not onely in gouerning them in the East, so farre off; but also of ordering and strengthening of those disunited, scattered, & ill guarded empires and prouinces in the West. It might very well bee alleaged to the layde Spanishe king, that it were moze wisdome for him to assure and fortifie some part of those already gotten, then to begin the conquest of Guiana, so farre separate from the rest of his Indies: in which hee hath had so many misfortunes, and against whom the naturall people are so impetuously bent, and opposed: were it not, that it exceedeth all the rest in abundance of gold, and other riches. The case then so standing, is it not meere wretchednesse in vs, to spend our time, breake our sleepe, and waste our braines, in contriuing a cauilling false title to defraude a neighbour of halfe an acre of lande: whereas here whole shires of fruitfull rich ground, lying now waste for want of people, do prostitute themselues vnto vs, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and floure of desired yeeres?

If wee doe but consider, howe unhappily Berreo his affaires, with his assistants haue of late yeeres, in our owne knowledge succeeded: who can say, if the hand of the Almighty be not against them, and that hee hath a worke in this place, in stead of Papistrie, to make the sincere light of his Gospell to shine on this people? The effecting whereof shall bee a royall crowne of euerlasting remembrance to all other blessings, that from the beginning the Lorde hath plentifully powred on our dread Soueraigne, in an eminent and supreme degree of all perfection. If the Castilians, pretending a religious care of planting Christianitie in those partes, haue in their doings preached nought els but auarice, rapine, blood, death, and destruction to those naked, & sheeplike creatures of God; erecting statues and trophees of victorie vnto themselues, in the slaughters of millions of innocents: doeth not the crie of the poore succourlesse ascend vnto the heauens? Hath God forgotten to bee gracious to the workemanship of his owne hands? Or shall not his iudgements in a day of visitation by the ministerie of his chosen seruant, come on these bloodthirstie butchers, like raine into a fleece of wooll? Aliquando manifesta; aliquando occulta; semper iusta sunt Dei iudicia.

Her Maiestie.

To leaue this digression, It is fit onely for a prince to begin, and ende this worke: the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth soueraigne power, authoritie and commaundement. The riuer of Raleana giueth open and free passage, any provision that the Spaniard can make to the contrary notwithstanding, (for once yeerely the landes neere the riuer be all drowned) to conuey men, horse, munition, and victuall for any power of men, that shall be sent thither.

I doe speake it on my soules health, as the best testimonie, that I can in any cause peelee to auerre a trueth, that hauing nowe the second time bene in this countrey, and with the helpes of time and leasure well aduised my selfe vpon all circumstances to bee thought on; I can discern no sufficient impediment to the contrary, but that with a competent number of men, her Maiestie may to her and her successors enioy this rich and great empire: and hauing once planted there, may for euer (by the fauour of God) holde and keepe it, Contra Iudæos & Gentes. Subiects, I doubt not, may through her Maiesties gracious sufferance, ioyning their strength together, inuade, spoyle, and ouerrunne it, returning with golde and great riches. But what good of perpetuall can followe thereof? Or who can hope that they will take any other course then such, as tendeth to a priuate and present benefite; considering that an Empire once obtained, is of congruities, howe, and wheresoeuer the charge shall growe, to bee annexed vnto the crowne? The riches of this place are not fit for any priuate estate: no question, they will rather prooue sufficient to crosse and counteruade the Spaniard his proceedings in all partes of Christendome, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the necessitie of following this enterprise doth nothing vrge vs, because in some case better a mischief, then an inconuenience: let the conueniencie thereof somewhat moue vs, in respect both of so many Gentlemen, souldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they doe not die like cloped cattell in ranke easefulness: are enforced for maintenance take sometimes to take shamefull and vnlawfull courses: and in respect of so many handicraftsmen hauing able bodies, that doe liue in cleanness of teeth and pouertie. To sacrifice the children of Beha vnto the common weale, is not to defile the lande with blood, because the lawe of God doeth not pro-
bite

hibite it, and the execution of iustice requireth it to bee so: but yet if the waterboughes, that sucke and feede on the iuice, and nourishment that the fruitesfull branches should liue by, are to bee cut downe from the tree, and not regarded: luckie and prosperous bee that right hande, that shall plant and possesse a soyle, where they may fructifie, increase, and growe to good: this honourable and blessed bee the memorie of so charitable a deede, from one generation to another.

To conclude, your lordship hath payd for the discoverie and search, both in your owne person, and since by mee. You haue framed it, and moulded it readie for her Maestie, to set on her seale. If either enuie or ignorance, or other deuise frustrate the rest, the good which shall growe to our enemies, and the losse which will come to her Maestie and this kingdome, will after a fewee yeeres shewe it selfe. Wee haue more people, more shippes, and better meanes, and yet doe nothing. The Spanish king hath had so sweete a taste of the riches thereof, as notwithstanding that hee is lord of so many empires and kingdomes already, notwithstanding his enterprises of France and Flanders, notwithstanding that hee attended this yeere a home inuasion: yet hee sent twentie eight saile to Trinidad, whereof tenne were for that place and Guiana, and had some other shippes ready at Cadiz, if the same had not beene by my Lordes her Maesties Generals and your lordship set on fire.

In one worde; The time serueth, the like occasion seldome happeneth in many ages, the former repeated considerations doe all ioyntly together importune vs; now, or neuer to make our selues rich, our posteritie happie, our Prince euery way stronger then our enemies, and to establish our Countrey in a state flourishing and peaceable. Let not then such an indignitie rest on vs, as to depraue so notable an enterprise with false rumors, and vaine suppositions, to sleepe in so serious a matter, and renouncing the honour, strength, wealth, and soueraigntie of so famous a conquest, to leaue all vnto the Spaniard.

A Table of the names of the Riuers, Nations, Townes, and
Casiques or Captaines that in this second voyage were discovered.

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.
1	Arowari great.	Arwaos, Pararweas, Charibes.		
2	Iwaripoco very great.	Mapurwa- nas. Iaos.		
3	Maipari great.	Arricarri.		
4	Caipurogh great.	Arricurri.		
5	Arcooa great.	Marowan- nas, Chari- bes.		
6	Wiapoco great.	Coono- racki, Wacacoia, Wariseaco, Charibes.		
7	Wanari.	Charibes.		
8	Capurwacka great.	Charibes.		
9	Cawo great.	Iaos.	Icoomana.	Wareo.
10	Wia great.	Maworia, Charib. Wiaco, Ch.	Paramimo- na, great.	Mashwipo.

1 These are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and greene stones. They speake the Tinitiuas language: so likewise doe the nation of the Aricarri, who haue greater store of those moneyes then any others.

2 Here it was as it seemeth, that Vincent Pinçon the Spaniard had his Emeralbs. In one of these two riuers certain Frenchmē that suffred shipwrack some 2. or 3. yerres since, doe liue.

3. 4. 5. These with the other two seeme to bee branches of the great riuer of Amazonas. When wee first fell with land, wee were by y Indians reported, but 1. dayes iourney from the greatest riuer

	Rivers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.
11	<i>Casane g.</i> <i>Gowateri a</i> great island.	Wiaco. Ch. Shebaïos.	<i>Canawi. g.</i> <i>Orinikero.</i>	Parawatteo.
12	<i>Macuria.</i>	Pirao. Ch.		
13	<i>Cawroora.</i>	Arawaccos Charib.		
14	<i>Manmann- ri.</i>	Ipaïos. Ch.		
15	<i>Cureey.</i>	Shebaïos.		
16	<i>Carassawini.</i>	Shebaïos.	<i>Musswara.</i> great.	Ocapanio.
17	<i>Cuninama.</i>	Iaos, Arwaccas.	<i>Waritappi.</i> great.	Carinamari.
18	<i>Vracco.</i> <i>Moruga.</i>	Arwaccas, Arwaccas.		Curipo- toore, Marwabo, Eramacoa, Aranacoa.
19	<i>Mawari.</i>	Winicinas. Arwaccas.	<i>Iwanama.</i>	
20	<i>Mawarpari.</i>	Arwaccas.	<i>Awaricana.</i>	Mahaho- nero.
21	<i>Amonna</i> very great. <i>Capeleppo. g.</i>	Charibes.	<i>Iaremappo.</i> very great.	
22	<i>Marawini.</i> g.	Paracuttos.		
23	<i>Owcowi.</i>			
24	<i>Wiwiami.</i>			
25	<i>Aramatap- po.</i>			
26	<i>Wiapo.</i>			
27	<i>Macura- ma.</i>			
28	<i>Carapi.</i>			
29	<i>Oraca.</i>			
30	<i>Chaimari- nini great.</i>	Carepini. Charib.		
31	<i>Ecrowio.</i>	Vpotom- mas.		Caponai- rie
32	<i>Pawro.</i>	Arwaccas.	<i>Maripom- ma.</i>	
33	<i>Shurinama.</i> g.	Carepini. Chari.		
34	<i>Shurama. g.</i>	Carepini.	<i>Cupari.</i>	
35	<i>Northubria</i> or <i>Cupana- ma</i> very g.	Char. Arwaccas.		
36	<i>Wioma.</i>			
37	<i>Cushwini.</i>	Neckeari.	<i>Tawroremene.</i>	Neperwari.

riuer, that is on that coast.

6 The first mountaines y appeare within lande, doe lie on the East side of this riuer. From the mouth thereof, the inhabitants doe passe with their canoas in 20. dayes to the salte lake, where Manoa standeth. The water hath many Cataracts like Caroli, but that they are of greater distance one frō another: where it falles into the sea, hills do inclose it on both sides.

10 The freshest shoots out into the sea, with great force: the sea doth here sometimes campe high, and breake, as if it were full of rocks: but in prooffe it is nothing els but the pride & force of the tydes. In this bay, & round about, so far as the mountaines do extend there is great store of Brasill wood, some of it bearing farre darker colour then other some. Here are also many sortes of other good woods.

14 These speake the language of the Indias of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind, and eat them aliue peecemeale. This torment is not comparable to the deadly paine that cometh of hurts, or woundes, made by those arrowes that are inuenomed wth the iuice of y herbe Wapoto. These Indias because they eate them whome they kill, vse no poyson. The sea coast is nowhere populous, for they haue much wasted themselves

	Rivers.	Nations.	Townes.	Capt.
38	Inana. g.	Carepini.	Owaripoo- re.	
39	Curitini. g.	Arwaccas.	Mawrona- ma.	
40	Winitwari. g.	Parawianni	Maiapoore Carwacka.	
41	Berbice. g.	Arwaccas.	Aneta. Manacoo- beece. Eppera. Parawiannos. Lupulee.	Warawa- roco.
42	Wapari.	Shebaios.	Madewini.	Benmur- wagh.
43	Maica- mini.	Arwaccas.	Iswee.	Caporaco. great Cap.
44	Maba- waica.	Panapi.	Maburefa. g.	
45	Lemerare. g.	Arwaccas.	Maburefa. g.	
46	*Deworitia, or Dessekebe very g.	Wacawa- ios.		
	Matoroomi. Coowini. Chipanama. Arawanna. Itoebece.	Iaos. Shebaios. Arwaccas. Charibes. Maripai. Wocowaios. Parawianni. Iwarewakeri.	Caiaremappo. Waroopana. Maripa. Chipariparo. Tontwi. Sarinbogh. Warinwagh.	
47	Pawrooma. g. Aripacoro. Ecawini. Manurawini.	Iaos. Panipi.		Macapo- wa. Shuracoi- ma.
48	Moruga. g. Piara. Chaimera- goro.	Iaos. Arwaccas.	Cooparoore. g. Awiapari. Topoo.	Manare- cowa. Iarwarema
49	Waini. g.	Charibes.	Tocopoima. g.	Parana.
50	Barima. g. Caitooma. Arooca.	Charibes. Arwaccas.	Pekwa. g. Arwakima.	Anawra. Aparwa. Arracurri.
51	Amacur. g.			
52	Aratoori. g. Cawrooma. g. Ralcana, or Orenoque. Maipar. Itacaponca. Owarecapa- ter. Waruca- nassa.	Ilands in the mouth of Rale- ana.		

themselves, in mutuall warres.
But now in all parts so farre as
Orenoque, they liue in league
and peace.

21. Neere the head of this
riuer, Capeleppo falleth out of
the plaines, and runneth into the
Sea with Curitini. Some of
the Guianians liue in this riuer.

29. This riuer, as also most
of the rest, is not nauigable a-
boue five dayes iourney by rea-
son of rockes. It is tenne dayes
iourney to the head, where the
Guianians do dwell: hony, yarne
or cotton, silke, Balsamum, and
Brasil-beds are here to bee had
in plentie, and so all the coast a-
longst Eastward. Some ima-
ges of golde, spleenestones, and
others may bee gotten on this
coast, but they doe somewhat ex-
traordinarily esteeme of them,
because euery where they are
current money. They get their
Poones, & other pieces of golde
by exchange, taking for each one
of their greater Canoas, one
piece or image of golde, with
three heades, and after that rate
for their lesser Canoas, they re-
ceiue pieces of golde of lesse va-
lue. One hatchet is the ordina-
rie price for a Canoa. They
haue euery where diuers sorts
of drugs, gummes, and rootes,
which I doubt not by farther
trial, will be found medicinable.

*So called af-
ter the name
of the right ho-
nourable the
Earle of Essex.

Names of poisoned hearbets.

Ourari. ¶ Apareepo.
Carassi. ¶ Parapara.

Hearbes good against poyson.

Turara. ¶ Wapo.
Cutarapama. ¶ Macatto.

The 29. day of June we ar-
riued in Portland roade, hauing
spent five moneths in going,
laying, and returning.

Here follow the names of those worthie Spaniards that haue sought to discover and conquer *Guiana*: Extracted out of the writings of *Iuan de Castellanos* clerigo, who compiled the booke intituled, *Primera parte de las Elegias de varones ilustres de Indias*.

The river of Amana, by which Sir Walter Raleigh first entred, called by Diego de Ordaz Viapari: And by Barth. de Casas Iulia-Pari.

The enterprize of *Guiana* was undertaken by Diego de Ordaz of the kingdome of Leon, in the yeere 1531. Hee was one of the captaines of Cortes in the conquest of Mexico. This Ordaz made his entrance by the river of Amana, by which wee entred, and spent fiftie dayes before hee came to the river of Orenoque, which we past in fiftene. Hee named the river by which hee entred, Viapari; which name it still retaineth in the Spanish descriptions. It lyeth South from Trinidad some five leagues. He transported out of Spaine a thousand souldiers. He dyed afterwards at sea in returning for Spaine.

2 Iuan Corteso arrived at the river of Amazonas or Orellana with three hundred men: Hee marched by into the countrey. But neither hee nor any of his companie did returne againe.

3 Gaspar de Sylva, with his two brothers, departed from Teneriff, accompanied with two hundred men to assist Diego de Ordaz. They sought El Dorado by the river of Amazonas: but staying there a short time, they fell downe to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.

4 Iuan Gonzales set saile from Trinidad to discover *Guiana*. He reposed himselfe more on the faith of his guides, then on his small number of men. Hee by triall founde the confines of *Guiana*, so farre as hee entred, to be populous, plentifull of victuall, and rich in golde. Upon such proofes as hee brought with him, to make good his report, many others adventured to follow his steps.

5. 6 Philip de Vren, & after him Pedro de Limpas, who both successiueley commanded the *Almaines*, were leaders in this action. Limpas was slaine by an Indian Casique named Porima.

7 Ieronimo de Ortal undertooke it by the way of Maracapana. After great travell and his substance all spent, he dyed on the sudden at S. Domingo.

8. 9 Ximenes, brother of Don Ximenes de Quesida the Adelantado, and Pedro de Orsua were both at sundry times in the same conquest.

10 Father Iala, a Friar, taking with him onely one companion, and some Indian guides passed into the prouinces of *Guiana*. Hee returned with good intelligence, and brought with him Eagles, idols, and other iewels of golde, An. 1560. Hee assayed the second time to passe in like manner, but was slaine by the Indians.

11 Hernandez de Serpa also undertooke it. The Indians of Cumanawgoto killed him, and defeated his armie.

12 Afterwardes, Diego de Vargas, and his sonne Don Iuan followed this enterprize, and at their first setting out, were slaine by the Indians.

13 Caceres undertooke this discovery from Nuevo Reyno de Granada. Hee came no neerer to it then Matachines, which borders vpon the sayd kingdome of Granada. Hee rested there and peopled that place.

14 It was also attempted by Alonso de Herera, at two severall times. Hee endured great miserie, but neuer entred one league into the countrey. Hee sought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at last slaine by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

15 It was also undertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herrera and Augustine Delgado ioyned in the conquest of Trinidad, against Bawcunar a famous king of that place. He passed by Maracapana in the yeere 1536 to discover El Dorado with 500 chosen men. In this iourney hee got much gold, and tooke many Indian prisoners, whom hee manacled in yreus; and many of them dyed as they were led in the way. The Tigers being fished on those dead carkeilles, assaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themselves from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire neere the head of the river Tinados. Most of his people perished likewise.

16 Augustine Delgado searched the countrey to the Southward of Cumanawgoto with 53. footemen, and three horsemen. The waies that were then betweene the Indians of the vale, and those of the mountaines, serued well for his purpose. By which occasion he found means to passe so farre, untill he came to an Indian Casique, named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindnesse, and gaue him for a present some rich iewels of golde, sixe selimly pages, tenne young slaues, and three nymphes very beautifull, which bare the names of three prouinces from whence they were sent to Garamental chiefe commander of all that countrey. Their names were Guan-

ba Goroguané, and Maïararé. These provinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthfull, and have an admirable influence in producing faire women. The Spaniards afterwards requite the manifold curtesies that they receiued in that countrey, tooke and carried away, besides all the golde that they could get, all the Indians that they could lay holde on: they conueyed them in pions to Cubagua, and sold them for slaves. Delgado afterwards was shot in the eye by an Indian: of which hurt he died.

17 Diego de Losada succeeded in his brothers place. Hee had many more men; who in the ende wasted themselves in mutinies: those that liued returned to Cubagua.

18 Reynoso undertooke this iourney: but hauing endured exceeding troubles, in the discomfort of his minde, he gaue it ouer, and was buried in Hispaniola.

19 Pedro de Orsua, in the yeere 1560. fought it with 400. Spaniards by the riuer of Orellana. Hee imbarqued his men in the countrey of the Morjones. As they passed downe the riuer, they found Syriamom trees. His men murdered him, and afterward the sayde rebels beheaded lady Anes his wife, who forsooke not her lord in all his trauels vnto death.

20 Frier Francis Montefino was in the province of Maracapaná with 100. souldiers bound for Guiana, whē Lopez Aguirri the tyrant made insurrection in all those parts of the Indies, that became of this intended iourney is not expessed.

In this discoverie of Guiana, you may reade both of Orellana, who discovered the riuer of Amazonas An. 1542. and of Berreo, with others that haue trode this maze, and lost themselves in seeking to finde this countrey.

An aduertisement to the Reader.

IN this Breviarye, the names onely are comprised of such, as being led with the generall fame of *Guiana*, haue indeuoured to discover and possesse it. The whole histories are long and cannot suddenly be translated or englished at large, as we in these Elegies finde them. It may perhaps seeme strange and incredible, that so many caualleros should all faile in this one attempt, since in many parts of the *Indies*, far smaller numbers in shorter time haue performed as great matters, and subdued mighty kingdomes: I haue therefore thought it good here to alleage those reasons, which by circumstance may bee gathered to haue bene chiefe impediments to the Spaniard in this intended search and conquest.

The first may bee the remotenesse or distance of their places of *Rendenous*, from *El Dorado*: which appeare to be foure, *Nueno Reyno*, the mouth of *Amazones* or *Orellana*, *Cubagua* or the coast of the *Caracas*, and *Trinidad*.

1 From *Moiobamba*, where *Orellana* hath his head-spring, to his mouth, the Spaniards account it 2000. leagues. *Raleana* riseth neere the said mountaines in *Moiobamba*, & tributeth his waters to the sea, not farre from the other: *Guiana* is enuironed with these 2 freshwater-seas, where their distance is greatest from their risings, and is besides guarded with impassable mountaines which inclose and defend it on all parts, excepting *Topiawaries* countrey. It is no maruel then, if the vigor, heart, & life of those Spaniards, who sought it frō *Nueno Reyno*, were allayed & spent, before they came neere to it, in those long, desolate & vncomfortable wayes.

2 From *Cubagua* to seeke it by sea in vessels of any burthen, is a worke of far greater labour, then to saile directly from *Spaine*. And to passe ouer land is a matter of great difficultie, by reason that the Indian nations inhabiting betweene the coast of The *Caracas* and *Guiana*, being wearied and harried with the daily incursions of the Spaniards, haue now turned their abused patience into furie, refusing to suffer any forces of men to be led through their countreys. For the Spaniards traueilling in those parts, when they found not gold answerable to their expectation, ouerlaid them with cruelties, tyrannie, and thraldome: forbearing neither men, women, friends, nor foes. Which maner of dealing, though in some part it satisfied their desire of present profit; yet hath it otherwise done them much harme, in hardening and driuing those nations to desperate resolutions.

3 From the mouth of *Orellana* to seeke entrance with any number of men, & to bore a hole through the mountaines is all one. Neither finde wee, that any seeking it that way, haue at any time boasted of their gaines or pleasurable iourneys.

4 From *Trinidad*, as the course is shortest, so doeth it promise best likelyhood of successe. Howbeit, impossible it is with any vessell of ordinarie burthen by that way to recouer the riuer of *Raleana*.

The second. The Spaniards haue bene so farre from helping and furthering one another, or admitting partners or coadiutors in the *Guiana*-cause, that amongst so many attempts, from

the beginning to the last, I cannot find any one, when they were otherwise likeliest to preuaile, free from discords, mutinies, and cruell murders amongst themselves.

Thirdly. The Spaniards in this place haue mist that aduantage, which elsewhere hath seedeed themselves in all their conquestes: namely, the dissentions and mutuall warres of the Indians. Which of what force it is, may be gathered by the example *Aranco* in *Chil.* For the Indians of that one prouince containing in circuit not aboue 20. leagues, haue maintained warres aboue these 30. yeeres against all the Spaniards, and in despite of them haue kept their owne countrey, oftentimes discomfiting their enemies in many set battels, burning and destroying some of their strongest townes. The chiefe reason whereof I take to bee, because no Indian nation was enemy vnto them. And howsoever the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exploits in the *Indies*: yet doe their owne writings in effect testifie, that without the ayde of the Indians diuided among themselves, *Mexico*, *Pern*, and the rest, had neuer beene Spanish.

Lasty. I can impute it to no cause so rightly, as immediatly to the diuine prouidence: for by him princes raigne. And in my beleefe (except we will looke to bee warned by miracle from heauen) wee neede no further assurances, then wee already haue to perswade our selues, that it hath pleased God of his infinite goodnesse, in his will and purpose to appoint and reserue this empire for vs.

The third voyage set forth by sir *Walter Raleigh* to *Guiana*, with a pinnesse called *The Wattle*, in the yeere 1596. Written by *M. Thomas Massham* a gentleman of the companie.



Vpon Thursday the 14. of October 1596. we set saile from Limehouse vpon the riuer of Thames, and through much contrarietie of winds and other accidents, we made it the 27. of December, before we could get out of Waimouth. The 25. of Januarie in the morning we came to the North side of the Island of Grand Canaria, where we hoped to haue gotten a boate to serue vs vpon the coast of Guiana, but the winde was so great, that we could not lanch our shalope: so we past along by the roade and the towne, and at length saw a boate lying on shoare, which being too bigge for vs, wee ripped by, and wooded our selues with her. That day wee descried a saile, which at length wee found to be a flieboate of Dartmouth, of 200. tunnes, bound to the Island of Mayo for sale. Wee fell in consort with her, and that night stode for the Southermost part of the Island there to water, where wee stayed all the next day, and watered at the Southsouthwest part thereof. That night wee weyed and stode away together Southsoutheast, and South and by East, purposing by their perswasion to goe for the riuer Doro. The 28. of Januarie wee made the furthermost part of Barbarie; and this morning we met with *B. Benjamin* Wood with his flete of 3 sailes bound for the straights of Magellan & China, to wit, *The Beare*, *The Whelpe*, and *The Benjamin*: who told vs that there was no good to be done in the riuer Doro. Whereupon we stode along with them for Cape Blanco, vnto which we came vpon Sunday night next following. And vpon Monday morning the first of Februarie, we saw two ships in a landie bay: so wee stirred in with them, which were Frenchmen bound for the West Indies, and put all into the bay, where wee refreshed our selues with fish, in which there was infinite store, and stayed there vntill Thursday the 5. at which time wee stode by with the Cape againe, where rode the Frenchman and his pinnesse, who put forth right afore vs, and another Frenchman and his carauel well-manned: So all we 5. English came to an anker by them, where after kinde greeting with many shots out of euery ship both English and French, all our capitaines were invited to a feast aboard the French admirall: where after great cheere and kinde entertainment, it was concluded on all handes to take the Isle of Fogo, if God would giue vs leaue.

B. Benjamin
Wood bound for
The South sea,
Cape Blanco.

The Island
of Sal.

The same day we all weyed and stode along for the Isle of Sal, vnto which we came the 8. of Februarie, and ankered altogether at a bay in the West part thereof: in which Island wee had good store of goates and fresh fish. There is no man dwelling vpon the Island that we could see. Wee could finde no fresh water vpon it, but one standing puddle of bad water: it hath foure great mountaines vpon the 4. corners of it. Here the Frenchmen (as it seemeth being overcome with drinke, hauing bene aboard our Generall at a feast) being on shoare, one of the gentlemen of their companie was slaine, and their chiefe captaine sorely wounded: by reason whereof, and of the setting together of a pinnesse which they were about, the French admirall and the carauel stayed behind. So wee in the *Wattle*, and the other 6. ships weyed the 10. of Februarie, and stode away for the Isle of Maio.

Mayo. This night the other two French shippes that came from Sal with vs (as it seemeth of purpose, because their comforts were not with them) lost vs. The next morning wee sawe Maio. So wee and the flieboate of Dartmouth compassed the Northermost part of the Island, and master Benjamin Wood in the China-fleete, the Southermost, and came all to an anker together at the Southwest part thereof: where rode five sayles of Flemmings lading salte; who had brought their hozles and cartes, and wheele-barrowes, and planks for their barrowes to runne vpon. Here is abundance of salte in this Island made by Gods hande without mans labour. These tolde vs that there were thirtie sayles more, which fell to leeward of Fogo, who, as I heard since, beat it vp with much adoe, & came thither also for salte. This trade may bee very beneficiall to England, considering the dearness of salte. Of goates on this Island there is such store, as is incredible, but to those that haue seene them: and it is a wonder howe they liue one by the other, the ground being stonie and barren. It is thought that there are dwelling in it some twentie Mountainers, which got one of the Flemmings men stragling; and God knoweth what they did with him: for they sawe him no more. This Island is somewhat lowe and round, hauing no great mountaines vpon it.

36 sayles of
Flemmings
at Maio for salt.

Here ended our determination concerning the inuading of Fogo. And here wee left the flieboate of Dartmouth lading salte, and the China-fleete to refresh themselves with goates, who as I haue heard since had at the village (from whence the Mountainers were fledde into the furthest partes of the Island and rocks) great store of dyed goates which they carried along with them: which were like to bee a great helpe vnto them in their long voyage. So vpon Saturday the 12 of Februarie at night wee set saile and stood for the coast of Wiana, which wee were bound for.

Vpon Sunday the twentieth of Februarie wee came into the maine current that setteth from the Cape of Buena Esperança along the coast of Brasil, and so toward the West Indies, for the most part setting away North-west.

The Tuesday night following, whereas before our course was West-south-west, wee stood away West and by South: by reason whereof, and of the current that set vs to the Northward, wee were the next day by noone twentie minutes further to the Northward then the day before. So that then wee lay away South-west, because wee were loath to fall to the Northward of our place intended: which if wee should bee put to leeward of, there was small hope left to recouer it.

By Thursday wee were within ont degree of the Equinoctiall line: therefore this day wee halled away West and by South, and West among. This night wee sounded, but had no ground at 90 fathoms.

The next day in the morning the colour of the water began to change, and to bee more white, so wee made another sound and had ground at thirtie fathoms, but saw no lande, and in the afternoon wee halled away West-north-west, North-west, and North-north-west. In the night wee sounded diuers times, and had twelue, ten, and nine fathoms water.

All Saturday wee had a thick red water, and had seuen and eight fathoms both day and night, and vpon Sunday morning by day being the seuen and twentieth of Februarie, wee made the lande which appeared lowe, and trended neereft as wee fell with it, South and by East, North and by West about two degrees toward the North. Right on head of vs was a Cape or headland, so that had wee bene shot a little further into the bay, the winde being more Northerly, wee should hardly haue doubled it off. For with much adoe making many boozes, and stopping euery tyde, it was the Tuesday following before wee cleered our selues of the bay, and recouered the Cape. Nowe the lande trended North-west and by North, and Southeast and by South. And still wee were faine to anker euery tyde sometimes in foure fathoms, and sometimes in three, as farre as wee could see land. So about night wee sawe Cape Cecil: and after some two houres came to an anker. Betwene these two Capes the lande lyeth lowe and euery.

Vpon Wednesday morning, hauing the winde large at East-northeast, wee layd it away vpon a board into the bay of Wiapoucou and came to an anker in the riuers mouth in two fathoms: ouer the barre there is little water, as 6 and 7 foote, and lesse in many places. And this riuier of Wiapoucou standeth almost in 4 degrees to the Northward of the line.

The next morning wee weyed, and standing in with our pinnelle by night, wee got some eight leagues by the riuier. This day sometimes wee had but 5 foote water and drew 7 foot, but being soft oaze we went cleere: and a little before wee came to anker, wee were on ground vpon a rocke, but with some trouble and labour wee got off and had no hurt.

Vpon Friday the 4 of March towards night wee came to the falles. The next day D. Leonard Berrie our captaine, the Master, my selfe and some 5 more, went through the woods, and spent all the day in searching the head of the falles, but could not finde it: for though wee passed by

Cape Cecil in
3 degrees and
a halfe.

The riuier of
Wiapoucou als
most in 4 de-
grees North.

many, yet were there more still one above the other. So that finding no Indians in this river to buy victuals of, neither any kind of thing that might intice vs to come to so short allowance, as we must haue done, if wee had spent any long time here, finding it ouer hard to passe the falles, wee fell downe the river againe, and by Friday the 11 of March wee cleared our selues of the river and bay. This river from the mouth to the falles is some 16 leagues, in many places a mile ouer, but for the most part halfe a mile. There are many Islands in it: as are also in most of the rivers vpon the coast. This night wee ankered against Cawo in two fathoms; whereinto wee thought to haue put with our pinnesse: but found the water so shoald, and the sea so growen, that neither with our shippe nor shallope wee durst goe in.

Cawo.
On Saturday by noone wee came to anker vnder one of the 7 Islands: vpon which going on shoare wee found neither man nor beast, but great store of yellow plumbes which are good to eate.

The 7 Islands.
Upon Sunday after dinner our Master William Dowle and 6 more went off with our boat to a towne called Aramatto; where they found many inhabitants, and brought victuals and some Tabacco with them, and one Indian named Caprima, who lying aboard all night, the next day being Monday the 14 of March went with our Captaine into Wias, and there traded with the Caribes for such things as they had. And afterward they of Aramatto came off with their canoas to vs, and wee went on shoare to them: and from thence our Captaine sent a canoa with seu-

Aramatto a great towne.
The Caribes of Wias tractable people.
uen men, which had euery one of them a knife to goe backe to the river of Cawo, and to tell Ricimo captaine of that place, that because wee coulde not come to him, wee would stay at Chiana for him, whither wee intreated him to come to vs. So vpon Thursday the 17 wee stood in for Chiana, and came to an anker without in the bay in 3 fathoms that night: and had the Caribes comming continually to vs with their canoas, which brought vs great store of victuals and some Tabacco, shewing themselves very kinde and louing, and came all from their townes, and dwelt on shoare by vs untill Ricimo came: at whose comming they returned all by to their townes againe, which was vpon the Sunday following. All this day we feasted him and his traine, and the next day we traffiqued with them for such things as they brought, which was principally tabacco.

Chiana a river and bay.
After that they had made knowne their mindes of the desire that they had to haue the English come and kill the Spaniards, and to dwell in Orenoque and in the countrey, they departed with their 3 canoas the next day. And wee with the helpe of the Caribes of Chiana, hauing by their meanes from the shoare watered, because the rivers mouth was salte, departed out of the bay the Thursday following, & passing by Maccrea, Couroura, and Manamanora, by reason of shoalds, rockes, and great windes, being a lee shoare; and for want of a good shalope, wee came to an anker the next day being good Friday in five fathoms neere The Triangle Islands called The Careres. And vpon Saturday standing to the Westward of the towne Comanamo: from whence and from the other townes in that bay, which are some 6 or 7, wee had canoas come off to vs as before with such things as they had themselves in vse, with parrots, monkeys, and cotton-wooll, and flaxe. From whence wee departed vpon Sunday following the 28 of March 1597.

The Careres.
Mawaco.
And passing by the rivers of Euracco and Amano, which openeth but a small river, and is shoald off, wee came to Marawinne the next day: And finding a chanell of three, foure, and five fathoms, wee stood into the river: and the same day came to an anker some 2 leagues in against the mouth of Coohepwinne, which river goeth into Amano. Into which, (vnderstanding that there were Arwaccas dwelling) this night we sent our boat and came to a towne called Marrac one league in: And finding the people something pleasant, hauing drunke much that day, being as it seemed a festiuall day with them, yet were they very fearefull and ready to run away at the first sight of vs, hauing seldome seene any Christian before. But assoone as Henry our Indian interpreter had tolde them what wee were, and our intent, they came to vs and vsed vs kindly, and brought vs victuals and other things. And the next day their captaine Mawewiron came out into Marawinne, with diuers canoas, & traded with vs, and wee went in againe to them on shore, who made very much of vs, and carried vs from house to house, and made vs eate and drinke in euery house which wee came in. And the next day following being the last of March, hauing the captaine of Marrack with vs, wee weyed and stood into the river, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone came to an anker some eight leagues within the river, a little short of a towne called Quiparia, the people whereof are Caribes: who, when they sawe vs come toward their towne with our boate, began all to runne into the woods, untill the captaine of Marrac which was with vs in the boate, leaped ouerboard and swamme on shoare vnto them, and tolde them that wee were Englishmen, and came in friendship to trade with them.

Quiparia a towne of the Caribes.
Upon whose report they came before night five or seuen canoas aboard vs, yet very fearefull, because

because there was neuer either shippe or Christian scene in that riuer before. The first of Aprill, wee weighed againe, and stood in to the next towne called Macirria: where comming to anker, there came a canoa from Amano to vs, with great store of victuals, which canoa wee bought: and because wee mette with some sholes, we were loath to goe any farther with our Pinnele: so there wee moored her, and the next day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, eleven of vs (Master Monax hauing the gouernment of the action, by the Captaines appointment) with Mawerrou, Henry, and William of Cawo, in the canoa which we bought, went in to the riuer farther to search it so farre as wee could, and that night gatte some five leagues from our shippe. And betwene two villages, Awodwaier and Mapeributo, we tooke vp our lodging in the woods. The third of Aprill, betimes in the morning, we tooke our course still vnto the riuer, and in the afternoone came to one house where wee found many Indians, where wee hired another canoa and foure Indians, into the which I went, and one more of our men, and this night gat twelue leagues farther, and as before, lodged among the wilde beastes.

On Thursday the fourth of Aprill, wee came to the falles of this riuer about two in the afternoone; and hauing shotte vp some of the rockes, wee went on shore vpon an island, and there conferred of our farther proceeding. And inquiring of the Indians that wee hired for our Pilots of the last house, whether the falles were passable or not: their first answer was, that they had nothing to eate: but wee being loath to loose so much labour, and the sight of that vpper rich countrey, which wee desired, told them that they should haue victuals of vs (though God knoweth wee had none for our selues); who seeing vs so importunate, sayde farther, that the rockes would kill the canoas: which they sayde because indeed they had no victuals: which by some was taken for sufficient to proceede no farther, and so wee left off, and onely stayed some two houres vpon the island, and with the swiftnesse of the current, fell that night downe 10 leagues againe. Though I for mine owne part offered in that small canoa that I was in, being so leake, that my selfe did nothing but laue out the water, to lead them the way, and if they sawe any danger to mee, they might chuse whether they would come into it or not themselves.

If for seeing the countrey aboue was rich as wee were informed, that their bowes were handled with golde, (being men of an extraordinarie stature for talnes) wee should haue taken the more paines, and haue faced the harder, vntill wee had gotten vp in the countrey which wee sawe with our eyes: for though wee had not victuals in any sort to cary vs vp, yet the woods doe yeld fruites and the palmito trees afforde meate, whereby wee might haue made shift to liue, vntill wee had come to the inhabitants, by whome we might both bee refreshed with victuals, and also haue reaped that, which might haue done vs good as long as wee had liued.

But to returne to the rest of our voyage: the day after wee went from the falles wee came to our shippe, which was the fifth of Aprill 1597. On Wednesday wee fell with our Pinnele to Quiparia againe: where we brought her on ground right before the town, and trimmed her with the pitch of the countrey: and vntill wee had done, kept a corps du guard, night and day on shore, which was vpon Saturday following the ninth of Aprill. All the while we were there we had an house of the Caribes, and were kindly vsed of them, and had victuals, and euery thing we needed of them.

And so taking our leaue on Tuesday being the twelfth of Aprill, wee came to the mouth of Cusse-winne, where the Arwaccas of Marrac and of the riuer had prouided and brought to vs such infinite store of potatoes, and Guiney-wheate, that the steward sayd wee had no stowage for them; and so they were turned backe, and wee by that meanes came to shorter allowance home ward bound, then (if there had bene any good care) wee needed to haue done.

On Fryday the fifteneeth of Aprill, wee put forth of Marawinne, which is some foure leagues ouer, and within one league and an halfe for the most part broad; full of islands, and diuers small riuers running into it: and it is betwene forty and fifty leagues, from the mouth to the falles, and lyeth for the most part South South-west vp, altering some 3 poynts, being almost streight. And standing along to the Westward, this night we tryed with our mayne coatle and bonnet. On Saturday night we came to an anker, in three fathomes against Sewramo. On Sunday morning we thought to haue gone into Cuppanamo: but sending off our boat & finding vncertaine sounding, sometime 3 fathomes and presently 9 foote, we stood along to Coritine and came into it vpon the Monday being the 18 of Aprill: and the next night wee came to anker against Warrawalle in 10 fathoms. On Wednesday the Indians of the towne hauing hunted a Doe, shee tooke soyle & came neer our ship, and putting off with our boat we tooke her, being like vnto our doe in England, not altogether so fat, but very good flesh and great bodied. In this riuer we met a Barke called

Macirria a towne.

A rich countrey.

Some hands led with golde.

Pitch to trim ships.

The riuer of Cusse-winne.

Marawinne.

Sewramo.

Coritine riuer.

The great lake
Perima.

They hying
their shippes
up to the
Mawranamo.

called the Iohn of London captaine Leigh being in her. And being both fallen downe within some five leagues of the mouth of the river, vpon intelligence that one Marracon, (whom wee brought along with vs) gaue vs; namely that the river Desekebe, in which he dwelt (and wherein there were some three hundred Spaniards, which for the most part now are destroyed and dead) doeth lead so farre into the countrey, that it cometh within a dayes iourney of the lake called Perima, whereupon Manoa is supposed to stand; and that this river of Coritine doeth meete with Desekebe vpon the land: by meanes whereof wee make account to goe vpon into the countrey, and to haue discovered a passage vnto that rich citie. So hauing concluded both shippes, we stood vpon into the river againe, and comming to Warawalle the 24 of Aprill there our shippes roade vntill we went vpon to Mawranamo to speake with Marracon, to know the trueth of these things: whom when we had found, he verified al that before he had spoken: Master Monax being the man that of Leonard of Cawe tooke all the intelligence: who being brought vpon with Antonie Berreo could some Spanish and Marracons language also. And besides wee our selues by signes, and drawing the two rivers on the ground, and the meeting of them aloft, did perceiue as much. Now comming downe with our boates the sixe and twentieth of Aprill we went vpon with our ships to Mawranamo, where wee moored them, and taking some twentie out of both, vpon Thursday the eight and twentieth in the afternoone with two shallops and two Canaas, in one of which Henry the Indian was and some twentie Indians more, wee went vpon the river; and by night getting some three leagues farther wee lodged in the woods, and the next morning wee with our boate and the two Canaas went into a small river called Tapuere, to a towne called Macharibi, thinking to haue had Casau and other victuals, which they were altogether vnprouided of, by reason that they make no more ready then serueth themselves from hand to mouth, liuing in this towne for the most part by fish. By meanes of going into this river, though wee rowed very hard, it was noone before wee ouertooke the bigger shallop, wherein both the Captaines were. This night we came to a towne called Vaperon, where wee stayed all Saturday and the night following, for Casau: whereof they baked good store for vs being but a fewe left in the towne. For not a moneth before wee came thither, the Waccawacs that dwell about the falles came downe to the towne, and slewe some tenne of them, and many of the rest fled away, so that wee found most of the houses empty. Upon Sunday morning being May day, wee went from this place, and by night gotte some twelue leagues beyond, and being past all townes wee lodged as before in the woods, and the next day came to the falles of the river; vpon some of which falles we shotte with our boates, and going vpon a rocke there came some nine canaas by the river to vs, and would haue gone vpon with vs to kill the Waccawayans, because they had killed some of them, as before is said. Whereupon the Captaines and Master Monax tooke aduise: and because nowe they had learned, as they sayde, that five dayes iourney farther there was a fall not passable, and that by this meanes they should make the Waccawayans their enemies, which would turne to our great hurt, when Sir Walter Raleigh should come thither, hauing occasion to be this river, where wee were informed was good store of golde, they resolved to returne, though I peeled diuers reasons to the contrary. So vpon Tuesday night, we came backe to Vaperon, where we lodged.

And vpon Wednesday the fourth of May, wee came to our shippes: where it was reported that the Spaniards were gone out of Desekebe, which was not so: but as it seemed in policie by them giuen out to make our men, that wee left in our shippes more carelesse, that they might the easier haue surpris'd them in our absence. The next night wee had newes brought vs to Mawranamo, where we yet roade, that there were tenne canaas of Spaniards in the mouth of Coritine; and fearing lest they had intended to come to vs in the night, we fitted all our gunnes and muskets, and kept good watch to prevent them of their purpose; who, as it was afterwarde tolde vs, went along the coast to buy bread and other victuals for them in Orenoque, Marowgo and Desekebe. Upon Fryday the sixth of May we weighed and made downe the river, and vpon Sunday the eighth we gat cleare of it.

This river is much like vnto Marawynne in bredth, and about fiftie leagues from the mouth to the first falles, full of Ilandes as the other: in which three rivers, Mano, Tapuere, and Tabuebbi, otherwise Tapuelli: with sixe Townes, Warrawalle, Mawranamo, Maapuer, Maccharibi, Yohoron, and Vaperon. And so clerking our selues of this coast, wee tooke our course to the Ilands of the West Indies.

Now I thinke it not amisse to speak something of this countrey. And first touching the climate; though it stand within the Tropick, and something neere to the Equinoctial, so that the Sunne is twise a yeere ouer their heads & neuer far from them, yet is it temperate ynough in those partes.

For

For besides that wee lost not a man vpon the coast, one that was sicke before hee came there, was nothing sicker for being there, but came homesafe, thanks be to God. And for mine owne part, I was neuer better in body in all my life, and in like sort sared it with the rest of the company: for indeed it is not so extreame hote as many imagine. The people in all the lower parts of the countrey goe naked, both men and women, being of seuerall languages, very tractable, and ingenious, and very louing and kinde to Englishmen generally; as by experience we found, and vpon our owne knowledge doe report. In the vpper countreys they goe appavelled, being, as it seemeth, of a more ciuill disposition, hauing great store of golde, as we are certainly informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had some golde, which they brought and bought in the high countrey of Wiana, being able to buy no more, because they wanted the things which now wee haue left among them. They keepe no order of marriage: but haue as many wiues as they can buy, or win by force of their enemies, which principally is the cause of all their warres. For bread there is infinite store of casau, which is as good bread as a man need to eate, and better then we can carry any thither. We spent not a bit of our owne all the while we were vpon the coast. It is made of a root so called; which they take and scrape, and crush all the iuyce out, being poison; and when it is drie it is as fine floure as our white meale maketh: which dry as it is, without any moisture, they strew vpon a round stone, hauing a still fire vnder it, and so it congealeth to a cake; and when it commeth new off, it eateth like to our new white bread. Besides there is great store of Guiny-Wheat (whereof they make passing good drinke) which after it is once sowed, if you cut off the eare, on the same stalk groweth another.

Great store of golde in Wiana.

Passing good drinke made of maiz.

For victuals, wee either did not, or at least needed not to haue spent any of our owne: for there is great store of as good fish in the riuers, as any is in the world. Great store of fowle, of diuers sorts. Tortoise-flesh plentifull, and Tortoises egges innumerable. Deere, swine, conies, hares, cockes and heernes, with potatoes more then wee could spend. Besides, all kinde of fruits, at all times of the yeere: and the rarest fruits of the world, the pine, the plantain, with infinite other variable and pleasant, growing to their handes, without planting or dressing. For commodities, though wee had but small time to search, because wee spent so much time in searching the riuers: yet wee haue brought examples of some, which the countrey yeeldeth in great plenty: as a kinde of long hempe like unto Steele hempe, fine cotton wooll, which the trees yeeld great store of; and wherewith the women make a fine threed, which will make excellent good sustians or stockings. Great store of pitch, diuers sorts of sweet gummies, & West Indian pepper, balsamum, parrots and monkies. Besides diuers other commodities, which in good time may be found out to the benefit of our countrey, and profit of the aduenturers, who as yet hauing ventured much, haue gained little.

The commodities of Wiana.

Now leauing the riuer of Coritine, passing by Saint Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Matalina, we came to Dominica vpon the Friday following, being the thirteenth of May, hauing lost the barke that came out with vs the Wednesday before. Upon Sunday morning, the fifteenth of May, we came to Guadalupe, where wee watered at the Souther part of the Island, and hauing done by night, we set saile, and stood away to the Northward, but were becalmed all night, and untill tenne of the clocke on Monday night: at which time hauing a faire gale at East, and after at Southeast, we passed along in the sight of Monserate, Antigua, and Barbuda. Upon the ninth of June, being Thursday, we made the Islands of Flores and Coruo: and the eight and twentieth of June we made the Lisart, and that night came all safe to Plymouth, blessed be God.

Then lost captaine Leigh in the ship of London.

Betweene the Isle of Barbuda in the West Indies and England we had three mighty stormes, many calmes, and some contrary windes. And vpon the foureteenth of June 1597, there being diuers whales playing about our pinnelle, one of them crossed our stemme, and going vnder, rubbed her backe against our keele: but by none of all these we sustained any losse. Thanks be to him that gouerneth all things.

Written by Master
Thomas Masham,

CERTAINE

CERTAIN BRIEF TESTIMONIES CONCERNING the mightie Riuer of *Amazones* or *Orellana*, and of the most wonderfull downefall or cataract of waters at the head thereof, named by the Spaniards *El Pongo*: together with ſome mention of the rich and ſtately Empire of *Dorado*, called by Sir *Walter Raleigh* and the natural Inhabitants *Gniana*, and of the golden countrey of *Paytiti* neere adioyning, with other memorable matters: Taken out of *Iosephus de Acoſta* his naturall and morall Hiſtorie of the *Weſt Indies*.

The firſt Teſtimonie out of *Iosephus de Acoſta*, lib.2. cap.6.



When we intreat of Rivers, that which ſome men call the riuer of *Amazones*, others *Marannon*, others the riuer of *Orellana*, doeth iuſtly put to ſilence all the reſt, whereunto our Spaniards haue gone and ſayled. And I ſtand in doubt, whether I may call it a riuer or a ſea. This riuer runneth from the mountaines of *Piru*, from which it gathereth infinite ſtope of waters, of raine, and riuers, which runneth along, gathering it ſelfe together, and paſſing through the great fieldes and plaines of *Paytiti*, of *Dorado*, and of the *Amazones*, and falleth at length into the Ocean ſea, and encreth into it almoſt ouer againſt the Iſles of *Margarita* and *Trinidad*. But it groweth ſo broad, eſpecially towards the mouth, that it maketh in the middeſt many and great Iſles: and that which ſeemeth incredible, ſayling in the middle chanel of the riuer, men can ſee nothing but the ſkie and the riuer, although men ſay that there are hilles neere the bankes thereof, which can not be kenned, through the greatneſſe of the Riuer. Wee vnderſtood by very good meanes the wonderfull bredth and largeneſſe of this Riuer, which iuſtly may be called the Emperour of Riuers, to wit by a brother of our companie, which being a boy was there, & ſayled it wholly through, being perſonally preſent in all the ſucceſſes of that ſtrange enterance, which *Pedro de Orſua* made, and in the mutinies and perillous conſpiracies of that wicked *Diego de Aguirre*, out of all which troubles and dangers the Lord deliuered him, to make him one of our ſocietie.

The ſecond Teſtimonie out of *Iosephus de Acoſta*, lib.3. cap.20.

El Pongo.

Among all the riuers not onely of the *Weſt Indies* but alſo of the whole world, the chief is the Riuer of *Marannon* or of the *Amazones*, whereof I haue ſpoken in the ſecond booke. The Spaniards haue diuers times ſayled along this riuer, with determination to diſcouer countreies, which, according to report, are of great riches, eſpecially that which they call *Dorado*, and *Paytiti*. The *Adelantado* or admirall *Iuan de Salinas* made a very notable entrance, although to ſmall proſite. It hath a ſalt or fall of water which they call *El Pongo*, which is one of the moſt dangerous places in the world: for being reſtrained betweene two exceeding hie deuided mountaines, it maketh a fall of terrible depth, where the water with the great deſcent maketh ſuch whirlepooles that it ſeemeth impoſſible but that it ſhould ſinke it ſelfe there into the ground. For all this the boldneſſe of men hath attempted to paſſe the ſaid *El Pongo* for the greedineſſe to come to that ſo famous renowned *Dorado*. They ſuffered themſelues to be carped from aloft, being throwne downe headlong with the furie of the riuer, and ſitting ſaſt in their Canoas or boats in which they ſayled, although they were ouerturned in the fall, and they and their Canoas ſuncke downe to the bottome, yet they roſe vp againe aboue the water, and at length with their hands and force gat out of the whirlepooles. The whole army in a manner eſcaped, ſauing a very fewe which were drowned: and which I moſt maruel at, they handled the matter ſo well, that they loſt not their victuals and powder which they carped with them. In their returne (for after great trauels and dangers they returned that way againe) they clymed vp ouer one of thoſe aforeſaide exceeding high mountaines, creeping vp vpon their handes and feete.

Captaine *Pedro de Orſua* made another enterance by the ſelfe ſame riuer, and after hee was ſlaine by a mutinie of his people, other captaines followed the diſcouerie, by the arme that falleth into the North Sea. One of our companie told me (who while he was a ſecular man was in al that expedition) that they entred by the Riuer almoſt an hundred leagues with the tydes, and that when the freſh water & the ſalt meeteth, which is either almoſt vnder or very neere the Equinoſial line, the riuer is 70 leagues broad, a thing incredible, and which exceedeth the bredth of the Mediterranean ſea. Howbeit other in their deſcriptions make it not paſt 25 or 30 leagues broad at the mouth.

The

The third Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acoſta, lib. 3. cap. 25.

It that part of America, whereof the coasts be thoroughly known, the greater part of the Inland is not known, which is that which falleth betwene Piru and Brasil, and there are diuers opinions of some, which say, that it is all sunken land full of lakes and bogges, and of others, which affirme that there are great and flourishing kingdomes there, and there they place the Countrey of Paytiti, and Dorado, and great Emperours, and say, that there are wonderfull things there. I heard of one of our companie my selfe, a man of credite, that hee had seene great townes, and high wayes as broad and as much beaten, as the wayes betwene Salamanca and Validolid: and this was when the great entrance of discouerie was made by the great riuer of the Amazonas or Marannon by Pedro de Orſua, and afterwarde by others that succeded him: and they supposing that Dorado which they sought, was farther vp in the countrey, did not inhabite there, and afterwarde returned without discouering Dorado (which they neuer found) and without that great prouince which they left.

A short description of the riuer of Marannon or Amazonas, and the

Countries thereabout, as also of the sea of Fresh-water, taken out of an ancient Discourse of all the Portes, Creekes, and Hauens of the West Indies, Written by Martin Fernandez de Enciſa, and dedicated to Charles the Emperour, Anno 1518.



Marannon lyeth in seven degrees and an halfe Northward of the Equinoctial, it is a great riuer, and hath more then fifteene leagues in bredth eight leagues within the land. It hath many islands, and in this riuer within the land fortie leagues there is neere to the sayde riuer a mountaine, wherenpon growe trees of Incense, the trees be of a good height, & the boughs thereof be like to Plum-trees, and the Incense doeth hang at them, as the yce doeth at the tiles of a house in the winter season when it doeth freeze. In this riuer were taken foure Indians in a small boat, called in the Indian language a Canoa, that came downe by the riuer, and there were taken from them two stones of Emeralds, the one of them being as great as a mans hand. They sayd that so many dayes iourney going upward by the riuer, they found a rocke of that stone. Likewise there were taken from them two loaves made of flour, which were like to cakes of Sope, and it seemed that they were kneaded with the licour of Balsamum. All this coast from the Cape of S. Austine vnto Marannon is a cleare coast & deep, but neer to the riuer are certaine sholds towardes the East part. And by the West part the riuer is deepe, and it hath a good entrie. From this riuer Marannon, vnto the riuer which is called The sea of fresh water, are 25 leagues: this riuer hath 40 leagues of bredth at the mouth, and carrieth such abundance of water that it entreteth more then 20 leagues into the Sea, and minglet not it selfe with the salt water: this bredth goeth 25 leagues within the land, and after it is deuided into partes, the one going towards the Southeast, and the other towards the Southwell. That which goeth towards the Southeast is very deepe and of much water, and hath a chanel half a league of bredth, that a Carack may goe up through it: & the tydes be so swift, that the ships haue need of good cables. The riuer of this port is very good, and there haue bene some that haue entred 50 leagues within it, & haue seene no mountaines. The Indians of this countrey haue their lips made full of small holes in 4 parts, & through those holes be put small rings, and likewise at their eares: & if any man aske of the where they had their gold, they answer, that going up by the riuer so many dayes iourney, they found certaine mountaines that had much of it, and from those mountaines they brought it when they would haue it, but they made no great account of it, for they neither buy nor sell, and amongst them is nothing but change. In this countrey they eate bread of rootes, and Maiz, and they eate certaine rootes which they call Aies and Baracas, but the Baracas bee better then the other rootes, and being rawe they haue a smell of Chestnuts: they are to be eaten roasted. These Indians doe make wine of the fruit of Date-trees, which fruit is yellow in colour, and is as great as a little Doves egge, and being in season is good to be eaten, and of it proceedeth good wine, and is preserved for a long time. These kinde of people do make their houses with vpper roomes, and they sleepe in them, as also at their habitation is in the vpper roomes, and that which is belowe, they leaue open: and also they vse certaine mantels of cotten wooll, and these they tie at the endes with ropes, and the one ende of the rope they make fast to one part of the house, and the other ende to the other part of the house: and in these they lye, which bee their beddes, and these kinde of beds bee used in all India, and there is not in any part of India any chambers that the people do vse to lodge in aloft from the ground, nor they make any hie roomes, but only in this part of India: & in al other places they make their houses without any loftes or chambers, and they couer their houses with the leaues of date-trees

trees, and of grasse. And from this fresh water-sea vnto Paria, the coast lyeth West North-west, and is so full of shoals that the ships cannot come neer to the land. There are fro this riuer to Paria 250 leagues. In this fresh water sea, the tydes do ebbe & flow as much as they do in Britayne, and it standeth in 6 degrees and a halfe. Paria standeth on the other side of the Equinoctial toward the North, in seven degrees: In Paria the sea floweth but little, and from Paria towards the West, the sea doth not flow. From the entry of the gulf of Paria vnto the Cape that lyeth towards the West, are 35 leagues, and fro thence the coast turneth towardes the Northeast other 35 leagues, & from thence the coast turneth toward the West. Before this gulf standeth the Island of Trinidad, and towards the West doeth appeare the gulf of Paria like to halfe a round circle, after the fashion of a Diameter, and at the end of this circle is the entry in of Paria, & at this entry there is betweene the land and the Island 8 leagues, and on the other side there is but litle space betweene the Island and the land, but it is deepe, and hath a good entry: this Island of Trinidad hath in length 25 leagues, and as many in bredth, and standeth in eight degrees, and is inhabited of many people, and as yet not vnder subiection. Here the Indians do vse to shoote with bowes, and arrowes which are of a fathome in length, made of reeds, which grow in that Countrey, and at the end of them is artificially ioynd a piece of wood very strong, vnto the which piece of wood at the end of it, they put a bone of a fish, in place of an arrow head: these kinde of bones bee harder then Diamonds, and euery one of them be three or foure fingers long, & they are taken out of a fish that hath three of these bones, one vpon the backe, another vnder euery wing: but that which groweth vpon the backe is the strongest and the greatest. In this Island the people saith that there groweth golde: and in this Island and in Paria growe reedes so great, that they make staues of them and carry of them into Spaine. Likewise there bee Popiniapes very great and gentle, and some of them haue their foreheads yellow, and this sort do quickly learne to speak, and speak much. There be likewise in the gulf of Paria pearles, although not many, but very good and great.

CERTAIN VOYAGES NAVIGATIONS AND
Traffiques both ancient and of late, to diuers places vpon the
coast of Brasil: together with a Ruttier for all that coast, and two intercepted let-
ters which reueale many secrets of the state of that Countrey: the rest of our Voyages
to Brasil which haue bene either intended or performed to the Riuer of Plate, the
streight of Magellan, the South sea, or farther that way, being reserved
for the generall heades next insuing.

A brieue relatiō of two sundry voyages made by the worshipful *M. William Hau-*
kins of Plimmouth, father to Sir *John Haukins* knight, late Treasurer of her Maiesties Nauie,
in the yeere 1530 and 1532.



Loe *M. William Haukins* of Plimmouth, a man for his wisdome, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloued of *R. Henry the 8.* and being one of the principall Sea-captaines in the West parts of England in his time, not contented with the short voyages commonly then made onely to the knowne coasts of Europe, armed out a tall and goodly shippe of his owne of the burthen of 250 tunnes, called the *Paule* of Plimmouth, wherewith he made three

long and famous voyages vnto the coast of Brasil, a thing in those dayes very rare, especially to our Nation. In the course of which voyages he touched at the riuer of Sestos vpon the coast of Guinea, where hee traffiqued with the Negros, and tooke of them Elephants teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and so arriuing on the coast of Brasil, he vied there such discretion, and behaued himself so wisely with those sauage people, that he grew into great familiarity and friendship with them. In so much that in his second voyage, one of the sauage kings of the countrey of Brasil, was contented to take ship with him, and to be transported hither into England: whereunto *M. Haukins* agreed, leauing behinde in the Countrey as a pledge for his safetie and returne againe, one *Martin Cockeram* of Plimmouth. This Brasilian king being arriued, was brought vp to London and presented to *R. Henry the 8.* lying as then at White-hall: at the sight of whom the King and all the Nobilitie did not a litle maruaile, and not without cause: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their sauage maner, and therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the said holes, which in his owne Countrey was reputed for a great brauerie. He had also another hole in his nether lip, wherein was set a precious stone about the bignes of a pease: All his apparel, behauiour, and gesture, were very strange to the beholders.

The second
 voyage of *M.*
William Hau-
kins to Brasil.
 A king of Brasil
 brought into
 England.

Hauing

Having remained here the space almost of a whole yeere, and the king with his sight fully satisfied, M. Hawkins according to his promise and appointment, purposed to conuey him againe into his countrey: but it fell out in the way, that by change of aire and alteration of diet, the said Sa- uage king died at sea, which was feared would turne to the losse of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Neuerthelesse, the Sauages bring fully perswaded of the honest dealing of our men with their prince, restored againe the said pledge, without any harme to him, or any man of the com- pany: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England, with their ship straight, and furnished with the commodities of the countrey. Which Martin Cockeram, by the witnessse of Sir Iohn Hawkins, being an officer in the towne of Plimmouth, was living within these few peeres.

An ancient voyage of M. Robert Reniger and M. Thomas Borey to
Brasil in the yeere of our Lord 1540.

I have bene certainly informed by M. Anthony Garrard an ancient and worshipfull marchant of the citie of London, that this commodious and gainefull voyage to Bra- sil was ordinarily and usually frequented by M. Robert Reniger, M. Thomas Bo- rey, and diuers other substantial and wealthe marchants of Southampton, about 60, peeres past, that is to say in the yeere 1540.

A voyage of one Pudsey to Baya in Brasil anno 1542.

Also the worshipfull M. Edward Cotton of Southampton Esquire gaue mee more particularly to vnderstand, how that one Pudsey of Southampton, a man of good skill and resolution in marine causes, made a voyage in like maner 62. peeres agoe to Baya de todos los Santos the principall towne of all Brasil, and the seate of the Portu- gal vice-roy and of the bishop, and that he built a fort not farre distant from that place, in the fore- said yeere 1542.

A fort built in
Brasil by the
English.

A letter written to M. Richard Staper by Iohn Whithal from Santos
in Brasil, the 26. of Iune 1578.

Worshipfull sir, and welbeloued friend M. Staper, I haue me most heartily com- mended vnto you, wishing your health euen as mine owne.

These few words may bee to let you vnderstand, that whereas I wrote vnto you not many dayes past by the way of Lisbon, howe that I determined to bee with you very shortly, it is in this countrey offered mee to marry, and to take my choice of three or foure: so that I am about three dayes agoe consoorted with an Italian gentleman to marry with his daughter within these foure dayes. This my friend and fa- ther in law Signor Ioffo Dore is borne in the citie of Genua in Italy: his kindred is well knowne amongst the Italians in London: also hee hath but onely this childe which is his daughter, which hee hath thought better bestowed vpon mee then on any Portugal in all the countrey, and doeth giue with her in marriage to me part of an Ingenio which he hath, that doeth make euery yeere a thousand rones of sugar. This my marriage will be worth to me two thousand duckets, little more or lesse. Also Signor Ioffo Dore my father in lawe doeth intende to put into my handes the whole Ingenio with firtie or seuentie slaues, and thereof to make me factor for vs both. I giue my li- uing Lord thanks for placing me in such honour and plentifulnesse of all things.

Also certaine dayes past I talked with the Prouedor and the Captaine, and they haue certified me, that they haue discovered certaine Mines of silver and gold, and looke euery day for Masters to come to open the said Mines: which when they be opened will enrich this countrey very much. This place is called S. Vincent, and is distant from you two thousand leagues, and in 24. degrees of latitude on the South side of the Equinodial line, & almost vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. A countrey it is very healthfull without sicknesse.

Moreouer, I haue talked with the Captaine and Prouedor, and my father in law, who rule all this countrey, for to haue a ship with goods to come from London hither, which haue promised mee to giue mee licence, saying that nowe I am free denizen of this countrey. To cause a ship to come hither with such commodities as would serue this countrey, would come to great gaine, God sending in safety the profite and gaine. In such wares and commodities as you may ship hi- ther from London is for euery one commodity deliuered here thye for one, and then after the pro- ceeds may be employed in white sugar at foure hundred reis the rone.

Mines of gold
and silver
newly disco-
uered at S.
Vincent.

The voyage to
S. Vincent worth
three for one
outward only.

Nnn

I meane

I meane also to haue a friend in London to sende mee a ship of 60. or 70. tunnes, little more or lesse, with such commodities as I shall giue aduise for. This voyage is as good as any Peru-voyage. If you and Master Osborne will deale here, I will deale with you before any other, because of our old friendly friendship in time past. If you haue any stomacke thereto, in the Name of God do you espie out a fine barke of seuentie or eightie tunnes, and send her hither with a Portugal Pilot to this port of S. Vincent in Brasil, bordering vpon the borders of Peru.

Also I herewith write vnto you in what forme and maner you shall furnish this voyage both in commodities and otherwise.

In what maner a voyage to S. Vincent with a ship of 70. or 80. tunnes is to made.

First you must lade in the said ship certaine Hampshire and Deuonshire karsies: for the which you must let her depart from London in October, and to touch in the Canaries, and there to make sale of the saide karsies, and with the proceed thereof to lade fiftene tunnes of wines that be perfect and good, and sixe dozen of Cordouan skinnes of these colours, to wit, orange tawne, yellow, red, and very fine black. I thinke you shall not finde such colours there. Therefore you must cause them that shall go vpon this voyage, to take saffron with them, to cause the same skinnes to bee put into the saide colours. Also I thinke you shall finde oyles there. Three hogheads of sweete oyle for this voyage are very necessary, or a hundred & fiftie iarres of oyle. Also in London you may lade in the said ship these parcels of commodities or wares, as followeth:

In primis, Foure peeces of hollands of middle sort.

Item, One peece of fine holland.

Foure hundred elles of osenbriges very fine.

Foure dozen of sizors of all sorts.

Sixteene kintals of pitch of the Canaries.

Twentie dozen of great knives which be made in fardles, of a low price.

Foure dozen of a small sort.

Sixe peeces of bayes of the lowest sort.

One very fine peece of bayes.

Foure hundred elles of Manchester-cottons, most blacke, greene, some yellow.

Eight or tenne dozen of hats, the one halfe trimmed with tassels, the other plaine, with the bands of Cypresse.

Sixe dozen of course shirts.

Three dozen of doublets of canuas.

Three dozen of doublets of stitched canuas.

One peece of fine Millan-fustian barrell.

Sixe dozen of locks for doores and chests.

Sixe thousand of all maner of fish hooks.

Foure dozen reames of paper.

Two dozen of glasses of diuers sorts.

Two dozen of Venice glasses, the one halfe great, the other middle sort.

Two dozen of mantles of frize, of the lowest price that can be.

Three dozen of frize gownes.

Foure hundred pound of tinne of the vse of Portugall, most small dishes and trenchers.

Foure pound of lilke of all colours.

Twentie pound of spices, cloues, cinamom, pepper, and saffron.

Two kintals of white sope.

Three pound of threed, white, blacke, and blew.

Three pound of fine white threed.

Item, halfe a dozen of Noztherne karsies of diuers colours.

Foure sorting clothes, blew, red, yellow, and green.

Sixe Noztherne dozens of diuers colours.

One fine blew cloth of eight pound.

One fine stamell of tenne or twelue pound.

One fine sheeps coloured cloth of twelue pound.

One fine blacke karsie. } } One fine stamell karsie.

Sixe yards of blacke veluet.

Three barrells of nailes for chests.

Two barrells of nailes for ships and barks.

Sixe kintals of Docom.

Two dozen of veluet girdles without hangers.

Four

Four yards of taffata red, blacke, and blew, with some Greene.
Two dozen of leather girdles.
Six dozen of axes, hatchets, and small billes to cut wood.
Four males of gitterne strings.
Four hundred or five hundred elles of some linnen cloth that is of a low price to make
shirts and sheets.
Four tunne of pyon.

These be such sort of wares as I would you should send. If you meane to deale, or send any ship
hither, haue you no doubt, but by the helpe of God I shall put all things in good order according
to your contentment and profit: for my father in lawe with the Captaine and Prouedor doe rule
this countrey.

My father in lawe & I shal (God willing) make a good quantitie of sugar euery yeere, which sug-
gar we intend to ship for London from henceforth, if we can get such a trustie & good friend as you
to deale with vs in this matter. I pray you presently after the receit of this my letter to write mee
answere thereof, & send your letter to M. Holderto Lisbon, & he wil conuey it to me out of hand.

Besides the premilles send six yards of skarlet, parchment lace of diuers colours.
Six yards of crimosin veluet.
Six yards of crimosin satten.
Twelue yards of fine puke blacke.

Here in this countrey in stead of Iohn Whichall they haue called me Iohn Leitoan: so that Iohn Leitoan,
they haue used this name so long time, that at this present there is no remedie but it must remaine
so. When you write vnto me, let the superscription be vnto Iohn Leitoan.

Thus I commit you with all yours to the holy Ghost for euer.

If you send this ship, I would haue you giue order that she touch in no part of the coast of Gui-
nie nor any other coast, but to come directly hither to the port of S. Vincent, and from the Cana-
ries let her be dispatched in my name, to wit, Iohn Leitoan.

Also a dozen of shirts for my wearing let be sent, if you send the ship.
Item, six or eight pieces of sayes for mantles for women, which is the most necessary
thing that can be sent.

By your assured friend Iohn Whichall.

A copie of the letters of the Aduenturers for Brasill sent to Iohn
Whichall dwelling in Santos, by the Minion of London. Anno 1580. the 24.
of October in London.

M After Whichall, as vnacquainted wee commend vs vnto you, &c. vnderstanding
by your friends, M. Iohn Bird, M. Robert Walkaden, and your brother Iames
Whichall of certaine letters that they haue receiued of yours frō Santos, which
wee haue seene and read, wherein from time to time you doe require, and desire
them to send a good ship to Santos, with such wares and commodities as you did
write for, whereby you did not onely promise that they should haue good inter-
tainment, but also should sell the saide commodities to make three of one outward at the least in
euery thing, and that for to relade their ship backe, they should haue of the best, finest, & whitest drie
sugars 32. pound of our weight for a ducker at the most. The premilles considered, with the great
credit that they and we doe giue to your writing & promise, haue caused vs, whose names be here-
under written, to toyne our selues in company together, & to be at great charges purposely to send
this good ship the Minion of London, not onely with such marchandizes as you wrote for, but al-
so with as many other things as we thought might any wayes pleasure you, or profit the countrey.
And we craue of you, that we and our factozs may haue so much credite of you, as we haue in you
and of your letters, which is to beleue vs that we haue taken this voyage vpon vs, with no other
minde or purpose, then to deale faithfully and truly in the trade by sea and land, so as you shall not
onely haue cause to reioyce, and deserue thanks for our comming, but also you wil procure the ma-
gistrates there to be bound, as they vse in Galicia, that we may be preserved and defended from all
reppisals and inbargments of princes or subiects for any causes or matters whatsoever, whereby
wee may bee encouraged by them, giuing vs this securitie of good intertainment, to continue the
trade peerele henceforth: and for our parts we promise vpon our credits and fidelities, to committe
no outrage at the sea nor land, nor suffer any to be done in our company that we may let, but rather
to defend and protect all other such peaceable marchants as we are, with their ships and goods.

And to the ende that you and others shall know that wee meane as we say, we haue giuen order to our factours to giue you good hostages for your assurance of our good fidelities: and further we haue sent a testimoniall of our owne true meaning in writing vnder the seales of this honourable Citie of London, which we wil not discredite by our behauiours for all the treasure that you haue: and so we haue written to your magistrates of your port, and others in Spanish, the copy whereof we send you herewith enclosed in English. And if the time should fall out so contrary to our expectations, that there should not be fine white sugar sufficient to lade our said ship in due time at Santos, then we pray you direct our factours where they may goe with the shippe in safetie to supply their want, and helpe them to a good sure Pilot for that purpose, and write your letters to your friends where the best sugar is made in their fauors, and helpe our factours to haue a testimoniall from Santos, that they and you traded together friendly, and so departed in good and perfect amitie, and shew them that the iust cause of our coming is to trade as marchants peaceably, and not as Pirats to commit any offence to one or other.

Also we pray you, if there be any store of ware, or salt-peeter, whereby the price there may yeeld vs as much profit as the white sugars at a ducket the roue, or any other commodity of like profite, then to procure that we may lade it without danger of lawe, be it oare of golde or siluer or whatsoeuer else.

Wee haue sent you copper cauldrons for your Ingenios, with iron and all other necessities for your purpose, and artificers to set the same: and as wee haue at your request bene at great charges in sending these men, so we pray you let vs haue lawful fauour in like courtesie to further all our causes. And if any of our Hariners or passengers in any respect of displeasure against their company, or in hope of preferment of marriage or otherwise would procure to tary and dwell there, and leaue his charge and office, that then you will bee a meane to the Iustice that such fugitiues should bee sent aboord the ship as prisoners: for as you know, without our men wee cannot hying home our ship.

Wee haue giuen order to our factours to vse your counsell and helpe in their affaires, and to gratifie you for the same as to your courtesie and faithfull friendship shall appertaine to your good liking: and in the meane time for a token of our good willes towards you, we haue sent you a shelled of walnut tree, with the canopy, balens, curtaines, and gilt knops. And if there be any commodity else that may pleasure you or your friends, wee haue giuen order that they shall haue the refusing of it befoze any other, giuing for it as it is worth.

And thus to conclude, promising to perfoyme all the foresaide things on our parts in euery condition, we commit you to God, who euer preferue you with all his blessings.

Your louing friends
 Christopher Hodsdon.
 Anthonic Garrard.
 Thomas Bramlic.
 Iohn Bird. } } William Elkin,

*M. Stephen Hare
 was Captaine
 in this voyage.*

Certaine notes of the voyage to Brasill with the Minion of London,
 aforesaid, in the yere 1580. written by *Thomas Grigs* Purser of the said ship.



Ye thirde day of Nouember in the yeere abovesaid we departed in the Minion of London from Harwich, from which time no great thing worth the knowledge or regard of others happened until the 22. of December the next moneth, which day for our owne learning & vse wee obserued the setting of the Sunne, which was West south west, we then being vnder the line Equinoctiall, where we found the aire very temperate, and the winde for the most part Southeast and East Southeast. The same day we also obserued the rising of the moone, being one day after the full, which rose at East northeast.

*The yle of S.
 Sebastian.*

The first land that wee fell with vpon the coast of Brasill was the yland of S. Sebastian, where we arrived the 14. day of Ianuary in the yeere 1581.

The 16. day Thomas Babington, and others in our pinnesse, went a shoare to Guaybea, where they met with Iohn Whitchall his father and mother in lawe, who hauing receiued letters from thence to be deliuered at Santos, came aboord, and then we weped and set saile, and the 28. day we arrived at the yland of Santa Catelina, neere the entrance of Santos.

*The yle of S.
 Catelina.*

Our course from S. Sebastian was Southwest and by West, and betwixt the Southwest and by West, and West south west.

This

This pland of Santa Catalina seemeth at the first to be a part of the pland of Girybia. Wee ankered at nine fathome blacke osie ground.

Upon the pland there grow many Palmito-trees, but no fresh water is there to be found.

The third day of February we arriued before the towne of Santos, and were there well receiued and intertaind of the Captaine, the kings officers, and all the people.

They arriue
at Santos.

The fourth day we tooke into our ship a beefe aliue, which serued for the victualling of the ship, and the refreshing of our men, and to make vs the merrier at Shrouetide.

The eight day we deliuered to M. Iohn Whishall a bedstead with the appurtenances, which were sent to him from our marchants of London.

The 18. day the captaine of Santos came aboard our ship, by whom we had knowledge of foure great French ships of warre, that had bene at the riuer of Ienero, which there tooke three Canoas, but were dyuen from thence by their castles & forts, and were looked for here at Santos. Whereupon the Captaine requested vs to lend them some armour and artillery, and we lent them twentie caliuers, and two barrells of powder.

The 19. day our skiffe which we had sent to Alcatrazas, and had bene away five dayes, came againe, and brought good store of great and good fish, and tolde vs that there was good store of fish to be taken there by the hooke, and as much wood as we would haue of the Palmito-tree.

The ple of Al-
catrazas of
Pelicanes.

The 20. day at night Nicholas Gale, one of our company, fell ouer our shippes side, and was drowned in the port of Santos before the towne, where our ship rode at anker.

The 22. day two of the Canoas which the Frenchmen tooke in the riuer of Ienero, returned to Santos, and reported that the foure French ships were past to the southwards, as they thought, for the Straighes of Magellan, and so into the South sea.

The 23. day the aforesaide Nicholas Gale, who fell ouerboard two dayes before, was found againe, and taken vp three miles from our ship, and our company went to his buriall in the Church at Santos.

This day the Captaine and Iustices of Santos wished vs to tary in their road till the last of Aprill, for they had sent a barke of Santos to Baya at the kings charges, to know whether we should haue trade there or no, and this barke could not returne before that time.

About this time there arriued at Fernambuck a shippe from Portugall, which brought newes that the Islands, Indies, and Portugall it selfe was molested and troubled by the Spaniards, and that the Portugales had both English and Frenchmen to Lisbone to defend them against Spaine.

The 25. day wee sent two of our men, namely Thomas Michael and Simon Thorne to Baya in a barke that went thither from Santos.

The two and twentie day of Aprill our Master and Thomas Babington hauing some talke and conference with the Padres of Santos, they (our men being ready to go to the Riuer of Ienero) tolde them, that they were sorry for our banishment from the Church, and that the Ministrador had writen from Rio de Ienero, that forasmuch as these twentie yeres or more the English nation had denied the Church of Rome and her proceedings, therefore the Ministrador commanded that none of vs should come to their Church: the Padres willed vs herein to haue patience, and to take it in good part, and promised to stand our friends in their word and writing, both to the Ministrador and to the bishop at Baya, and further requested all our English company to haue no ill opinion of them.

The 28. of Aprill we laded sugars into our ship.

The 21. of May we tooke in fresh victuals from Santos.

The 10. day of June wee gratified one Iosto Thorno, dwelling in Santos, with some of our English victuals, and intertaind him in good sort in our ship, and this day wee were promised to haue a Pilot at Santos to cary vs to Baya.

The 11. day we went to fish, to make prouision for our ship and men, and from that time till the eighteenth day wee set water, and cut wood for our fire, and trimmed our ship of the harmes and leakes which the woymes had made in her while wee ridde at the pland of S. Sebastian, and in the meane time we departed from before the towne of Santos. Our Master sent his skiffe from the barre of Santos, thinking to haue brought Thomas Babington and William Euet with the Pilot, which wee had carried for three dayes: and as the skiffe was going, William Euet being by the Riuer side, called to our pinnesse, and sent a letter to our Master, which Thomas Babington had writen, wherein were no newes, but that the Ministrador was arriued at Santos from the Riuer of Ienero, and would speake with our Master, but he willed that whatsoeuer Thomas Babington did write, no credit should be giuen to it. And further he wished vs presently to depart for Sant Sebastian, and there to dispatch our businesse, and then to sende backe for Babington and himselfe

Their lading
of sugars.

Leakes in the
Minion made
by woymes.

Whose name
was Stephen
Hare.

Their departure from Santos.

himselfe to Guaybea, where he (if he were well) would giue his attendance to come aboard.

As we rid two leagues a sea-bord the barre of Santos, wee broke a cable in the open sea, which happened the 15. day of this moneth.

We arrived at S. Sebastian the 15. day, and there shifted our ballast, and had in stones, and haled our ship a ground to stop our leakes, & caried our caske a shoare to be hooped for water, which indeed might better haue bene done in Santos, before the Ministrador came thither: yet we finished all things pertaining to our ship, by the 22. of this moneth, at S. Sebastian.

The first day of Iuly Thomas Babington came aboard with William Euer, in our pinnesse, and the rest of our men that went for them: but there was no Pilot brought according to promise to carry vs to Baya.

The things that we obserued and noted in the time of our being at Santos, were these.

All such wares and marchandizes as owe no custome in Brasill, their vse is, to set a price vpon the same, how they shalbe sold: which is done by the magistrates of the towne, according to the ordinances of their king.

But for all such marchandizes as do owe custome there, the marchants are to sell them according as they may, to the greatest profit and aduantage that they can.

Some part of Peru but 12. dayes journey from Santos.

Concerning the prouince of Peru, wee learned that one part of it by land & water is but twelue dayes journey from the towne of Santos, and from thence it may be about foure or fife dayes journey by water to the maine riuer of Plate.

From the head of the riuer of Plate, and from their chiefe towne there, they doe trade and traffique by land into Peru by waggons, and horses or mules.

The saide riuer of Plate is so full of sands and dangers, and the fresh so fierce sometimes, that no shipping dares to deale with it, small barks to their knowledge may go by it, and not els.

The Portugales forbidden to vse their Mines of treasure in these parts.

The Portugales here cannot bee suffered to vse their Mines of treasure in these parts, vpon paine of death, the contrary being commanded by the king and the Vice-roy, who is as their king in place of authoritie.

About twentie leagues from Santos there is a certaine kinde of wilde Sauages, lying in the mountaines, which are in friendship with the Portugales, and they haue continuall warres with certaine other Sauages that dwell towards the borders of Peru, which is distant from Santos about 400. or 500. leagues. Those Sauages of Peru haue store of gold and siluer, but they knowe not the vse of it.

Looke what Sauages of their enemies they take, they sell them to the Portugales for knives, combs, axes or hatchets, and other trifles: they will sell one for a pennie-knife to a Portugal, and after two yeeres they are worth twentie or thirtie buckets to the Portugal.

This people haue also continuall warres with the Spaniards: and this was tolde vs by one of those Sauages, which hath dwelt among the Portugales these seuen yeeres, with his master called Sennor Manoel Veloso. And this fellowe would willingly haue come with vs for England.

The yle of Alcatrazas or Pelicanes, dangerous for rocks.

There are certaine rockes that lie off betweene the yle of Alcatrazas and S. Sebastian, about two leagues, which are to be taken heed of, which a farre off in faire weather shewe like the sailes of ships.

There are other rocks that lie off S. Carolina also fife leagues to the East and by South into the sea off the pland.

At our comming by to Santos we found foure fadome and a halfe water in the shallowest place, and the like we found within a league after we were departed from S. Carolina, little more or lesse, but after you haue runne in the depth of foure fadome and a halfe, about a mile or lesse, then you shall haue it deeper againe more and more.

Before the towne of Santos we rode in eight and tenne fadome water.

A letter of Francis Suares to his brother Diego Suares dwelling in Lisbon, written from the riuer of Ienero in Brasill in Iune 1596. concerning the exceeding rich trade newly begunne betweene that place and Peru, by the way of the riuer of Plate, with small barks of 30. and 40. tunnes.

Sir, we set saile from Lisbon the fourth of April 1596. and arrived here in this riuer of Ienero the twentie seuenth of Iune next ensuing. And the same day the Viscaiores did visit our ship with great ioy, thinking that those commodities which wee brought with vs, had bene for the marchants of this countrey: but it prooued to the contrary.

The

The pilot brought with him in the sayd shippe two pipes of wine which were taken from him, and solde by the Iustice for foure and twenty reals euery gallon. But I solde mine for two and thirty and sixe and thirty reals the gallon. If I had brought any great store of wine, I should haue made a great gaine of it: for I should haue gotten eight reals for one.

Wine solde as
an excellent
rate.

The next day in the morning wee went all on shore, and gaue God thanks for our prosperous voyage, and good successe which he had sent vs. And because the gouernour of this countrey was gone from this Towne to another house of his, three leagues vp into the riuer beyond the place where we rode at anker, I desired the capitaine of our shippe after dinner, that we might take the shippe boat, and goe to the place where the gouernour did lie. And so going by the riuer, we met with a canoa which was comming downe the riuer, and going aboard our shippe; which canoa was laden with fresh victuals, and in the same was one Portugall, which met vs, and tolde vs that the gouernour of that capitaine shippe had sent vs a present, which we receiued very thankfully, and sent it aboard. And we went by the riuer, to the place where the gouernour did dwell; and comming to the place where we landed, hard by the the riuers side, the gouernour came thither and receiued vs very courteously. So we remained at his house two dayes, talking of many matters of Portugall: then we departed from him, and came downe the riuer.

Three dayes after, I hired a ware-house by my selfe, and landed my commodities. And now I am selling them as fast as I can; and sell them very well, and to great profit: for I haue solde all our hats. I would I had brought forty or fifty dozen, by reason of the great utterance of them by into Peru, and into the new kingdome of Granada, by the way of the riuer of Place. For here is passage euery three or foure moneths with barks of thirty and forty tunnes a piece, which are laden with sugars, rice, cassataes, hats, and other kindes of commodities of this countrey, which are caried by the sayd riuer of Place in the sayd barks, and thence are conueyed by into Peru. And these barks are but tenne or twelue dayes going by the sayd riuer to Peru. And within foure and five moneths after, the sayd barks come downe this riuer againe laden with reals of plate, and bying downe from those places no other commodities but treasure. It is a woonderfull thing to beholde the great gaine and profit which is gotten in this riuer and in this countrey. I am ashamed to write it, fearing that I shall not be beleued. For the imployment of one hundred ducats in Spaine, being brought hither, will yeeld twelue hundred and fiftene hundred ducats profit. This trade hath bene vsed but within this yeere. For wee can goe by to the mines of Potosi, which are the best and the richest mines in all Peru. If the merchants of Spaine and Portugall did know this trade, they would not send nor venture so much merchandise to Cartagena as they doe. For by this riuer is a great deale the neerer way, and the easier to go to Peru. For the Peruleros or merchants of Peru, which dwell there, come downe to this harbour and riuer of Ienero, and bying with them fiftene thousand and twentie thousand ducats in reals of plate and gold, and imploy it heere in this riuer in commodities: and when heere are no commodities to be had for money in this place, then these merchants of Peru are constrained to go to Baia and Fernambuc, and there to imploy their money. I would I had brought good store of silks, and not these kinde of commodities which I did bying. For heere is more profit to be had a great deale then in the voyage of Angola. For heere with five hundred ducats in five moneths space a man may get five thousand ducats. And this is no fable, but most true, and a great deale more then I can expresse. For a rapier which doeth cost in Spaine foure and twenty and sixe and twenty reals, is solde heere for forty and fifty ducats: a bydle for a horse is solde for fiftene ducats: a Locke of a dooze and the key is solde for ten ducats: a pound of beniamin is solde for fiftene ducats: a yard of veluet is solde for twenty and five and twenty ducats: cassataes are solde for sixe and seven ducats the bare: an ounce of mulke is solde for forty ducats: and all kinde of commodities after this rate. So one thousand ducats of Spanish commodities will gaine tenne thousand ducats. Thus I hope in God to make more profit and gaine this voyage, then in two voyages to Angola: for I haue solde most of my hats for two buckets and a halfe and for three ducats. The rest I will cary to Angola, to helpe to sell the rest of my commodities, which I cannot sell in this riuer. And I haue solde an hundred cubits of broad cloth for five hundred and five hundred and fifty and five hundred reys the cubit. If I would haue solde all my cloth for ready money tolde downe for foure hundred and fifty and five hundred reys, the merchants would haue bought it all of me: but I would sell no more, because I meant to erchange it in Angola for Negros. Howbeit with ready money in hand in Angola a man shall buy better Negros, and better cheape. The capitaine of our ship solde all his cloth for ready money for foure hundred & fifty reys the cubit, and thought that he had made a good market: but he hath deceiued himselfe. I solde six broad clothes for five hundred and fifty reys the cubit: and I was offered thirty thousand reys for a cloth. Vineger is

A rich trade
from the mines
of Ienero by the
riuer of Place
into Peru, &c.

The shortness
of the returne
of the voyage
to Peru.

This rich
trade was be-
gunne in the
yere 1595.

The voyage
of Angola in
Africa.

Gaine of ten
thousand du-
cats for the
laying out of
one thousand.

A trade of
buying Negros
in Angola.

Broad cloth
excellently
well solde.
Vineger,
solde

Olives.

Cassates.

Veluets.

solde for two and thirty, and five and thirty, and forty reals a iarre, by reason there is great store of limmons and oranges in the countrey: but in Angola it is more woorth. Olives are solde for halfe a reall a piece: wherefore I hope to sell the hogthead for twenty thousand reys. In cassates and veluets there will be gotten two hundred and fifty and three hundred for one hundred. If I had brought great store, I could have solde it all at this rate. I have already gotten good store of reals of plate: for it is tolde mee that money is a good commodity in Angola. But I must imploy some in meale, which is in the grinding. All the rest of my money I will send you by billes of exchange, and some part I will imploy in sugars: for I have sent order to Baia for that purpose. For from this place there is no shipping that doth go that way. So these letters I do send by the way of Fernambuc, and have directed them to my cousin: for I do determine to settle my selfe here in this countrey. There is come downe from Peru, by this riuer of Plate, a merchant called Alonso Ramires, and he hath brought downe with him ten or twelve thousand ducats in reals of plate, and is come downe to this place to build him a ship to returne into Spaine: and there is come in his company a bishop. And thus Iesus Christ send you long health.

Your louing brother Francis Snares.

The well gouerned and prosperous voyage of M. James Lancaster, begun with three ships and a galley-frigat from London in October 1594, and intended for *Fernambuck*, the port-towne of *Olinda* in *Brasil*. In which voyage (besides the taking of nine and twenty ships and frigats) he surprized the sayd port-towne, being strongly fortified and manned; and held possession thereof thirty dayes together (notwithstanding many bolde assaults of the enemy both by land and water) and also providently defeated their dangerous and almost inuitable fire-works. Heere he found the *cargazon* or freight of a rich East Indian carack; which together with great abundance of sugars, *Brasil*-wood, and cotton he brought from thence; lading therewith fifteene sailes of tall ships and barks.

In September 1594 the worshipfull M. Iohn Wats, alderman, M. Paul Banning, alderman, & others of worship in the city of London, victualled three good ships; to wit, *The Consent*, of the burthen of 240 tunnes or thereabout, *The Salomon*, of 170 tunnes, and *The Virgin*, of 60 tunnes: and appointed for commanders in this voyage, M. James Lancaster of London, gentleman, admirall of the fleet, M. Edmund Barker of London, viceadmirall, and M. Iohn Audely of Poplar neere London, rereadmirall, hauing in their sayd ships to the number of 275 men and boyes.

Being fully furnished with all needfull prouision, wee departed from Blackwall in October following, keeping our owne coast, vntill we came into the West countrey, where we met with such gulls and stormes, that the *Salomon* spending her mast at the Range of Dartmouth, put into harbour; but by the earnest care and industry of the generall and others hauing charge, she was shortly againe prouided. Which done, hauing a pleasant gale for our purpose, we put forth from Dartmouth the last of Nouember following. But contrary to our expectation, not fifty leagues from our owne coast, we lost the *Salomon* and the *Virgin*, by a storme of contrary winde that fell vpon vs: yet being alone, in hope to meet them about the Canaries or Cape Blank, we kept on our course to the Canaries, but could heare no tidings of our consozts; which greatly grieved vs.

Thence we went, bearing for the isle of *Tenerif*, where in the morning early we had sight of a saile, which being becalmed vnder the shore, was toying with their boat ahead, hauing one other at her sterne. For this saile we manned our boat, appointing our men wel for fight, if need should require. The Spaniards seeing our boat come, entered theirs, and leauing the ship, sought to saue themselves by flight: but our men pursued them so fast, that they boozed them, and brought them with their shippe to our Generall. This ship was laden with 80 tunnes of Canary-wine, which came not vnto vs before it was welcome. We kept and manned it, plying that day, and the next night thereabout. The very next morning we had sight of one other; to whome in like maner wee sent our boat: but their gunner made a shot at her, and strooke off a proper young mans arme; yet we inforced her to yeeld, and found 40 tunnes of wine in her. The Spaniards hauing their free passage, and an acquittance for the deliury of their wines, were all set on shore vpon *Tenerif*, making a quicke returne of their long voyage intended into the West Indies.

Hence we departed toward Cape Blank; and before wee came thither, we met againe with the *Virgin* our rereadmirall, whose men tolde vs for very truethe, that the *Salomon* was returned for England; inforced so to doe, by spending her mast the second time. Which when our men vnder-

A shippe with
80 tunnes of
wine taken.Another prize
with 40 tuns
of wine taken.

food, they were all in a maze, not knowing what to doe, and saying among themselves that their force was but small when all our strength were together, and now we had lost the one halfe of our strength, we were not able to performe the voyage: and therefore some of them came to the captain, asking him what he would now do, seeing the Salomon was lost, the one halfe of our strength, giuing him counsell to beare vp for the West Indies, and proue there to make his voyage, because his first plat for want of strength was cleane overthrowen. The captaine hearing this new novelty, as not vnacquainted with the variable pretenses of mariners, made them this answer: Sirs, I made knowne to you all at my comming out of England what I pretended, and that I meant to go for Fernambuck, and although at the present we want one of our ships, yet (God willing) I meane to go forward, not doubting but to meet her at the appointed places, which are either at Cape Blank or the islands of Cape Verde: for I am assured that M. Barker the captaine is so resolute to performe this voyage, that his mast being repaired, he will not faile to meet vs, & it were no wisdom for vs to diuert our course, till we haue sought him at those places where our appointed meeting is: for the diuerting of courses is the overthrow of most of our actions. And I hope you will be all contented herewith: for to go any other course then I haue determined, (by Gods helpe) I will not be drawn vnto. With these reasons and many others shewed, they rested all satisfied: and at our comming to Cape Blank (God be praised) we met with the Salomon with no small ioy to vs all; and there she had taken of Spaniards and Portugals 24 saile of ships and carauels, fisher-men, and had taken out of them such necessaries as she had need of. Of these ships our captaine tooke foure along with him, with another that he had taken himselfe, meaning to imploy them as occasion should serue. At this place he vnderstood of one of the pilots of those ships, that one of the caracks that came out of the East Indies, was cast away in the rode of Fernambuck, and that all her goods were layd vpon the Arracife which is the lower towne. Of these newes we were all glad, and reioyced much; for our hopes were very good, seeing such a booty before vs.

Four & twenty
sailes of ships
& of carauels
taken by the
Salomon.

Of this good company and happy successe we were all ioyful, and had great hope of the blessing of God in performance of our intended voyage, and so after some parle & making frolike for ioy of our meeting one with the other (praising God for all) we plied for Maio: where comming to anchor, our generall & the rest of the captaines went ashore to view the place where we might in best safety set our gally-frigate together; which frame wee brought from England of purpose to land men in the country of Brasil. Here we discharged our great prize of wine, and set her on fire: but before our comming thither, you shall vnderstand we had sight of foure sailes, which was captaine Venner in his ship the Peregrine, and a proper Biskaine which he tooke at Cape Blank, the Welcome of Plymouth & her pinnelle: all which stood with vs. But they seeing our flags, not expecting such good fellows as we, did beare from vs all they might; which our people tooke very vnkindly, that being all friends, they would neither enquire, nor tell vs any newes of our friends, but without making any shew of kindness would so depart. As before I haue said, the choice being made for the place to build the gally-frigate, ashore it was brought, where the carpenters applied their worke, still cheered vnto it by the generals good gifts bestowed among them, and kind vslage of the rest of the commanders, not without great care of the captaine for the safety of them all, by keeping good watch: yet one negligent fellow, which had no knowledge of the country, straying from his company, was by the Portugals taken, & very kindly vslad, and brought againe vnto vs: for which good the generall rewarded them well with gifts very acceptable, which they tooke as kindly. While wee were thus busily imployed about the foresayd galley, we descried at sea foure sailes, which we had good hope would haue proued Indies men, or some to haue brought vs what wee looked for: but they proued captaine Venner with his fleet, as aforesayd, who, seeing vs at anchor, anchored also; where spending some time, and being acquainted with our generals determination for landing, consoled with vs, & their bills, according to the maner of the sea, were made and signed on either part, we to haue three parts, & he the fourth, of all that should be taken, whereby our strength was increased, to all our comforts. Three weeks or thereabouts we staid in this place before the gally was finished; which done, putting men into her, and fitting her with oares, hauing foureterne banks on a side, a mast and saile, the commandement of her was committed vnto M. Wats, an honest skillfull mariner.

Maio,
30 gally-frigate
carried out of
England in pic-
ces.

The gally-
frigate
set by.

From thence we put againe to sea, and went for the ile Braua, where we watered: which done, we made no long stay after, but bent our course as directly as we could for the place, making our first sail with the land to the Southward of Cape S. Augustine; from whence wee plied still to our desired port of Fernambuck, and did so much, that about midnight we came before the harbour; where some plied vp and downe, holding that the best policy, to forbear the entring till day might giue them light, the harborow being hard, and therefore the more perillous. Our ships
being

Cape S. Augu-
stine.
Fernambuck.
The 29 of
March.

being in safety well arrived, God was praised: and the generall in his boat went from ship to ship, willing them to make ready such men as they could spare, with muskets, pikes, billes, bowes, arrows, and what weapons they had to follow him. Himsele, with 80 men from his owne ship, embarked himsele in the galley, which carried in her prow a good sacar, and two murdering pieces.

Our admirall spent all the night in giuing directions to euery ship to haue their men ready shipped in their boats, for he intended to enter the harborow at the breake of day, & to leaue his ships without, till he had gotten the fort and the towne: for he would not aduenture the ships in, till the harborow was gotten. Also he prouided five ships, which he brought from Cape Blank, and put men in them as many as could conueniently saile them, and no more, giuing them charge to enter the harborow with his boats: for at the entrance of the harborow rode three great Holland ships, which our admirall doubted would impeach his going in; and therefore he gaue order to the men of these five small ships, which were not aboue 60 tonnes a piece, if the Hollanders did offer any resistance, to run aboord of them, & to set their owne ships on fire, and scape in their boats, which they had for the same purpose, that by this meanes they might not impeach our entrance. But when the morning was come, we were fallen aboue halfe a mile downe to the northward, below the harborow, which was a great inconuenience vnto vs: so that before wee could get by againe, the ebbe was come vpon vs, and thereby we were forced to houer before the harborow till two of the clocke in the afternoone, in the sight of all the towne. In this meane time, our ships rode before the fort without the harborow, about a demy-coluering shot off: in the which time passed many shot betweene the fort and the ships, and especially betweene the admirals ship and them: but no great harme was done on either part. All this while our admirall kept the men ready houering in the galley & the boats. The Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, seeing our resolution, layd out haulsers, and wound themselves out of the way of vs. Our admirall was very ioyfull, & gaue great incouragement to all his men: for, to passe these three great Hollanders, he held it the greatest danger of all. About 12 of the clocke the gouernour of the towne sent a Portugall aboord the admirals ship, to know what he would haue, and wherefore he came. He returned him this answer: That he wanted the caracks goods; and for them he came, and them he would haue, and that he should shortly see. In this procelle of time, the townes-men and inhabitants which saw so much shipping, & perceived vs to be enemies, gathered themselves together, three or foure ensignes of men, esteemed to the number of some six hundred at the least. These came to the fort or plat-forme lying ouer against the entry of the harborow, and there attended our landing: but before our admirall set forward with his boats, he gaue expresse order to all that had charge of gouerning the boats or galley, to run them with such violence against the shore, that they should be all cast away without recovery, and not one man to stay in them, whereby our men might haue no manner of retreat to trust vnto, but onely to God and their weapons.

Now was the time come of the flood, being about two of the clocke in the afternoone, when our admirall set forward, and entered the harborow with the small galley, and all the rest of the boats following him, the Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, nothing impeached him: but now the fort began to play with their ordinance vpon the galley and the boats; and one of their shot tooke away a great piece of our ensigne out of the galley. But our saile being set, it was no time for vs to make any stay, but with all the force we could we ranne the galley vpon the shore right vnder the fort, within a coits cast of it, with such violence, that we brake her backe; and she suncke presently: for there where we landed, went a breach of the sea, which presently cast her away. The boats comming after did the like. At our arriual, those in the fort had laden all their ordinance, being seuen pieces of brasse, to discharge them vpon vs at our landing; which indeed they did: for our admirall leaping into the water, all the rest following him, off came these pieces of ordinance: but almighty God be praised, they in the fort, with feare to see vs land in their faces, had piked their ordinance so sterpe downewards with their mouthes, that they shot all their shot in the sand, although, as I sayd before, it was not aboue a coits cast at the most betweene the place wee landed and the face of the fort: so that they onely shot off one of our mens armes, without doing any more hurt; which was to vs a great blessing of God: for if those ordinances had bene well leuelled, a great number of vs had lost our liues at that instant. Our admirall seeing this, cried out, incouraging his men, Upon them, vpon them; all (by Gods helpe) is ours: and they therewith ran to the fort with all violence. Those foure ensignes of men that were set to defend our landing, seeing this resolution, began to go backe, and retire into certeine bushes that were by the same fort; and being followed, fledde thowoe a certeine daze which was drie, being then but the beginning of the tide: and so abandoned the fort, and left it with their ordinance to vs. This day of our arriual was their Good-friday, when by custome they vsually whippe themselves:

The fort of
Fernambuck
taken.

selues: but God sent vs now for a generall scourge to them all, whereby that labour among them might be well spared. The fort being taken with all their ordinance, the admirall waied to the ships, willing them to wey and come in; which they did with all speed, himsele taking order in leauing certeine men in keeping the sayd fort, and placed the ordinance toward the high towne, from whence hee suspected the greatest danger; and putting his men in order, marched toward the low towne, which was about some foureteene score from the fort: in which towne lay all their merchandize and other goods. Approching to the towne, he entered the same, the people imbar- king themselues in carauels & boats, with all the expedition they could. The base towne, of about an hundred houses, being thus taken, we found in it great store of merchandizes of all sorts: as Brasil-wood, sugars, Calico-cloth, pepper, cynamon, cloues, mase, nutmegs, with diuers other good things, to the great comfort of vs all. The admirall went vp and downe the towne, and placed at the South end of the same captaine Venner and his company, himsele and his company in the midst of the towne, and captaine Barker and captaine Addy at the other end of the towne, giuing great charge, that no man vpon paine of great punishment and losse of his shares, should breake vp or enter into any ware-houle, without order and direction from the admirall. And this commandement was as well kept as euer any was kept, where so great spoile and bootie was found: for it was not known in all the time of our being there, that any disorder was committed, or any lodge or ware-houle broken open, or any spoile was made, or pillaging of any thing; which is a note much to be obserued in such an action: for common mariners and souldiers are much gi- uen to pillaging and spoiling, making greater account of the same then of their shares.

Order being put in all things, we kept a very sure watch this first night, and the morning being come, our admirall and captaine Venner, with the rest of the captaines, went about the towne, and gaue order for the fortifying of it with all expedition: so that within two dayes it was surrounded with posts & planks, all that part of the towne next the maine land, at least nine foot high; for (God be thanked) we found provision in the towne, sufficient store for it. Now it is to be vnderstood, that this towne is enuironed on the one part by the sea, and on the backside by a riuer that runneth behinde it; so that to come to it by land, you must enter it by a small narrow passage not aboute for- ty paces ouer at an high water. At this passage we built a fort, and planted in it five pieces of or- dinance, which we tooke out of the first fort we wan at our comming in to the harborow. Now we hauing the towne in possession, our admirall sent for the Hollanders by his chyrurgian, which had bene brought vp in that countrey, a man knowing their conditions, and sober and discreet of his owne carriage. At his first comming aboard of them, they seemed to stand vpon their owne guard and defence, for they were three great and strong ships: but he vled himsele so, that they at the last willed him to come into the greatest of their ships, which was about 450 tunnes. Then he declared to them our intent of comming thither, and that they should be there as sure from a- ny shew of violence or iniury offered them, as if they were in their owne houses, and if they should thinke so good, his admirall would fraight the for England, if they would be content with fraighe reasonable, and as they should agree, and it should be at their owne choise whether to go or not, he would not force them, vnlesse it were to their benefit and good liking. Although this people were somewhat stubburne at the first, as that nation is in these causes, yet being satisfied with good words and good dealing they came aland, & after conference had with the admirall, they were so satisfied, that they went thow with a fraight; and then we toynd with them, & they with vs, and they serued vs as truly & as faithfully as our owne people did, both at watch and ward, by sea and all other seruices. Within two dayes after our comming in, about midnight, a great number of Portugals and Indians with them, came downe vpon vs with a very great cry and noise; but God be thanked, we were ready for them: for our admirall supposing some such assault, had provided all our muskets with haile-shot, which did so gaule both the Indians and the Portugals, that they made them presently retreat. And this is to be noted, that there was both the horse and his rider slaine both with one of these shot. Our men followed them some five or sixe score, but no further. We lost in this conflict but onely one man, but had diuers hurt. What was lost of their part, we could not tell, for they had before day, after our retreat, caried away all their dead. Within three or foure dayes after our comming in appeared before the harborow 3 ships & 2 pinnelles, the pin- nesses being somewhat nere, discried our flags, and one of them came in, which was a French pin- nelle, declaring all the rest to be French bottoms; which our admirall willed should come in: and so they did. These were Frenchmen of war, and came thither for purchase. The captaines came aland, and were welcomed; amongst whom was one captaine Iohn Noyer of Diepe, that the yere before had taken in our admirall at the island of Mona in the West Indies, where his ship was cast away, comming out of the East Indies. To this man our admirall offered great kindnes, and per-
for me

Abraham Cocke
going for the
river of Plate,
met withall.

formed it, & was not vngratefull for his former benefite shewed vnto him. This captaine desired of our admirall to bestow vpon him his ships lading of Fernambuc-wood, which he granted him, and also his pinnesse, and more, gaue him a carauel of about 50 tuns, & bid him lade her with wood also; which with other benefites he gratefully receiued. To the other two captaines he granted their loadings of wood, the one captaine being of Diepe, the other of Rochel. The captaine of Diepe confessed that he met Abraham Cocke certein moneths before, & being distressed for want of water, gaue him some, & went with him to a watering place where he had water enough, and so departed from him, saying that his men were very weake. The comming in of these ships did much strengthen vs; for our admirall appointed both these French and the Flemings to keepe watch vpon the river by night with their boats, euery boat hauing in her 12 men at the least, and the boats well provided. This was for feare of fired ships or barks to come downe, which our admirall had great care vnto, and caused our ships to ride by cables and haulters, at all aduantages to shun them, if by that meanes they should attempt to put vs out of the harborow; giuing commandement to vs that watched in the towne, that what fires soeuer we should espy or see, not one man to start from his watch or quarter, vnlesse we were by himselfe commanded to the contrary. Now this order put in all things, and hauing viewed all the goods in the towne, and thinking our selues sufficient-ly fortified, we began to vnlade our ships, which came as full laden in as they went forth, but not with so good merchandize. And this order was taken about the vnlading of them, and also the lading of goods out of the towne: our men were diuided into halues, and the one halfe wrought one day, and the other halfe the other day; alwayes those that wrought not kept the watch with their furniture in their hands and about them, and none slept far off or wandred from his colours, and those that wrought had all their weapons in good order set & placed by them, so that at an instant euery one knew where to go to his furniture: and this was very carefully looked vnto.

The third day after our comming in, came down from the higher towne, which might be about foure miles off vpon a hill, three or foure of the principall gentlemen of the countrey, and sayd that from the bishop, themselves, & the rest, they would haue some conference with our admirall. This newes being brought to the admirall, he hung downe his head for a small season; and when he had mused a while, he answered, I must go aboord of the Flemings vpon busines that importeth me, and therefore let them stay if they will: and so he went & sate there with the Flemings from nine of the clocke till two at the afternoone. In this space diuers messengers went to the admirall, to come away; for these gentlemen sayd. To whom he gaue this answer: Are they not gone yet? And about two of the clocke he came aland, and then they tolde him they were departed. Many of the better sort of our men maruelled, and thought much, because he would not vouchsafe to come and haue conference with such men of account as they seemed to be. But the admirall made them this answer, Sirs, I haue bene brought vp among this people, I haue liued among them as a gentleman, serued with them as a souldier, and liued among them as a merchant, so that I should haue some vnderstanding of their demeanors and nature; and I know when they cannot preuaile with the sword by force, then they deale with their deceiueable tongues; for faith and truth they haue none, neither will vs any, vnlesse it be to their owne aduantage. And this I giue you warning, that if you giue them parle, they will betray vs; and for my part, of all nations in the world, it would grieue me most to be ouertaken by this nation & the Spaniards: and I am glad it was my fortune to pay them with one of their owne fetches, for I warrant you they vnderstand me better then you thinke they do. And with this I pray you be satisfied; I hope it is for all our goods: for what shall we gaine by parle, when (by the helpe of God) we haue gotten already that we came for, should we venture that we haue gotten with our swords, to see if they can take it from vs by words and policy? there were no wisdom in so doing. You know what it hath cost vs, and how many men lie wounded that be not yet hole of this other nights hurts: and therefore from henceforth I giue this commission, that if any be taken, he be sent away with this order, although he come as a friend, that if either he or any other approach vs from henceforth, he shalbe hanged out of hand: and other course then this I will not take with them. Which course was followed; for within 3 or 4 dayes after it was performed by two taken in the night: and after that we were neuer troubled with spies; and although diuers slaues came running from their men to vs, by which we vnderstood much of their working & pretences, yet the admirall would enterteine few of them.

In this meane time that we began to worke, the Portugals with the country people were not idle, for seeing vs so busie, about five nights after our comming in, they priuily in the night cast vp a trench in the sands about a sacar shot from our ships, minding there to plant ordnance, which would haue offended our ships greatly; & they would not haue bene able to haue rode there to take in their lading, which now began to go aboord of them. The admirall hearing this, about 3 of the clocke

clocke in the after noone marshalled our men, and he and all the rest of the capitaines marched toward them. The Portugals & Indians perceiuing our comming, began to withdraw themselves within the trench, meaning (as it should appeare) to fight it out there: but we made no stand, neither did it behoue vs, but presently approached the trenches with our muskets & pikes, afore their trenches were thorowly finished: so that by Gods helpe we entered the. And the Portugals & Indians left the place, & left vnto vs 4 good peeces of brasse ordnance, with powder and shot & diuers other necessaries, and among the rest 5 final carts of that countrey, which to vs were moze worth then al the rest we tooke, for the lading of our goods from the towne to the waters side: for without them we could not haue told what to haue done, much of our goods being so heauie, that without carts we were not able to weyld them: all these things we brought awy & destroyed al those platforms that they had made, and then we had rest with them for certaine dayes, in which we went forward, deuinding our marchandize with capitaine Venner according to our consort, and went daily lading them aboard, euery ships company according as their turnes fell out, but only the three dutch ships: for the goods being put into their boats their owne companies laded themselves. And this farther good chance or blessing of God we had to helpe vs, that assoone as we had taken our cartes, the next morning came in a ship with some 60 Negros, 10 Portugall women, and 40 Portugals: the women and the Negros we turned out of the towne, but the Portugals our Admirall kept to draw the carts when they were laden, which to vs was a very great ease. For the countrey is very hote and ill for our nation to take any great trauell in.

In this towne there is no fresh water to be had, and therefore we were euery 5 or 6 dayes compelled to passe ouer the riuer into the maine land to get fresh water, which after the first or second time the Portugals kept and would haue defended our watering, so that we were driuen to water of force, and at seuerall times some of our men were hurt, and onely two or three slaine, and with this danger we were forced to get our water.

And as they molested vs in our watering, so they slept not in other deuises, but put in practise to burne our ships or remoue them out of the harbour. For within some 20 dayes after our comming in, they had prepared 5 Carauels and filled them with such things as would best take fire and burne: these they brought within a mile or little moze of our ships, and there set them on fire, for neerer they could not well come because of our watch of boates, for, as is aboue said, the Admirall had alwaies 6 boates that kept watch aboue halfe a mile from the ships for feare of such ex-ploytes as these, which was the cause they could not fire them so neere the ships as they would haue done. But these fired Carauels had the ride with them, and also the little winde that blew was in their fauour, which caused them to come downe the streame the faster: which our boats per-ceiuing made to them with as much expedition as conueniently they could, but the ride and wind both seruing them, they approached toward the ships with greater expedition. Our men in the towne began to be in some feare of them, yet no man moued or started fro his quarter moze then if there had bene nothing to doe. Also the masters and such as were aboard, were somewhat amased to see 5 so great fires to be comming downe among their ships, but they prepared for to cleere them of it, as well as they could, being provided afore hande & iudging that some such stratagems would be there vsed, the riuer being very fit therfore. But (God be thanked) who was alwaies with vs & our best defence in this voyage, by whose assistance we performed this so great an attempt with so small forces. Our companie in the boats so played the men when they saw the fires come neere our ships, that casting grapnels with yron chaines on them, as euery boat had one for that purpose, some they towed aground, and some they brought to a bitter or anker, where they rode till all their force was burned out, & so we were deliuered by Gods helpe from this fearefull danger. Which in some 6 nights after this, which might be about the 26 day after our comming in & abode there, about 11 of the clocke at night, came driuing downe other 3 great raftes burning with the hugest fires that I haue seene. These were exceeding dangerous, for when our men approached the, thin-king to clasp their grapnels vpon them, as they had done vpon the Carauels the night before, they were prevented: for there stooke out of the raftes many poles which kept them from the body of the raftes, that they could not come to throw their grapnels into the: & yet they had this inconuenience worse then al the rest which most troubled vs. There stooke out among the poles certaine hollow trunks filled with such provision of fire-works that they ceased not still (as the fire came downe to those trunks to set the on fire) to spout out such sparkles, that our boats hauing powder in them for our mens vse, durst not for feare of fying themselves with their owne powder come neere those sparkles of the raftes, but seeing them to driue neerer & neerer our ships, they wet certain clothes and laid vpon their flakkes and bandelers and so ventured vpon them, & with their grapnels tooke holde of them, and so towed them on ground, where they stooke fast & were not burnt out the next day

day in the morning. Diuerſe logs and timbers came dꝛiuing along by our ſhips, and burning, but with our boats we eaſily defended them. And thus (God be prayd) we eſcaped the ſecond fires. A third firing was prepared, as a Negro gaue vs to vnderſtand, but this we prevented by our departure. For this third firing were very great preparations; and we were credibly informed of certaintie, that this firing ſhould be ſuch as we ſhould neuer be able to prevent, and aſſuredly theſe fires be dangerous things and not to be prevented vpon the ſudden, unleſſe it be afore prepared for and foreſeene. For when it cometh vpon the ſudden and vnlooke for, and vnprovided for, it bringeth men into a great amazement and at their wits ende. And therefore let all men riding in riuers in their enemies countrey be ſure to looke to be provided befoꝛe hand, for againſt fire there is no reſiſtance without preparation.

Alſo it is a practice in theſe hot countreys, where there be ſuch expert ſwimmers, to cut the cables of ſhips: and one night it was practiced to cut the Admirals cable, and yet the boate rode by the cable with two men in her to watch all the night, and the twoy onely was cut, but not the cable: but after that night, ſeeing then our good watch, they neuer after attempted it.

While all theſe things paſſed, our ſhips (God be thanked) throꝛow the induſtry of our gouernours, and diligent labour of our men, began to be wholly laden, and all the beſt marchandize conueyed aboard our ſhips, ſo that our Admirall ment to depart that night, which was the 31 day after our entrance, or elſe on the next day at the fartheſt, and ſo warning was giuen to all men to make themſelues readie. Our Admiral being aboard his ſhip y ſame morning, eſpyed in the ſands right againſt the place where the ſhips rode, that there was a ſmall banke of ſand newly caſt vp, vnder which he perceiued now and then ſome people to be: preſently he tooke his boat and went to the towne and called all the Captaines together, declaring that the enemies were about ſome pretence right againſt the ſhips, conſulting whether it were beſt to ſally out & ſee what they were doing, or depart that euening according to the former determination. The Admirall was of opinion to depart that night, ſaying it was but folly to ſeek warres ſince we had no neede to doe it: other affirmed, it were good to ſee what they did, leaſt the winde might be contrarie and the ſhips not get out, and ſo our enemies may build vpon vs to our great diſaduantage. Well, ſaid the Admirall, the matter is not great, for there can be no danger in this ſally, for where they worke it is within ſhalke ſhot of the ſhips, and if any power ſhould come againſt you, the ſhips may play vpon them with 40 peeces of ordinance at the leaſt, ſo that a bird cannot paſſe there but he muſt be ſlaine. I am ſomewhat vnwilling you ſhould go, for I haue not bene well theſe two dayes, and I am not ſtrong to march vpon thoſe heauie ſands: they answered all at once, you ſhall not neede to trouble your ſelfe for this ſeruiſe, for you ſee it is nothing and of no danger, being ſo neere the ſhips, doubt you not we will accompliſh this ſeruiſe well ynough, and returne againe within this houre. The Admirall answered: the danger cannot be great, but yet you ſhall goe out ſtrong for feare of the worſt. And ſo the Admirall marched them 275 men French and Engliſh, which were vnder the conduct of Edmund Barker, captaine Barker of Plimmouth, Viceadmirall to captaine Venner, captaine Addy, and the three French captaines all going out together, and they were to march vpon a narrow peece of ground to the place whether they were ſent vnto: in the broadest place betwixt the ſea and the water on the other ſide, it is not about a ſtones caſt, for it is a bank of ſand lying betwene the riuer & the ſea, ſo they needed not to feare any comming on their backs or on their ſides, and befoꝛe them could no man come, but he muſt paſſe by all the ſhips which no company of men were able to do without preſent death. The Admirall commanded them at their departure to go no further then the place he ſent them to, and ſo he himſelfe went aboard the ſhips and made readie all the ordinance for feare of the worſt, not knowing what might iſſue, although he ſaw no danger might follow. Thus we marched quietly till we came to the place we were ſent vnto, being right ouer againſt the ſhips: out of which place came ſome dozen ſhot, which ſeeing vs come, diſcharged and ran their wayes with ſuch as were working within the ſaid platfoꝛme. So that we came into it and perceiued they had begunne to lay planks to plant ordinance vpon. Our Admiral commanded, if there were any ſuch thing, to burne the planks & returne in againe, which we might haue done without hurting of any mans finger: but our leaders were not content to haue performed the ſeruiſe committed them in charge, but would needes expreſſy & againſt their order march on further to fight with certaine Enſignes almoſt a mile off, cleane out of the reach of the ordinance of all our ſhips, & where lay the ſtrength of the whole countrey. When our men began to draw neere thoſe Enſignes of men, the Enſignes ſeemed to retire with great ſpeed, which our men followed with ſuch great haſt that ſome outrunning other ſome, our order was broken, and thoſe enſignes retyred theſelues into the force of the whole countrey, ſo that our ſoꝛmoſt men were in the miſt of their enemies yet they were aſware, which were ſlaine yet the reſt

could

could come to succour them. The enemies encouraged by this, came also vpon the rest, which presently began to retire, & the enemies followed them til they came within the reach of the ordinance of our ship, where they were beaten off and left their pursuit. In this conflict were slaine capitaine Barker capitaine of the Salomon, capitaine Cotton y Admirals Lieutenant, capitaine Iohn Noyer a french capitaine of Diepe, and another french capitaine of Rochel, with 99. Iohn Barker & other to the number of 35: for these were the foremost and hottest in the pursuit of the Ensignes aforesaid, and by their forwardnes came all to perishe. At our returne into the towne the Admirall came to vs much bewailing the death of so many good men as were lost, wondering what we ment to passe the expresse order that was giuen vs. With this losse our men were much danted, but our Admirall began againe to encourage them, declaring that the fortune of the warres was sometimes to win and sometimes to loose. And therewithall he wished euery man to prepare & make himselfe readie: for that night (God willing) he would depart. For all our ships were readie and laden, and he would not stay any further fortune. The evening being come, the ships began to wey & go forth of the harbour, and God be thanked of his goodnesse toward vs who sent vs a faire wind to go forth withall, so that by 11 of the clocke in the night we were all forth in safety. The enemies perceiuing our departing, planted a peece or two of ordinance, and shot at vs in the night, but did vs no harme. We were at our conning forth 15 sailes, that is, 3 sailes of Hollanders, the one of 450 tunnes, the other of 350 tunnes, and the third of 300 tunnes, foure sailes of french & one ship which the Admirall gaue the french Captain, 3 sailes of Captain Venners fleet of Plimmouth, and 4 sailes of our Admirals fleete, all these were laden with marchandizes, and that of good worth. We stayed in this harbour to passe all this businesse but onely 31 dayes, and in this time we were occupied with skirmishes and attempts of the enemy 11. times; in all which skirmishes we had the better, onely this last excepted. To God be the honour and praise of all. The whole fleete being out in safety, the next day in the morning the Admirall gaue order to the whole fleete to saile toward Peraniew a harbour lying some 40 leagues to the Northward of Fernambucke, and there to take in fresh water and to refresh themselves: and to make prouision for refreshing, our Admirall had sent thither some 6 daies before two French men in a smal pinnesse, which Frenchmen he had prouided from Diepe before his conning out of England for that purpose. For both these two spake the Indians language very perfectly: for at this port of Peraniew and an other called Poraju some 6 leagues to the Northward the Frenchmen haue had trade for Brazil-wood, and haue laden from thence by the Indians meanes, who haue set it for them some 20 leagues into the country vpon their backs, 3 or 4 ships euery yere. Thus we all sailed toward Peraniew, at which place we arriued in the night, so that we were forced to lie off & on with a stiffe gale of wind, in which we lost the most part of our fleete, & they not knowing this coast put off to the sea, and so went directly for England. Our Admirall and some 4 saile more with him put into the harborow of Peraniew, and there watered and refreshed himselfe very well, with hens, conies, hares and potatos, with other things, which the two Frenchmen had partly prouided before his conning: this is a very good harborow where ships may ride and refresh very well. But, as I am giuen to vnderstand since our conning from thence, the Portugals haue attempted the place and doe inhabite it, and haue put the french from their accustomed trade. Here hauing watered and refreshed our selues, we put to the sea, plying after the rest of our fleete which were gone before, which we neuer heard of till our arriual in England at The downes in the moneth of Iuly, where we vnderstood the rest of our consoyts to be passed by for London, Capitaine Venner & his fleete to be at Plimmouth, and the French ships to be safe arriued at Diepe, which to vs was very great comfort. At our setting saile from The downes, according as the custome is, finding the Queenes ships there, we saluted them with certaine ordinance. The Gunner being carelesse, as they are many times of their powder, in discharging certain pieces in y gunner room, set a barrel of powder on fire, which tooke fire in y gunner room, blew vp the Admirals caben, slew the gunner with 2 others outright, & hurt 20 more, of which 4 or 5 died. This powder made such a smoke in the ship with the fire that burnt in the gunner room among all the fire workes, that no man at the first wist what to doe: but recalling backe their feare, they began to cast water into the gunner room in such abundance (for the Queenes ships now & also the other ships that were in our company came presently to our helpe) that (God be praised) we put out the fire & saued all, & no great harme was done to the goods. By this may be seene that there is no sure safety of things in this world. For now we made account to be out of all danger, where behold a greater came vpon vs, then we suffered all the whole voyage. But the almightie be prayled for ever, which deliuered vs out of this and many other in this voyage. Our fire being well put out, and we taking in fresh men (God be prayled) we came to Blacke-wall in safety.

Peranieu 40.
leagues north-
ward of Fer-
nambuck.

Peranieu a very
good harbour.

A speciall letter written from *Feliciano Cieça de Carualsho* the Governour of *Paraiua* in the most Northerne part of *Brasil*, 1597. to *Philip* the second king of *Spaine*, answering his desire touching the conquest of *Rio Grande*, with the relation of the besieging of the castle of *Cabodelo* by the Frenchmen, and of the discouerie of a rich siluer mine and diuerse other important matters.

The king of Spaines resolution to proceed in the discouerie & conquest of *Rio Grande*.

Receiued your Maiesties letter bearing date the ninth of November 1596. whereby I vnderstande that your Maiestie doth determine to proceede in the discouerie and conquest of *Rio Grande*, according to the relation which was sent your Maiestie by *Don Francisco de Sousa*, Governour generall of this Realme of *Brasilia*: together with a copie of a letter, which your Maiestie sent vnto vs, bearing date the two and twentieth of March 1596. Moreover I receiued another letter from your Maiestie bearing date the 15 of March 1597. Both which letters were to one effect. It may please your Maiestie to vnderstand that there are diuerse Gentlemen in these countreys of as good abilitie as my selfe, which seeke to liue at home onely for their ease and pleasure, and are not wont to hazard nor venture their bodies, liues, and goods so often times in your Maiesties seruice as I haue done and commonly doe; and can keepe their goods and riches, and not spend nor wast them as I haue done, and dayly doe so wilfully: yet neuerthelesse being spent in your Maiesties seruice, I am very glad thereof. For I and they are alwayes readie at your Maiesties commandement.

The Captaine-ship of *Paraiua* standeth in five degr. 45 min. of Southerly latitude.

And as concerning your Maiesties commandement in commanding me that I should put to my helping hand in the conquest of *Rio Grande*: although this Captaine-ship of *Paraiua* and countrey where I doe gouerne doth want abilitie for that purpose, yet neuerthelesse your Maiestie shall alwayes finde me readie to doe your Maiestie the best seruice I can: for it is very well known how forward I haue bene alwayes and am in this conquest, and still doe put to my helping hand, as partly your Maiestie doth vnderstand by a letter which I wrote to your Maiestie by my sonne, bearing date the 19 of March 1596 wherein your Maiestie may vnderstand what good seruice I haue already done therein, and alwayes will be readie to my power to doe the like in furthering of the said enterprise.

The castle of *Cabodelo* besieged by the French.

It may please your Maiestie to vnderstand that the thirde of July there was brought vnto me a Frenchman a prisoner, who presented himselfe vnto me. And I examining of him, he tolde me that he came running away from certaine French ships men of warre, which came vpon this coast: and he tolde me that he had serued your Maiestie in the warres of France. Like wise he tolde me that he left me seuen great ships Frenchmen of warre riding at an anker in *Rio Grande*, and that there were 13 french ships of warre more, which had giuen battery to the Castle of *Cabodelo*, and landed 350 soldiers all in white armour, and the battery continued from Friday vntill the Sunday following both by sea and land, and great store of Frenchmen were slaine, and two Captaines of the French. On our side the Captaine of the castle was slaine, and other two Portugals hurt: other harme they had none. There were but twentie Portugals in the castle, and five pieces of ordinance. They ment to haue kept the castle, and to haue traded with the Indian people. So seeing they could not take the castle, they hoysed sayles, and went from thence to *Rio Grande*: and being altogether they are in number 20 saile at an anker in *Rio Grande*. And some of them determine after they be new trimmed and dyest, and haue taken in fresh victuals, and stayed there vntill Easter, then to depart from thence to the *Honduras*, and so to burne and spoyle some to wies thereabout.

The garison of *Fernambuck*.

I certified *Manuel Mascarenhas* of these informations by my letters, requesting him to send me with all expedition those souldiers which were in garison in *Fernambuck* to ayde me, and to defende this Captaine-ship from the enemye. But the Friers of The Couent would not consent therunto, nor suffer them to be sent vnto me. So I was forced to make shift with those souldiers only which I had in my gouernment and tooke them with me, and marched to the place where the enemies were entrenched, and vpon Whitsunday in the euening about thre of the clocke, hauing in my company a Negro of the countrey of *Petiguar*, which was our guide, he brought vs where the enemies campe was; and presently I did assault them, and slew great store of them, burning the villages and countrey of those rebels, which did ioine with the Frenchmen, and tooke many of them prisoners. So they told me that there were ten great french ships of warre which were at an anker in *Rio Grande*.

The countrey of *Petiguar* res belletly against the Portugals

A rich siluer mine found at *Copaoba* within five dayes journey of *Paraiua*.

Likewise I was informed, that there is a frenchman called *Daurmigaz*, which hath discovered and found great store of siluer in a place called *Copaoba*. The siluer hath bene tried and melted, it is very good and fine siluer, and there is great quantitie. The man which told me of this hath bene

beene in the mine, and hath seene it tried and melted, And I haue bene my selfe once in the place: it is but 6 dayes iourney from this Captaine ship.

Furthermoze this Frenchman told me that one Monsieur Misa a french Captaine, and a kinsman of the gouernour and Viceadmirall of Diepe in Normandie, had one of his armes strooken off at the siege of the castle of Cabodelo; who is departed from Rio Grande, with determination to come backe hither againe the next yeere in the moneth of Januarie following, and to inhabite in this countrey of Paraiba, which is 20 leagues from Fernambuck, because of the great store of silver, which they haue already found here.

Moreouer I am enformed that a noble man of France called The earle of Villa Dorca doth intend to come vpon this coast with a great flete from Rochel. It were good that your Maiestie would send into France to knowe the certaintie thereof.

The Frenchman likewise told me that all the Canibals of Periguar haue ioynd themselves in companie with certaine Frenchmen, which were cast away in two ships vpon this coast. The one of these ships which were cast away was one Rifoles, and the other ship was this mans. And those Frenchmen which came vpon this coast did ioyne themselves with those Canibals which did reuell, and did diuide themselves into two squadrons. So I sent presently to Manuel Mascarenhas that he should send me aide and munition. But he sent me word againe, that he had none to spare, and that he did purpose with all speede to goe himselfe to Rio Grande; and that he was not able to furnish himselfe so well as he could wish, nor to bring his souldiers into the field, for lacke of shot, powder, and other munition, which he did want.

All the Canibals of Periguar ioyne with the Frenchmen against the Portugals.

Whereupon once more the 29 of July I with my souldiers marched to the enemies campe, and there ioyning battell with the Indian rebels, which were ioynd with the Frenchmen that were their leaders, I did set vpon them, and slew great store of them, and tooke fourteene of them prisoners. They doe report the very same newes, which the other Frenchmen did tell me as touching the ships which were in the harbour of Rio Grande; and how their pretence was to haue come and haue taken vs, and spoiled the countrey.

But now being put to flight and hauing receiued the ouerthrow, they can get no victuals to victuall their shippes: which hath bene the cause that they are mightily hindered in their intent, and dare not come any more to attempt vs. And the Indians are so dismayed, that in haste they will haue no more helpe nor aide of the Frenchmen. So by these meanes of necessitie the Indians must submit themselves vnto vs, considering they are quite spoiled and ouerthrowen for a long time. Likewise they haue enformed me touching the silver mines which are found, that it is most true. For those french shippes which were in Rio Grande haue laden great store of the ore. Wherefore I certified Manuel de Mascarenhas of the Frenchmens newes, and howe euery thing did stand; wishing him to make readie foure ships and three hundred souldiers, and so to take the harbour of Rio Grande, being now cleared and voyde of the enemy: and to search out the situation of the place, and where were best to fortifie and to build some fortes for the defence of this riuer, where neede shall require. Whereunto Mascarenhas sent me word, that when he went himselfe, and found it true which hath bene reported touching the silver mines, that then he would send both men and ships. Therefore your Maiestie must giue order, that the rest of the Gouernours shall ayde and assist me in these warres: otherwise of my selfe I am not able to doe more then I haue already done in defending of this countrey against our enemies which are many.

French ships laden with great store of silver ore.

It may please your Maiestie to be aduertised, that from time to time I haue written vnto Don Francisco de Sousa Gouernour general of this realme, who is in Baia, as concerning these Frenchmen of warre: but he will not answere me to any purpose, because I do write vnto him for such things as I doe want, which are shot, powder, men, and munition requisite for your Maiesties seruice & safeguard of this captaine ship. For here are neither shot, powder, nor any thing els to defend vs from our enemies; nor any that wil put to their helping hands for the defence of this countrey, & the seruice of your Maiestie. And therefore it were needfull that your Maiestie should commit the charge and gouernment into the hands of Diego Sierua, with expresse charge that all the captaines & commanders vpon paine of death obey him and be readie at all times to aide and assist him in your seruice. Otherwise this countrey cannot be kept and maintained, hauing so great warres continually as we haue, and are troubled withall. For this Diego Sierua is a very good souldier, and hath good experience; and is fit to gouerne this countrey. Your Highnesse is also to send him Commission with expresse comandement to follow these wars; otherwise this countrey cannot be kept, but daily they will reuell. For here are none that will serue your Maiestie so iustly as he will do: who wil haue a great care in any thing which shal concerne your Maiesties seruice

touching

touching the estate of this countrey. For the Gouvernour Sousa doth spend your Maiesties treasure in building his owne Ingenios or sugar-milles.

The conquest
of Rio Grande.

Two Forts to
be builded at
Cabodelo.

The countrey
of Paraiua in
danger dayly
to be lost.

The warres
of Periguar.

A new captain
appointed in
Cabodelo.

A great con-
trouersie tou-
ching the go-
uernment of
the Indian
townes.

The towne of
S. Augustine.

And those Captaines which your Maiestie intendeth to send hither must bring with them shot, powder, and all kind of weapons, furniture, and munition for the defence and safegarde of this countrey, and for the conquest of Rio Grande. For there is no kind of munition in al this countrey to be had, if occasion should serue. It were also good that your Maiestie should send order for the building of a couple of Forts or Castles at Cabodelo, for they be very needefull for the defence of the enemy, which dayly doth warre against this Captainship. For that man which shall gouerne this countrey, if he be no more fortunate then I haue bene hitherto, shall not misse one time or another, but he shall loose all the countrey. If Don Francisco de Sousa had sent mee those two hundred and fiftie souldiers which I did send for, which were in garison in the castle of Arrecife, which doe nothing but spend your Maiesties victuals and treasure, and had not sent them to Baiha, where there was no neede, these warres of Periguar had bene ended long ago, and had saued your Maiesty a great deale of charges which you had spent in following of this conquest of Rio Grande. I haue chosen one Captaine Iohn de Maras Cardoso to be Gouvernour of Cabodelo, who is a very sufficient man.

Furthermore, it may please your Maiestie to vnderstand, that the chiefeest Friers of this Monasterie of S. Antonie haue complained on me to the lord Gouvernour generall, and haue caused great strife and debate betwene him and me touching the gouernment and rule of these Indian townes. For the Friers would command and gouerne both the Indians and their townes as well in Ecclesiasticall as Tempozall causes, as touching the punishment of the bodies of such as are offenders. But I haue resisted them in your Maiesties name, and haue alleaged, that none but your Maiestie must rule and gouerne them and their countrey, and that the townes appertaine to your Maiestie, and not vnto the Friers. But the Gouvernour hath written a letter vnto me, signifying that he hath pronounced a sentence against me in the Friers behalfe, which is this. The King our master hath sent a decree and certaine statutes touching the good gouernment and orders to be executed and kept in those Indian townes: and that vpon sight hereof I shall presently banish all the *Mamelukes* and white men which dwell in any of those Indian townes with all speede, and that none of them from hence forward shall enter into the said villages, without commandement and consent of the said Friers. So this sentence was presented vnto me by the Reuerend father Custodio, Prior of Sant Anton of Brasil, with a further postscript of the Gouvernour importing these words: I doe likewise charge and commaund you the Gouvernour of Paraiua, that presently vpon sight hereof you shall restore those villages and houses which you haue burned and destroyed in the last warres, and likewise the towne of S. Augustine, and that you shall build them againe at your owne proper cost and charges: for the Friers alleage that these townes were giuen them, by a decree sent them from Pope Pius Quintus, that the said Friers should gouerne and rule them.

On the other side I haue pronounced another sentence against the said Friers in your Maiesties name, and for your Maiestie, alleaging that those townes, villages, and subiects appertaine and belong vnto your Maiestie, and that in tempozall causes I am to punish those offenders, which shall rebell against your Maiestie: and as touching ecclesiasticall causes that the Vicar of this Cathedral church shall rule, gouerne and instruct them in the Christian religion. So we both haue appealed vnto your Maiestie herein, and your Maiestie may peruse all our writings, and then determine that which shall be best and most profitable for your Maiesties seruice and enlargement of your crowne. For through these bzoyles the inhabitants of this Paraiua forsake their houses & dwelling places, and so doe some of the Friers, because they cannot be suffered to rule & gouerne.

Also the Indians haue complained against me, because I haue burned their villages in this last rebellion. Wherefore if your Maiestie doe not send some order for this countrey and see into these cases, it will breed great dissention and rebellion among vs, and we shall be readie to cut one anothers throat before it be long.

Thus I thought good, according to my humble bounden dutie, and for the seruice of your Maiestie and quietnesse of this realme, to certifie your Maiestie the truth of the whole matter: hoping in short time that your Maiestie will send some good order to qualifie these bzoyles: for there is great hatred and malice among vs. Iesus Christ preserve and keepe the royall person of your Maiestie with long health, as it pleaseth him. From the Captainship of Paraiua this present 20 of August, 1597.

Feliciano Cieça de Carualho.

A spe-

A special note concerning the currents of the sea betweene the Cape of Buena Esperança and the coast of Brasilia, giuen by a French Pilot to Sir Iohn Yorke knight, before Sebastian Cabote; which pilot had frequented the coasts of Brasilia eigheteene voyages.

Memorandum, that from Cabo de buena Esperança vnto Brasilia the Sunne hath the like dominion ouer the tides there, as the Moone hath ouer our tides here. And that whensoever the Sunne is in any of these signes he gouerneth the tides as followeth.

The Sunne being in $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Taurus} \\ \text{Gemini} \\ \text{Cancer} \end{array} \right\}$ the tide hath his course North-west.

The Sunne being in $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Leo} \\ \text{Virgo} \\ \text{Libra} \end{array} \right\}$ no current.

The Sunne being in $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Scorpio} \\ \text{Sagittarius} \\ \text{Capricorne} \end{array} \right\}$ the tide hath his course Southeast.

The Sunne being in $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Aquarius} \\ \text{Pisces} \\ \text{Aries} \end{array} \right\}$ no current.

A ruttier or course to be kept for him that will sayle from Cabo Verde to the coast of Brasil, and all along the coast of Brasil vnto the riuer of Plate: and namely first from Cabo Verde to Fernambuck,



The ship that goeth from Cabo Verde to Brasil, must goe Southsoutheast: and when she is with in 5, or 6 degrees of the Equinoctial she must go South-east and by South. And if she haue the ternados, that is thundrings and lightnings, then thou must go altogether South, or that way and by that boord that doth profit thee most. And take this for aduise, that hauing the general winds, if the wind be at South or Southeast, then go South-west, or westsouthwest.

And if the winde be South, then goe South-west, and by this way but little, for it is not a way for thy profit, because the more thou goest this way, the more will be thy trouble, because thou mayest not come neerer the coaste of Guinea then 60 or 70 leagues vnto the shoale called Os baixos de Santa Anna. And being this distance from the same, thou shalt cast about the other way towards Brasil, and the wind will be large.

Thou shalt vnderstand that the ship that keepeth this course to Fernambuck, and goeth in October or after, and chanceth to goe to windward of the Isle of Fernando de Loronha, when thou comest to 8 degrees, or 8 and 1/2, then thou shalt go West and beare with the land. Thou must take this for a warning, that if going West in 8 degrees thou see land, then looke to the Northward, and thou shalt see certaine white cliffes. Then I aduise thee that thou goe well to the Southward. And this is to bee vnderstoode from October forward, for then the time is most subiect to North-east and Eastnorth-east winds. And if thou find thy selfe in the sayd height aboue mentioned, and seest cliffes, and seest a Cape to the Southward, and seest no more land to the South, then make accompt that thou art at Capiguuari: and from thence to Fernambuck thou hast five leagues, and hast a good port.

Thou shalt take this for a warning, that if in 8 degrees and a halfe thou see land lying all flat, thou mayest goe neerer it, and be bold till thou come in tenn or twelue sadomes: And then thou shalt see a great grosse land along the sea-coast which is called Capicagua: And being East and West with this land, and, as I haue sayd, in tenn or twelue sadomes water; and the time being from October to Februarie, then thou needest not to feare any thing: but looke to the South and thou shalt see the cape of S. Augustine: and looke to the North and thou shalt see a point, and to the Southeast a point called Puna de Olinda, where Aponiquay standeth. And the land from the cape to the point called Puna de Olinda lieth North and South.

He that will sayle to Brasil, must not come within 60 or 70 leagues of the coast of Guinea.

Of Southerly latitude.

I advise thee that if thou be East and West with the cape of Saint Augustine, thou shalt see within the land an high hill, having as it were a saddle upon it like to a camel: And thou shalt see to the Southwards three hilles along the sea, and then presently thou shalt see the coaste to lie North-east and South-west.

The height of
cape of S. Augu-
stine, of Olinda,
& Fernambuck.

Thou shalt understand that from this cape of Saint Augustine, to the towne of Olinda, thou hast nine leagues to the North. And this cape standeth in eight degrees and two third parts, and Olinda standeth in eight degrees and a quarter, and Fernambuck standeth in eight degrees. And this course is to be understood to be observed and kept, if thou depart from Lisbon in October or November.

In what
height thou
shalt seeke land
that depart fro
Lisbon in Fe-
bruary or
March.

Take this advise, that if thou depart in February or March from Lisbon, then thou shalt goe to beare with the land in nine degrees, because that from March forwards raigue most commonly Southeast and Southwest windes. And if by this height and course thou bring thy selfe nigh to the shore, feare not to bring thy ship into 18 or 20 fadomes, for all the coast is cleane: and there are no more dangers, but such as the sea doth breake upon.

How to know
the cape of S.
Augustine.

And if after thy fall with the land thou have occasion to goe to the Northward, and so going seekest certaine sholdes, doubt not to come for the North, and thou shalt see the cape of Saint Augustine, which lyeth as it were sloaping to the seaward, and hath as it were a Whales head, and hath upon it a round hill, with many hilles round about it. And if thou come along the sea coast much about the depth above mentioned, thou shalt see a little Island called Saint Alexio: And from this Island to the cape of Saint Augustine are foure leagues, and it standeth in eight degrees and three quarters.

Isle de Santo
Alexio.

The course that a man must keepe to the bay called *A Bahia de Todos os Santos*, that is to say, The bay of all Saints, which lieth on the fore- sayd coast of *Brasil*.

The height of
Bahia de Todos
os Santos in 13
degrees and
one third part.

If thou goe for Bahia de Todos os Santos, thou must keepe the course which I have already set downe, and shalt observe the time from March forwards, as also from October forwards. Thou shalt understand that the Bahia de Todos os Santos standeth in 13 degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$: and if thou goe in October or after October, then goe to fall with the land in 12 degrees or 12 and a halfe.

The situation
of the Isle of
Tapaon.

And take this for a warning, that when thou seekest a white land, and long bankes of white sand, which shew much like linnen cloth when it is in whiting, then thou must go along from the North to the South untill this white land doe end: and thou needest not to feare to goe along the coast, for there are no sholdes. Before thou be cleane past the white land or white sands, thou shalt have sight of an Island that standeth along the bay, I say on the Northside of the bay, which is called Tapaon: and here the land lieth West and by South.

When a man
may beare in
with Bahia.

When thou art so farre shot as Tapaon, thou shalt see a certaine great tree which is round, and standeth neere the sea upon the very point of the entrance into Bahia on the Northside.

And marke well that if thou looke to the Southward, and seekest no white grounds such as I wrote of before, but that they be all behind thee to the Northward: then when thou seekest none to the Southward, thou mayest bee hold to beare in with Bahia. And if when thou goest into Bahia to the North-west, and seekest the sea to breake, feare nothing: for it is the breach of a certaine banke, whereon thou shalt have alwayes 5 or 6 fadomes water: and this be sure of.

The distance of
O morro de San
Paulo fro Bahia.

Thou shalt understand that if thou come for this place from March to the end of April, I would with thee not to fall to the Southward of 13 degrees and a halfe. And falling with the land, and not seeing the white sands, thou shalt strive to goe to the Northward. And seeing the land in 13 degrees and a halfe, thou shalt have sight of an hill along the sea: And if thou be nigh the land, and cannot make it certaine what land it is: thou shalt marke if it bee a round high hill along the sea, that it is O morro de San Paulo, or, The hill of Saint Paul: and it lieth blacke and bare on the top. And from thence to Bahia is tenne leagues.

Rio de Tinsare
a very good
river.

And here along this hill on the North-west side there is a great river called Tinsare: and it is a very good river. And in the entrance of Bahia there are sixe or seven fadomes water in the channell. And I advise thee that being in the height of 13 degrees and a halfe, thou come not neere the land, for it hath a bay very dangerous.

A dangerous
bay in 13 de-
grees and a
halfe.

And if thou goe from Bahia to Fernambuck, then I advise thee that thou take good heede of the coast on the North-east and Southwest, and thou shalt goe East, if the winde will suffer thee to goe East: and so goe thirtie or forty leagues off to the sea.

I ad-

I aduise thee that thou beare not in with the land of Fernambuck, but in the height of 9 or 10 degrees, because that in 11 degrees thou shalt fall with the bay called A Enscada de Vazabaris. Also if thou come from Portugal and fallest with the land in eleuen degrees, beare not in with it, neither come nere it, for thou mayest hurt thy selfe in so doing: but thou shalt hume it, and goe to the Southward. For if thou lie to the North thou shalt bring thy selfe into some trouble.

The height of the bay called A Enscada de Vazabaris.

This Bay of All Saints standeth in thirteene degrees. And from thence to Fernambuck thou hast a hundred leagues: and the coast lyeth Northeast and Southwest. And from thence to Rio das Ilhas, that is, the riuer of the Islands the coast runneth Northeast and Southwest, I meane taking a quarter of the North and South.

Baia de todos Santos in 13 degrees.

The course for *Baia das Ilhas*, that is, The bay of the Islands, which lie on the sayd coast of *Brasil*, & the marks for the finding of them.

If thou goe for *Baia das Ilhas* thou must looke for it in fiftene degrees lacking a quarter.

Baia das Ilhas lieth in 15 degrees lacking a quarter.

If thou be minded as I sayd to goe for these Isles, if it bee from March forward, thou shalt fall with the land in 15 degrees and a halfe, and though it be in 15 degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, it is all the better.

And if thou haue sight of certaine high hilles, that seeme to reach to the skie, these hilles are called As Serras Raiemores. Then hauing sight of these hilles, thou shalt goe along the coast; and feare nothing, for there are no holdes along to the North. And when thou seest the Islands, thou mayest make account they be these which thou seekest, for there are no other on al this coast, and thou shalt see a round hil along the sea. Thou shalt vnderstand that on the North side of this hill is the going in of the riuer. But if it chance that thou finde thy selfe in a time that will not suffer thee to goe in, then goe along the Islands giuing them a breadth off. And thou mayest well come to an anko? hard aboord them, for all is cleane ground. And thou shalt finde eight or nine fadomes, and from thence thou mayest goe into the riuer hard aboord the shore. And if it chance that thou goe from the North to the South all along the great Island, thou must keepe thy selfe from the land: and when thou hast brought it Eastnortheast, then thou mayest anko? two cables length from the shore: for all is cleane ground.

A round hill.

If thou chance to arriue on this coast in the time of the Northeast windes, thou shalt seeke to fall with the land in foureteene degrees. And if thou see a lowe land, thou mayest make account it is the land called Ciemana, and then thou shalt see Mangues: And also thou shalt come along this coast to the South: and when thou seest an ende of the low land, then thou shalt finde an high land along the sea like the other that I haue made mention of before, that is, all sandie along the sea coast.

In what height a man must fall with this place in time of the Northeast winds. Ciemana. Mangues.

And thou must vnderstand, that where the high land beginneth, there is a little riuer called Rio das Contas, but enter not into it: it hath for a marke to be knowen by as it were a white mouth. And from thence to the Islands thou hast nine leagues. And at the ende of this high land to the Southward of it thou shalt find a great bay within the land, & then thou shalt looke to the West-Southwest, and shalt see another high land, which lieth as it were in the midst of the bay, and thou shalt there see certaine white houses which are the Ingenios or houses wherein they make sugar of Lucas Giraldo. From thence thou shalt see the Isles being so farre shorte as Rio de Contas. And thou shalt see within the land a round hill which is like Monte de laude, and it hath another copple on the South side.

The white sugar houses of Lucas Giraldo.

The course to sayle to *Porto Seguro*, that is to say, The safe haven, lying on the foresayd coast of *Brasil*, & the markes to know the same by.

If thou goe for *Porto Seguro* and goest in the time of the Southeast windes, which is from March forwards, I aduise thee that thou fall not in more degrees then sixteen and a halfe, because of the holdes called Os baixos dos Abrolhos, which are very dangerous, and stretch very farre into the sea. And also going West from them, that thou keepe thy lead going and be often sounding. And if thou chance to see the land, and an high hill and long wichall, much like to The pike, it is the hill that is called Monte Pasqual. And from thence thou must goe to the North, and when thou hast brought it Southwest of thee, then thou mayest beare with the land, but with great care to looke about thee.

To ankoide Os baixos dos Abrolhos.

Monte Pasqual.

Marke when thou seest the land and comest to see a red cliffe, then looke to the Southward, and

The place of
comming to
an ankoꝝ de-
foze Porto Seg-
uro, which stand-
eth in 16 deg.
& one third.

16 degrees.

A dangerous
riuer in 16 de-
grees.

Baixos de Santo
Antonio.

and thou shalt see a great smooth coast along the sea, and then on the North side thou shalt de-
scribe Porto Seguro. And going along the coast thou shalt see the towne of Porto Seguro standing
vpon the toppe of an hill; which hill is a white rocke: and on the North side of the sayd rocke
there is a very hie land. I aduise thee that when thou art East and West with the sayd land, I
meane with this rocke, that then thou looke to the Northward, and thou shalt see certaine rocks
lying two leagues off into the sea, whereon the sea doth breake, and to the Southward of them
thou mayest come to an ankoꝝ against the towne, and hast a good place to ride in thirteene fadomes
in sight of the towne.

And if it be thy chance to arrive in the time of the Northeast winds, and comest in the height
of fiftene degrees and two third parts, and seest not certaine hilles, then thou must goe along the
coast being in 16 degrees, and vnder the first hie land that thou shalt describe, thou shalt see certaine
sandie bays along the sea coast: And if thou haue sight of a riuer in this height, put not thy selfe
into it, neither beare with the land, for it hath many sholdes. And off them lie certaine sunken
grounds, called Os Baixos de Santo Antonio. And from hence to the Southward lyeth Por-
to Seguro.

I aduise thee that going along the coast to the Southward, and seeing such sholdes, and the
sea to breake vpon them, as the other which I last spake of, thou shalt runne along them a sea
boord of them: and when thou art at the end of them, then the towne will beare West of thee: and
then thou mayest goe to thine ankoꝝing place as is abovesayd, giuing these sholds a good birth.

The course to the hauen named *Baia do Spirito Santo*, that is to
say, The bay of the holy Ghost, lying on the sayd coast of *Brasil*, and the
markes thereof.



Thou shalt vnderstand that the ship that goeth for Spirito Santo, when it hath doubled
the sholdes called Os Baixos dos Abrolhos, and hath brought it selfe in 20 or 19 de-
grees and a halfe, then it may hall with the land in 18 or 19 degrees and a halfe, and
in twentie. And the sayd shippe must goe in this height, because on this coast there
are no Monçoins.

Monçoins are
certaine set
winds with
which the
rides set.
Markes on the
North side of
Spirito Santo.

The situation
of la Sierra de
Mestre Aluato.
Rio dos Reyes
magos.

If thou chance to come in the height of 19 degrees; and seest lowe land to the Northwest off
thee, then thou art on the North side of Spirito Santo, and thou mayest make accompt that it is the
land lying ouer Criqueare, and ouer the riuer called Rio dolce, that is the riuer of sweete or fresh
water. If thou come along the land thou shalt find certaine high hilles: but trust not the first that
thou seest only. For besides the rest thou shalt see a round hie hill which is at the capes end, which
is called la Sierra de mestre Aluato. Take heede that going for this land thou looke to the North
and thou shalt see a riuer called Rio dos Reyes Magos: that is, The riuer of the three kings.
And comming to the Southward thou shalt see presently the mouth of the bay to open. At the end
of this hill on the South side, thou hast a point of a rocke, which is called A punta do Tubaron.
And on the South side of the bay it hath two or three blacke hie hilles, and in the midst of the
bay thou shalt goe in westward.

I aduise thee that in going in thou take heede of a sholde which lieth in the mouth of the bay:
thou must leaue it to the Southward of thee, and then ple to double a certaine Island which lieth
within, and thou must leaue it to the Northward of thee: and when it beareth on the North or
Northeast, thou mayest come to an ankoꝝ: for all is cleane ground.

A Sierra de Gua-
riparim in 20
degrees.
A Sierra de Pero
Cam.

A Ilha de Re-
pouso.

Spirito Santo
standeth in 20
degrees.

And if thou chance to come by this course, and fallest in 20 degrees, and seest many hilles, and
one among the rest very high and craggie: it is called A Sierra de Guariparim, that is, the hill of
Guariparim, and seest another hill on the North side, which is called A Sierra de Pero Cam: both
these lie on the South side of Spirito Santo. And from these hills thou shalt see a little hill named
Guaipel. And when thou seest these hilles, thou shalt see three little Islands together, lying to
the Southward: And then from these thou shalt see another rockie, bare, and round Island: and
to the land off this Island thou shalt see a great bay. If thou wilt thou mayest ankoꝝ here safely.
And if thou wilt go in, thou shalt bring thy selfe East and West with the hill, and so thou mayest
go in. And thou shalt leaue a lowe land to the North of thee, which is called A Ilha de Repouso,
that is, the Isle of rest: and this Isle lieth along the coast: and thou mayest be bold to ride betwixt
it and the maine, giuing it a breadth off.

From these three Islands to Spirito Santo are 12 leagues: and running Northwards to come
to Spirito Santo, thou shalt see another Island, and shalt go a sea boord of it, and by & by the mouth
of the bay will open toward thee. And this bay standeth in 20 degrees.

The

The course from the bay de Spirito Santo to the bay of S. Vincent, and the marks thereof. Also the course from Saint Vincent to the riuer of Plate.

Sailing from Spirito Santo for Saint Vincent, thou mayest goe along the coast, keeping seven or eight leagues off, and must goe to seeke Cabo Frio, that is, The cold cape. And as thou comest toward Cabo Frio, thou hast a very great bay called Bahia de Salvador, that is, The bay of our Sauour. And from thence thou hast twelue leagues to Cabo Frio.

And before thou comest to Cabo Frio, thou hast two small Islands. Thou mayest go safely either a sea boord of them, or else betweene them. Thou shalt understand that Cabo Frio hath as it were an Island in the midst of the face of the cape, that doth cut off the cape. Thou mayest ride safely on the West side thereof; for all is cleane ground.

Understand that Cabo Frio standeth in 23 degrees: and from it to Rio de Ienero are twelue leagues. And this riuer of Ienero hath in the mouth thereof 3 or 4 Islands. And if thou wilt go into this riuer de Ienero, thou mayest well goe in betweene two Islands which stand in the entrance of the riuer on the South side: neere vnto this riuer there is a great hill seeming to bee a man with long haire.

And take this for aduise, that if thou be in the height of this riuer, thou shalt see certaine high hills within the land, which be like vnto organs. And when thou seest these organs, then make accompt thou art right against the riuer: and coming neere the land thou shalt see a certaine Island very round, which lieth to the Southward, and is hie and bare in the top. Thou must know that the mouth of this riuer standeth in 23 degrees and one third part. And from this riuer to Angra, that is to say, The open haven, thou hast 15 leagues. Goe not neere the land there, except necessitie compell thee.

I aduise thee, that from this riuer that I spake of, I meane from the entrance thereof, thou must goe Westsouthwest, and Southwest, and West and by South. And thou shalt see a great Island called Isla de San Sebastiano, and to the Southward thereof another small Island very high, called the Island of Alcatrazas, that is to say, The Island of Pellicanes: but come not neere it, for it hath dangerous shoals. And from hence thou mayest go West, and so thou shalt fall right with the mouth of Saint Vincent, and thou shalt see an Island. And if thou meane to goe into Saint Vincent thou must leaue this Island to the Westward. And understand that Saint Vincent lieth in foure and twentie degrees. And when thou art in the mouth of this bay, or art neere the mouth of it, then thou shalt see many other Islands, and one among the rest to the seaward. And hauing these sightes, thou hast the best markes that bee for these Islands, that I haue told thee of: and this Island lieth Northwest and Southeast with the mouth of S. Vincent.

The course from Saint Vincent to the riuer of Plate.

From S. Vincent to Cananea thou hast 40 leagues: and the coast lieth Northeast and by East, and Southwest and by West. From Cananea to the riuer of Saint Francisco are fiftene leagues, and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest. There is a little Island, which hath as it were two bayes, and a good rode, and is in 26 degrees and a quarter, and towards the maine it is hie and craggie.

From San Francisco to Boca de Ouerniron are 26 leagues, and the coast lieth North & South. Also thou must marke that the riuer of San Francisco hath a great entrance, and 3 small Islands, and to seaward it hath a good road; and the maine is high and craggie.

From this Boca de Ouerniron to Ilha de Aruoredo thou hast no great markes be obserued: but this Boca is a very great bay, and this bay is deepe within the Island, and is a good road, and hath many Islands, and standeth in 28 degrees. And to the North of this Island vnder the point there is a good road: and there is no other road hereabout but this, and it is vnder the Island.

From hence thou shalt haue sight of the Isle called Santa Catharina, which is a great Island about eight or nine leagues long, and lieth North and South. And hard by euen with this Island is Porto de Patos, which standeth in 29 degrees. And from Porto de Patos to Porto de Don Roderigo are ten or eleuen leagues: and the coast lieth North and South. And from Porto de Don Roderigo to Laguna are 5 leagues. And this is a good harbour for all winds, except the North-east wind.

From the Laguna to the riuer called Rio de Martin de Sousa are 42 leagues. And the coast is something high, & lieth Northeast & by North, & Southwest & by South: and it hath an Island 2 leagues

Baia de Salvador
12 leagues
North from
Cabo Frio.
Two small
Islands.

The height of
Cape Frio in 23
degrees.
Rio de Ienero.
The situation
of an hill like a
man with long
haire by Ientro.

The organs,
certaine high
hills.
Angra.

A Ilha de San
Sebastiano.
The Isle of
Alcatrazas.

Saint Vincent in
24 degrees.
Many Islands
about 6 mouth
of S. Vincent, &
one out to the
seaward.

Cananea.
Rio de San Fran-
cisco.

Boca de Ouerni-
ron.

Ilha de Aruoredo

Santa Catalina a
great Island.

Porto de Patos.

Porto de Don
Roderigo.
Laguna.

Rio de Martin de
Sousa.

leagues into the sea, where ships may ride well. And from the riuer of Martin de Soula to Rio de San Pedro are 52 leagues, and the coast lieth North-east and South-west.

From this riuer of San Pedro there lieth a point of land a good league off and more, and it lieth on the South-west side of the port. And from thence to Cabo de Santa Maria are 42 leagues: and the coast lieth North-east and South-west, and all is lowe land.

Also on the Southeast side of Cabo de Santa Maria there lieth an Isle two leagues off into the sea, and it hath a good harbourough betwixt it and the maine. And note that the maine is lowe land.

The cape of Santa Maria standeth in 35 degrees, and at the point thereof it hath an Island a league into the sea.

Hereafter followeth a Ruttier from the sayd riuer of Plate to the Streight of Magelane.



The cape of Santa Maria is in 35 degrees. From thence to the Cape de Santo Antonio, which is on the other side of the riuer, are 30 leagues North-northeast, & South-southwest. And this is the broadest place of the riuer. And this cape is in 36 degrees and a halfe, and it is a blacke grosse land. And thou must marke that at 25 leagues a seaboard the mouth of the riuer there lie certaine sands, which be called Baixos de los Castellanos.

Baixos de los Castellanos.

He that falleth with the cape of Santa Maria must take good heede to go Southeast untill hee be in 36 degrees, and from thence South-southeast untill 36 degrees and a halfe, giuing the sayd sholes de los Castellanos a breadth: and also taking heede of the flats of the cape. And when hee findeth 40 or 45 fadomes, and ruffet sand, then he must goe South-west and by South, untill hee be in 40 degrees: where hee shall find great store of weedes, which come from the coast, and a man may go 20 leagues from the shore in this sounding.

Cabo de Arenas Gordas.

Rio de S. Anna.

From the Cape de Santo Antonio to the Cape de Arenas Gordas are eight & forty leagues, and the coast lieth North-east and South-west, and by East, and by West: and in the first eightene leagues is the riuer called Rio de Santa Anna, which hath at the entrance certaine flats and sholes, giue them a good breadth, and come not nigh them by much, but keepe thy selfe in forty fadomes to goe surely.

Cape de S. André

From the cape de Arenas Gordas to the cape of Sant André are one and thirty leagues: it lieth North-east and by East, and South-west by West: I meane when thou art in the middest with an equall distance from them both. And between both the capes are many bayes and riuers, but all full of sandie sholes.

Baia Anegada.

From the cape of Sant Andres to the bay called Anegada, that is, The sunken bay, are 30 leagues East-northeast, and West-southwest. It standeth in 40 degrees, rather lesse then more.

Punta de Tierra Llana.

Baia sin fondo.

From the bay called Baia Anegada to The point of the plaine land are 25 leagues North-northeast, and South-southwest. This point lieth in 41 degrees and a halfe. And from this point to Baia sin fondo, that is to say, The bottomlesse bay, are 35 leagues East-northeast, and West-southwest. This bay standeth in 42 degrees and a halfe, rather lesse then more.

Cabo redondo, Puerto de los leones.

And from Baia sin fondo to Cabo Redondo, & Puerto de los leones, are 37 leagues North-northeast and South-southwest, somewhat to the North and South. And if thou meane to go out from thence with a compasse about after the maner of a halfe circle or an arch, so thou mayest passe through the Baia sin fondo along the shore: for there is water enough.

Puerto de los leones in 44 degrees & better. Take good heede of these little rocks.

Note that from the riuer of Plate to this place is neuer a good harbour for great shipping.

Cabo de Matas.

Rio de Camarones.

From this place to Puerto de los leones the coast is cleane, and a man may come nigh vnto the land: And it is a lowe land with white cliffes. This harbour is in 44 degrees. And as a man goeth thither, after hee be in 43 degrees or more, hee must haue a care to looke out for certaine small rockes which lie neere the land, and lie North of the harbour.

Cabo redondo in 45 degrees & a halfe large.

From this harbour to Cabo de Matas, or The cape of shrubs, are 30 leagues North & South, halfe a point to the East and to the West: and betwixt them there is a great bay very long: And to the North-west 18 leagues from Cabo redondo is a riuer lying East and West: and it is called Rio de Camarones, or, The riuer of shrimps. You shall know when you fall with this riuer, by seeing many white spots vpon the water, and they are small shrimps.

From this riuer to Cabo redondo the coast lieth North-west and by North, and Southeast and by South. This cape is in 45 degrees and a halfe large.

From this sayd cape to Cabo Blanco and Barancas Blancas that is to say, to The white cape and

and white clifses are 32 leagues lying North and by East and South and by West: and they stand in 47 degrees.

Cabo Blanco
and Blancas
Blancas in 47
degrees.

From this Cape the coast lyeth towards the North side Northwest about 3 leagues all full of white clifses steepe up: and the last cliffe is the biggest both in length and height, and the weth to be the saile of a ship when it is under saile. These white clifses are 6 in number. And this Cape hath in the face thereof a certaine round land that the weth to be an Island as farre off: and it hath certaine poynts of rockes hard by it. And two cables length from the land is 25 fathomes water. About these white clifses the land is plaine and euen: and it hath certaine woods. There is much people in the countrey: of whom I wish thee to take good heed.

People to be
taken heed of.

From this Cape the land lyeth North and South; which is the first fall of the Cape: and in the face thereof it hath a poynt of rocks, which shewe themselves. And on the South side of this Cape is a good harbour and road, and there is a Bay in the midst.

A good har-
bour.

From Cabo Blanco to Puerto de San Julian are 37 leagues, and the coast lyeth North and by East and South and by West. This harbour of S. Julian hath in the entrance certaine high hilles, which as farre off seeme to be towers. On the South part of the entrance the channell is deepest in the midst: and thou must borrow neerer the North side then to the South. Within the harbour are two Islands: thou must come to an anker hard to them. This haven lyeth in 49 degrees. And betwene Cabo Blanco and this harbour are the Islands of Ascension, and they be eight.

The port of
Saint Julian.

From this said harbour to the hill of S. Yues are 35 leagues: the coast lyeth Northeast & Southwest: it is a low land and euen and hath onely one hill, and it is a plaine from one part to the other, and hath certaine clifses to seaward, and to the Southward, and to the South side it hath certaine little copples: it standeth in 50 degrees large.

Ilhas de Ascen-
sion.
Morro de Santo
Yues, in 50 de-
grees large.

From the hill of S. Yues to Rio de Cruz are 8 leagues, Northeast and Southwest: and on the North side of the riuer it hath a very high land, and in the toppe it is plaine and lyeth two leagues broad, layd out along North and South, and the downefall on both sides hath as it were saddles. This Cape hath many poynts of rockes lying 4 leagues into the sea: and when thou hast sight of this land, it is good for thee to keepe from it a good bredch off. And going from thence thou mayest runne in sight of the land in 25 fathoms.

Rio de Cruz.

From Rio de Cruz to Rio de Galegos are 25 leagues, Northeast and Southwest: and it standeth in 52 degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$ of a degree. It hath a certaine high land: and in the highest of the layd land it is plaine, and to the Northeast it is a pike by, and hath certaine white clifses: and on the toppe and something downewarpe it is blacke: at the foote of this high land to the Eastward thereof it hath certaine steps like a ladder: and to the sea it hath a sharpe poynt that lyeth into this Cape almost halfe a league. To the Southward of this Cape where the ladder is, there is a little Bay, which is the entrance of Rio de Galegos, it ebberth and floweth here 12 fathomes. A man must haue a great care how he goeth in here for the cause abovesaid: but he must keepe himselfe out and not anker in it.

Rio de Galegos
and the marks
thereof.

From Rio de Galegos to the Streits of Magelan the coast lyeth Northnorthwest & Southeast 8 leagues unto Cabo de la virgin Maria, which is the entrance into the Streit: and 4 leagues before a man come to this Cape there are white clifses with certaine blacke spots in them; and they be caused with the falling downe of the water. Here is water inough, and thou mayest come to an anker hard aboord the shoze, and hast a good defence for a Southwest wind. And the Cape it selfe is the highest land of all, and is like to Cape Saint Vincent in Spaine: and it hath on the East side a ledge of rockes, and a poynt of land, with diuers sands which shewe themselves at a lowe water: thou must take great heed here and giue them a good bredch halfe a league or a quarter of a league off, until thou bring the Cape Westnorthwest, and then thou mayest stirre away Southwest. And when thou comest to the lower land and into renne or twelve fathoms, then art thou ouer against la Purificacion. And halfe a league within the land the citie of Nombre de Iesus was builded, East and West with the layd Cape right against a cliffe, which cometh from the layd Cape, and goeth within the Streits. This Cape standeth in 52 degrees last.

In the mouth
of Rio de Gale-
gos it ebberth
and floweth
12 fathomes.

Cabo de la vir-
gin Maria.

And this is to be taken for a warning, that he that cometh neere this Cape, and passerth by it as I haue said with the wind at Northeast, or any other wind off the sea inclining to the Southeast, must not come to anker, but presently be sure to passe by; because in Sommer this place is much subiect to Southwest winds, which blow right in: and they put a man from his tackle, & make him to loose his voyage. And from March forwards there blow fauourable winds from the sea to goe from this Cape to enter into the Streits, from this said Cape the Streits go in to the Northwest 14 leagues: and the channell watheth narrower and narrower unto the first Streit which runneth

Ciudad de Nom-
bre de Iesus cal-
led by M. Can-
dish Port Fa-
mine, because
he found at the
Spaniards sa-
mished, and
the towne it
selfe utterly
abandoned,
and ruined.
Where Nom-
bre de Iesus
stood.
Southwest
winds raigne
much here in
Sommer.
From March
forward the
winds are fa-
uourable for
the Streits.

Cabo de San Gregorio a good road head for any winds from the North-west to the South-west.
The Indians about Capede San Gregorio in the Streits are very treacherous.
The second Streite called Nuestra Sennora de Gracia Punta de Santa Anna in 53 deg. and a halfe.
Rincones.
La Ciudad del Don Philippe which is now utterly ruined.

Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest. And coming out of the mouth thereof a man must keepe himselfe a poynt to the Northward, because there be rocks and shoals. And if you see beds of weeds, take heed of them, and keepe off from them: and after you be past this Streight you must sitte Westsouthwest 8 leagues vnto Cabo de San Gregorio, which is a high white cliffe, and is a good road for any wind from the North-west to the Southwest. But men must beware and not trust the Indians of this Cape: for they be subtil and will betray a man.

From this Cape beginneth the second Streite which is called Nuestra Sennora de Gracia, and lyeth Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest 3 leagues. And coming out of this Streite thou shalt see 3 little Islands, lying West off this Streite: thou mayest go betwene them, for there is no danger: provided alwayes that thou keepe well off from the bayes on both sides, lest thou bee imbayed. And from these Islands thou must keepe for wards in the chanel Westsouthwest two leagues: and then the coast lyeth North and South vnto 53 degrees and a halfe, vnto a place called Punta de Santa Anna: and to the North-west thereof in a corner or nooke (which is one of the rincones or nookes) was the towne builded called La Ciudad del Don Philippe. Thou must come to an anker to the Northward thereof, after thou art past the castle and a great tree.

TWO VOYAGES OF CERTAINE ENGLISHMEN to the riuer of *Plate* situate in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude: together with an exact Rutier and description thereof, and of all the maine branches, so farre as they are nauigable with small barkes. By which riuer the Spaniards of late yeeres haue frequented an exceeding rich trade to and from *Pern*, and the mines of *Potosi*, as also to *Chili*, and other places.

A report of a voyage of two Englishmen in the company of *Sebastian Cabota*, intended for the *Malucos* by the Streights of *Magellan*, but performed onely to the riuer of *Plate* in April 1527. Taken out of the information of *M. Robert Thorne* to Doctor *Ley* Ambassadour for King *Henry* the eight, to *Charles* the Emperour, touching the discouery of the *Malucos* by the North.

This was the fleet wherein Cabot discouered the riuer of *Plate*, 1526. Two Englishmen went with Cabot in this discouery.



In a flete of three ships and a carauell that went from this citie of *Siuil* armed by the merchants of it, which departed in Aprill last past, I and my partner haue one thousand foure hundred duckets that wee employed in the sayd fleet, principally for that two Englishmen, friends of mine, which are somewhat learned in *Cosmographie*, should goe in the same ships, to bring me certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of those seas, and there to haue informations of many other things, and aduise that I desire to know especially. Seeing in those quarters are ships and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they saile, though much unlike ours: that they should procure to haue the sayd cardes, and learne how they vnderstand them, and especially to know what nauigation they haue for those Islands Northwards, and North-eastward.

The Islands of the *Malucos*. The new found Islands discovered by the English.

For if from the said Islands the sea doth extend without interposition of land to saile from the North point to the North-east point one thousand seven hundred or one thousand eight hundred leagues, they should come to The new found Islands that we discovered, & so we should be neerer to the said *Spicerie* by almost 200 leagues then the Emperour, or the king of *Portugall* are.

An extract out of the discourse of one *Lopez Vaz* a *Portugal*, touching the fight of *M. Fenton* with the Spanish ships, with a report of the proceeding of *M. John Drake* after his departing from him to the riuer of *Plate*.



Upon the relation of *Pedro Sarmiento* concerning the streits of *Magellan*, that they might be fortified, and for that the king heard, that there were ships in England preparing for the same streits, he commanded *Diego Flores de Valdes* a noble man of Spaine, to passe thither with 23 ships, and 3500 men to stoppe the passage of the Englishmen.

There went in this fleet the gouernour of *Chili*, with 500 olde souldiers that came out of *Flanders*: but this was the unhappiest fleet of ships that euer went out of Spaine: for before they came from the coast of Spaine a storme tooke them, and cast away five of the fleets

fleete, and in them about 800 men, and the rest came into Cadiz. But the king sent them word that they should proceede: and so there went out on the voyage 16 of the shippes, for two more of their fleete were much spoiled by the storme which they had.

In these threene shippes, Pedro Sarmiento was sent to bee gouernour in the straites, and had assigned vnto him 500 men to stay there with him, and hee carried with him all kinde of Artificers to make him fortis, and other necessaries, with great store of ordnance and other munition.

This fleete because it was late, did winter on the coast of Brasil, in the riuer of Ienero: and from thence they went when the winter was past, and about the height of 42 degrees they had a sudden storme, so that Diego Flores beat it vp and downe 22 dayes, in which time hee lost one of the best ships he had, which had in her 300 men, and 20 women, that went to inhabit the Streits: and in this ship also was most part of the munition which should haue bene left in the Streits, so in the end the storme grew to bee so great, that the ships were not able to endure it any longer, but were put backe vnto an Island, called Santa Catalina: and there he found a barke wherein were some fryers going for the riuer of Plate: which friers told him of two great English ships, and a pinnelle, which had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaines ships.

Whereupon Diego Flores knowing that these English ships would goe for the Streits, determined to goe thither, although it was in the moneth of February, and choosing 10 ships of the 15 that were left, hee left two ships which were not in case to goe to sea at the Island, and into the other three ships which were old, and shaken with the storme hee put all the women, and sicke men in all the fleete, and sent them to the riuer of Ienero, and he with the other 10 returned againe for the Streits.

The three ships in which the sicke men and women were, went to Brasil, and there they found within the port of S. Vincent the two ships before mentioned.

They would haue had the English men to haue gone out of the harbour, and thereupon they fell to fight, and because that these three ships were weake with the storme, and the men that they had were the worst in all the fleete, the Englishmen easily put them to the worst, and sunke one of them, and might haue sunke another, if the Englishmen would: but they minded not the destruction of any man: for that is the greatest vertue that can be in a man, that when hee may doe hurt, yet he will not doe it. So the Englishmen went from this port to Spirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandise, and so they went backe for England, without doing of any harme in the Countrey.

The cause why these English shippes vnder the conduct of M. Fenton went not to the streits, I know not: but some say that they were put backe by foule weather: other some say that it was for feare of the kings ships.

But the pinnelle of these two ships went from them, in which was Captaine Iohn Drake: the cause why they parted I know not, but the pinnelle came into the riuer of Plate, and within fittie leagues of Seale Island, not farre from the place where the Earle of Cumberlands shippes did take in fresh water, shee was cast away vpon a ledge of rockes: but the men were saued in their boat, which were in number 18, who went ashore on the North side, and went a dayes iourney into the land, and met with the Sauages, which are no men-eaters, but take all the Christians that they can, and make them slaues.

But the Englishmen fought with them, and the Sauages slew 5 of them, and tooke 13 aliue, which were with the Sauages about 15 moneths. But the Master of the pinnelle, whose name was Richard Faireweather being not willing to indure the misery that hee was in, and hauing knowledge that there was a towne of Christians on the other side of the riuer, he in a night called Iohn Drake, and another yong man which was with them, and tooke a very little Canoa, which had but two oares, & so passed to the other side of the riuer, which is about 19 leagues broad, and were three dayes before they could get ouer without meat: and comming to land, they hit vpon an high way that went towards the Christians: and seeing the footing of horses, they followed it, and at last came to an house where there was corne sowed, and there they met with Indians seruants vnto the Spaniards, which gaue them meate, and clothes to couer them, for they were all naked, and one of the Indians went to the towne, and told them of the Englishmen: so the Captaine sent foure horsemen, who brought them to the towne behind them.

This Captaine clothed them, and prouided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake dined at the Captaines table, and they were all very well intreated, the Captaine purposing to send them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hauing newes hereof, sent for them, and so Iohn Drake was

Five ships of this fleete call away on the coast of Spaine.

This fleete wintered in the riuer of Ienero.

M. Fenton took these friers.

A fight betwixt our 2 English ships & three Spanish ships

They victual at Spirito Santo.

Iohn Drake proceedeth on to the riuer of Plate.

Richard Faireweather remaps neth in the riuer of Plate.

Iohn Drake sent to the Viceroy of Peru.

sent to him, but the other two were kept there, because they were married in the countrey, so that I know no more of their affaires.

Upon this coming of the Englishmen, there were prepared 50 horsemen to goe ouer the riuer to seeke the rest of the Englishmen, and also certaine Spaniards that were among the sauage people, but I amnot certaine, whether they went forward or not.

A ruttier which declareth the situation of the coast of Brasil from the Isle of Santa Catelina vnto the mouth of the riuer of Plata, and all along vp within the sayd riuer, and what armes and mouthes it hath to enter into it, as farre as it is nauigable with small barks.

The Isle of
Santa Catelina,
Rio Grande.



From the Isle of Santa Catelina, (which is in 28 degrees of Southerly latitude) vnto Rio Grande is fortie leagues. This riuer by another name is called Ygai. The Island of Santa Catelina is six leagues in length: it hath two small Islands on the North side betweene the maine land and it: and on the South side it hath a shoald of rockes, which lyeth hidden very neere vnto the poynt of the Isle. You are to passe betweene the firme land and the poynt of the Isle.

Puerto de Biaza,
or Laguna.

From Santa Catelina to the hauen of Biaza, which by another name is called la Laguna, are twelue leagues: it is a good hauen within: but you must stay the full sea to enter into it, because it hath shoalbes in the mouth, and it may be knowne by a small Island which lyeth a league into the sea which is called La Isla de Reparo, that is, The Island of succour or defence, and you must ride there to search the chanell.

Isla de reparo.

Rio Grande.

From this harbour vnto the riuer before named there is no hauen for a ship to harbour it selfe. And Rio Grande hath many shoals in the mouth thereof. It is a riuer that none but very small shippes can enter into. And this riuer diuideth the countrey of the people called Carios from other nations which are called Guauacs. And from this riuer vnto the entrance of the mouth of the riuer of Plata it is all a plaine land, and very low: you must saile all along two or three leagues into the sea from the shore, vntill you come to certaine Islands which lye twelue leagues from the mouth of the riuer of Plata.

Certaine Islands 12,
leagues distant from the
mouth of the
riuer of Plata,
which are 3
in number.

From Rio Grande vnto these Islands are 68 leagues. And from these Islands vnto the Cape of Saint Marie the coast runneth Northeast and Southwest, somewhat inclining a poynt to the South. The Islands are three, and may be knowne as you come from the sea by two poynts, which shew like the eares of a conie: you may ride betwene them and the maine.

The Cape of
S. Marie.
An Island a
league and halfe
from Cape Saint
Marie.

From Rio Grande to the Cape of Saint Marie are 80 leagues: and the Cape may be knowne by one Island which lyeth from it a league and an halfe into the sea. You may saile betwene the maine and that Island, because there is about 8 or 9 fathoms water. The Cape of Saint Mary standeth in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude.

Isla de Lobos.
The way to
enter into the
riuer of Plata.
Rio de Solis 10
leagues within
the Cape.
Los tres Mogotes
3 leagues.
Saint Grauiel
8 leagues.

The Cape of Santa Maria vpon the poynt thereof hath a little hill which standeth ouer against the Isle of Seales. From this coast of Santa Maria you must coast along the land alway on the North shore, and along the same are certaine Bapes. From the Cape vnto the riuer of Solis are tenne leagues, the coast runneth East and West. There standeth an Island ouer against the mouth thereof. From this riuer of Solis vnto Los tres Mogotes which are on the maine land is three leagues. And from Los Mogotes vnto the Isles of Saint Grauiel are other 8 or 9 leagues more: all this distance runneth East and West. These are five small Islands: to ride here you must keepe somewhat neere the maine within an harquebuz shot halfe a league before you come at the Islands, and straightway you shall see a crosse standing on the said land, and there is an harbour for some winds.

Rio de S. Iuan
3 leagues.

From Saint Grauiel vnto the riuer of Sant Iuan going along the same coast, I say on the North shore, are three leagues: it is very well knowne by the broken cliffe which it hath, which is a white hill. The entrance into this riuer is very dangerous; because it is shallow, and none but very small shippes can enter into the same: the entrance thereof is on the West side very neere the land, great Carackes may ride within the harbour. From this riuer vnto the Isle of Martin Garcia are three leagues: it is one Island alone, and you must saile along the coast on the North shore: and after you be come vnto the Island, I say, ouer against the same, you shall haue three fathoms water, and on the West side it hath a little creeke where you may ride.

The Isle of
Martin Garcia
3 leagues.

Rio de Buenos
Aires on the
south side of the
riuer of Plata.

He that desireth to crosse ouer the riuer of Plata vnto the riuer de Buenos Aires from the Isles of Saint Grauiel, must shape his course Southwest: and the cut ouer is sixteene leagues and vpon his arrivall on the South shore of the riuer, hee must seeke a chanell of three fathomes water,

water, and strait he must goe along the coast vntill hee come to a broken cliffe and a popnt like vnto the firme land, which is distant from this chanell three or foure leagues: and when thou seest this broken cliffe, keepe thee a league from it. Here vpon this riuer of Buenos Aëres was the first Colonie that Don Pedro de Mendoza planted. This riuer lieth very much hidden: because it is not seene, it is very shallow at a low sea, wherefoze you must come in with the first of the flood.

From the Isle of Martin Garcia vnto certaine small Islands which are called the Isles of Saint Lazarus is two leagues, these are shoals: and to goe thither you must goe hard aboord the maine, for there goeth the chanell: all this is to be passed on the North shoze, and with small barks, and with good heede.

From the Isle of Martin Garcia to the mouthes of the riuer are eight leagues in passing along on this shoze to seeke one of the mouthes of the riuer Parana, as it is hereafter described. But you had need first to harbour in a bay, which is in the very cliffe of Barranca, and you must stay for the full sea. And if you fall into the mouth of the riuer which is called Vruay, you must leaue it on the right hand, I say on the North side. And forthwith leauing the said mouth forward toward the West, you may enter into the first mouth although it seeme narrow; or rather you may enter into any of the mouthes: for all of them meete together in Parana, which is the maine riuer.

And hee that desireth to goe from the Isle of Martin Garcia to the riuer of Palmas, which is the best of all these armes, or mouthes to speake more properly, is to shape his course to the West, and comming ouer to the other shoze, and sayling along the coast Northnorthwest hee shall discover the mouth of this riuer of Palmas: and hee must enter hard by Los Tuncales, which lye on the South side: and after ward within is very deepe sounding. All these mouthes of this riuer which are 5, are full of shoals towards the East about the space of two leagues. And if the course of the water were not swift there, you could not enter into them, as I haue already sayd, and you must passe all along with much heede and foresight.

And if peradventure you haue passed Cape Saint Marie and are come ouer to Cape Blanco, consider it, that it is so euen and smooth a land, that you can scarcely discern it a league from the maine, vnlesse it be a very cleare day: and after this sort the coast lieth low vnto the riuer de Buenos Aëres. And from thence the coast lyeth somewhat high vnto the entrance of the riuer de Palmas: all the coast runneth as I sayd before. And all along this coast are naughey people, which eate those which they kill, and many Tygers.

From the Isle of Martin Garcia vnto Sant Saluador is nine or tenne leagues. This is an Island which standeth two leagues within the first mouth: where Sebastian Cabota tooke possession. And this countrey is very well peopled by a people called Carios; and you must beware of all these people: for they are your deadly enemies. The most Southerly mouth of Parana called Rio de Palmas is sixteene leagues long, and it hath many turnings, and many palme or date-trees growing neere it, whereupon it is called The riuer of palme trees: and forthwith it entrench into the riuer Parana, as soone as these sixteene leagues are finished. All the other armes containe likewise sixteene leagues in length, sauing one small or narrow arme, which is called The riuer de los Beguaes: for this containeth forty leagues in length. From this you must enter by the mouth of the riuer of Palmas vnto Santo Spirito, the way is fiftie leagues: you are to passe still along the cliffes. As you enter on the left hand which is on the West shoze by this riuer there are many Isles, lakes and small riuers, and many Indians which are your enemies.

From Santo Spirito vnto a people which are called Los Tenbuis is fiftie leagues. This is by the narrow arme whereby they passe into the riuer Parana: it is the more because it is the longer way. From the Tenbuis by this narrow arme vnto the Quiloacas, which is another nation, are twentie leagues; and all by this riuer is great store of people.

From the Quiloacas, to a place where the Spaniards now haue builded a towne, are fiftie leagues. From this towne vnto the people called Los Mequareras is twentie leagues. Here are many shoals which continue thirtie leagues. All these thirtie leagues are sunken landes: where are many Isles, flats, and nations, which are our enemies.

From the Mequareras vnto the people called Mepenes are these thirtie leagues. And from hence begin the coasts of the firme land vnto the mouth of the riuer Paraguai; sauing that there are eight leagues more of sunken ground.

From the Mepenes vnto the mouth of the riuer of Paraguai are thirtie leagues: it is a riuer that cannot be mistaken although it hath many armes and Islands and dangers, it hath a marke two leagues beneath the mouth on the East side, to wit, an high land, where are 7 points, which we call the 7 currents: and immediately about these currents there is an Island as you passe by the

The first Spanish colonie was planted in the riuer of Buenos Aëres. The Isles of San Lazaro.

Rio Vruay.

Parana is the great riuer.

Rio de las Palmas.

Cape Blanco on the South side of the mouth of the riuer of Plate a very low and euen land. Spaniards upon the South shoze. Sant Saluador an Island ten leagues off. Sebastian Cabota.

16. Leagues.

Santo Spirito 50 leagues from Rio de Palmas.

Los Tenbuis a people. 15. leagues. The Quiloacas 20. leagues.

This towne perhaps may be the towne of Santa Anna, 15. leagues. The Mequareras a people. 20 leagues. The Mepenes 30 leagues. 8. leagues. The riuer Paraguai.

The 7. currents.

The towne of Piquiri is Pico-
ra 170 leagues
by the river of Parana.
The citie of Assumption, of Ascension 60.
leagues from the mouth of Paraguai.
200. leagues from Assump-
tion subject to the Spaniards,
to the citie of Xarac.

river ouer against the poynt aforesaid standeth the mouth of Paraguai. This mouth is very plaine to be found, in seeking whereof a man cannot be deceived. From this mouth the river of Parana is diuided, which is a very great river: and it goeth vnto the towne of Piquiri, which is an hundred and seuentie leagues: and it runneth all this space North and South, and in the way are many flats and shoals; and great store of people, which are a bad nation, although they bee diuided. From the place where these two rivers are diuided, that is to say, from the mouth of Paraguai are sixtie leagues vnto the citie of Assumption. This is a good river, and better to sayle then all the rest of the rivers, which are in this countrey. And from this towne to Los Xarac are 200. leagues, very well inhabited with people of diuers nations, which serue the Spaniards.

THE TWO FAMOUS VOYAGES HAPPILY
performed round about the world, by Sir Francis Drake, and M. Thomas Candish Esquire, together with the rest of our English voyages intended for the South Sea, the kingdomes of *Chili*, *Pern*, the backe side of *Nueva Espanna*, the *Malucos*, the *Philippinas*, the mightie Empire of *China*, though not so happily performed as the two former: Whereunto are annexed certaine rare obseruations touching the present state of *China*, and the kingdome of *Coray*, lately inuaded by *Quabacondono* the last Monarch of the 66. principedomes of *Iapan*.

The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577.



On the 15. day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord 1577. M. Francis Drake, with a flecte of fine ships and barkes, and to the number of 164. men, gentlemen and sailers, departed from Plimmouth, giuing out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth hauen in Cornewall, where such and so terrible a tempest tooke vs, as few men haue seene the like, and was in deed so belement, that all our ships were like to haue gone to wracke: but it pleased God to preserue vs from that extremitie, and to afflicte vs onely for that present with these two particu-

lars: The mast of our Admirall which was the Pellican, was cut ouer boord for the safegard of the ship, and the Marigold was driuen ashore, and somewhat bruised: for the repairing of which damages wee returned againe to Plimmouth, and hauing recovered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, we set forth the second time from Plimmouth, and set saile the 13. day of December following.

The 15. day of the same moneth we fell with the Cape Cantin, vpon the coast of Barbarie, and coasting along, the 27. day we found an Island called Mogador, lying one mile distant from the maine, betweene which Island and the maine, we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and voyde of any danger.

On this Island our Generall erected a pinnesse, whereof he brought out of England with him foure already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the waters side some of the inhabitants of the countrey, shewing forth their flags of truce, which being seene of our Generall, hee sent his ships boate to the shore, to know what they would: they being willing to come aboord our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord, our ship, which by signes shewed our General, that the next day they would bring some provision, as sheepe, capons and hennes, and such like: whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some linnen cloth and shooes, and a iaveling, which they very ioyfully receiued, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come againe to the waters side, and our Generall againe setting out our boate, one of our men leaping ouer rathly ashore, and offering friendly to imbrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throte if hee had made any resistance, and so laying him on a horse, caried him away: so that a man cannot be too circumspect and warie of himselfe among such miscreants.

Our pinnesse being finished, wee departed from this place the 30. and last day of December, and

The Isle of Mogador on the coast of Barbarie.

and coasting along the shore, wee did descie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters which were Spanish fishermen, to whom we gaue chase and tooke three of them, and proceeding further we met with 3. Carauels and tooke them also.

The 17. day of Ianuary we arrived at Cape Blanco, where we found a ship riding at ancho, within the Cape, and but two simple Partners in her, which ship we tooke and caried her further into the harbour, where we remained 4. dayes, and in that space our General mustered, and trayned his men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occasions.

In this place we tooke of the fishermen such necessaries as wee wanted, and they could yeeld vs, and leauing heere one of our litle barkes called the Benedict, wee tooke with vs one of theirs which they called Canters, being of the burden of 40. tunnes or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, wee departed this harbour the 22. of Ianuarie, carping along with vs one of the Portugall Carauels which was bound to the Islands of Cape Verde for salt, wheredof good store is made in one of those Islands.

The master or Pilot of that Carauel did aduertise our Generall that vpon one of those Islands called Mayo, there was great store of dyed Cabritos, which a few inhabitants there dwelling did peereply make ready for such of the kings Ships as did there touch, being bound for his countrey of Brasile or elsewhere. Wee fell with this Island the 27. of Ianuary, but the Inhabitants would in no case traffique with vs, being thereof forbidden by the kings Edict: yet the next day our Generall sent to view the Island, and the likelihoodes that might be there of prouision of victuals, about three score and two men vnder the conduct and gouernment of Master Winter and Master Doughtie, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Island (as by the Portugall wee were informed) hauing traualled to the mountaines the space of three miles, and arriuing there somewhat before the day brake, we arrested our selues to see day before vs, which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled: but the place, by reason that it was manured, wee found to be more fruitfull then the other part, especially the valleys among the hills.

Here we gaue our selues a litle refreshing, as by very ripe and sweete grapes, which the fruitfulness of the earth at that season of the yeere yeelded vs: and that season being with vs the depth of Winter, it may seeme strange that those fruites were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Summe passeth twise in the yeere through their Zenith ouer their heads, by meanes whereof they haue two Summers, & being so neere the heate of the line, they neuer lose the heate of the Sunne so much, but the fruites haue their increas and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Island is wonderfully storied with goates and wilde hennes, and it hath salt also without labour, save onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is increased vpon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiuing heate of the Sunne kerning the same, so that of the increas thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called Cocos, which because it is not commonly knowen with vs in England, I thought good to make some description of it.

The tree beareth no leaues nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the tree, as big euery seuerall fruite as a mans head: but hauing taken off the vtermost barke, which you shall find to be very full of strings or sinowes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a hard shell which may holde of quantitie in liquoz a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some lesse: within that shell of the thicknesse of halfe an inch good, you shall haue a kinde of hard substance and very white, no lesse good and sweete then almonds: within that againe a certaine cleare liquoz, which being drunke, you shall not onely finde it very delicate and sweete, but most comfortable and cordiall.

After wee had satisfied our selues with some of these fruites, wee marched further into the Island, and saw great store of * Cabritos alieue, which were so chased by the inhabitants, that wee could doe no good towards our prouision, but they had layde out as it were to stoppe our mouthes withall, certaine olde dyed Cabritos, which being but ill, and small and few, wee made no account of.

Being returned to our ships, our Generall departed hence the 31. of this moneth, and sayled by the Island of S. Iago, but farre enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at vs three peeces, but they all fell short of vs, and did vs no harme. The Island is fayre and large, and as it seemeth, rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portugals, but the mountaines and high places of the Island are sayd to be possessed by the Boozes, who hauing bin slaues to the Portugals, to ease themselves, made escape to the desert places of the Island, where they abode with great strength.

Being

The Isle of Mayo.

Ripe grapes in Winter.

The description of the tree that beareth Cocos.

* Or goates.

The Isle of S. Iago.

At this, and
Nuno da Silva a
Portugall Pi-
lot taken.

The Isle of
Fogo.

Being before this Island, we espied two ships under sayle, to the one of which wee gave chase, and in the end boorded her with a ship-boat without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and she yielded unto vs good store of wine: which prize our General committed to the custodie of Master Doughtie, and retaining the Pilot, sent the rest away with his Pinnele, giving them a Butte of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

The same night wee came with the Island called by the Portugals, Ilha del fogo, that is, the burning Island: in the Northside whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is sayde to be of Sulphure, but notwithstanding it is like to bee a commodious Island, because the Portugals haue buile, and doe inhabite there.

Upon the South side thereof lyeth a most pleasant and sweete Island, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke vpon, in respect whereof they call it Ilha Braua, that is, the hyane Island. From the bankes thereof into the sea doe run in many places reasonable streames of fresh waters easie to be come by, but there was no conuenient roade for our ships: for such was the depth, that no ground could bee had for anchoring, and it is reported, that ground was neuer found in that place, so that the tops of Fogo burne not so high in the ayre, but the rootes of Braua are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these Islands, we dreyd towards the line, where wee were becalmed the space of 3. weekes, but yet subiect to diuers great stormes, terrible lightnings and much thunder: but with this miserie we had the commoditie of great store of fish, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, wherehence they could not rise againe for want of moisture, for when their wings are drye, they cannot flie.

April.
33. Degrees.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, wee sayled 54. dayes without sight of land, and the first land that we fell with was the coast of Brasil, which we saw the first of April in þ height of 33. degrees towards the pole Antarticke, and being discovered at sea by the inhabitants of the countrey, they made vpon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the deuils, about which they vse confutations, making heapes of sande and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall goe about to stay vpon their coast, not onely sands may be gathered together in shoals in euery place, but also that stormes and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there haue bene diuers experiments.

The Cape of
Ioy.

The seuench day in a mightie great storme both of lightning, rayne and thunder, wee lost the Canter which we called the Christopher: but the eleuenth day after, by our Generals great care in dispersing his ships, we found her againe, and the place where we met, our Generall called the Cape of Ioy, where euery ship tooke in some water. Here we found a good temperature and sweete ayre, a very faire and pleasant countrey with an exceeding fruitfull soyle, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but we came not to the sight of any people: but traueiling further into the countrey, we perceiued the footing of people in the clay-ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships, we wayed anchor, and ranne somewhat further, and harboured our selues betweene a rocke and the maine, where by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe, and vpon this rocke we killed for our prouision certaine sea-wolues, commonly called with vs Seales.

Their entrance
into the riuer
of Plate.

Abundance of
Seales.

From hence we went our course to 36. degrees, and entred the great riuer of Plate, and ranne into 54. and 53. fadomes and a halfe of fresh water, where wee filled our water by the ships sides: but our Generall finding here no good harborough, as he thought he should, bare out againe to sea the 27. of April, and in bearing out we lost sight of our flieboate wherein master Doughtie was, but we sayling along, found a fayre and reasonable good Bay wherein were many, and the same profitable Islands, one whereof had so many Seales, as would at the least haue laden all our Shippes, and the rest of the Islands are as it were laden with foules which is wonderfull to see, and they of diuers sortes. It is a place very plentifull of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water.

Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Island, the people of the countrey shewed themselves vnto him, leaping and dauncing, and entred into trafficke with him, but they would not receiue any thing at any mans hands, but the same must be cast vpon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodie, swift on foote, and seeme to be very active.

May.

The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needfull to haue a care of such Ships as were absent, and therefore endeavouring to seeke the flieboate wherein master Doughtie was, we espied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discover the coast and to search an harbour, the Maygold and the Canter being imployed in that businesse, came vnto

unto vs and gaue vs vnderstanding of a safe harbour that they had found, where with all our ships bare, and entred it, where we watered and made new prouision of victuals, as by Seales, whereof we flew to the number of 200, or 300, in the space of an houre.

Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboord the Flie-boate, and tooke out of her all the prouision of victuals and what els was in her, and haling her to the Lande, set fire to her, and so burnt her to saue the iron worke: which being a doing, there came downe of the countrey certaine of the people naked, sauing only about their waste the skinne of some beast with the furre or haire on, and something also wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with diuers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hoznes, euery man his bow which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrowes. They were very agill people and quitke to deliuer, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feates of warres, as by their order of ranging a few men, might appeare. These people would not of a long time receiue any thing at our handes; yet at length our Generall being ashore, and they dauncing after their accustomed maner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and tooke his cap with his golde band off his head, and ran a litle distance from him and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other.

The Flie-boate
cast off and
burnt.

The people of
the countrey.

Having dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediatly vpon our setting forth we lost our Canter which was absent three or foure dayes: but when our General had her againe, he tooke out the necessaries, and so gaue her ouer neere to the Cape of Good hope.

The cape of
Good hope.

The next day after being the twentieth of Iune, wee harboured our selues againe in a very good harbour, called by Magellan Port S. Iulian, where we found a gibbet standing vpon the maine, which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution vpon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

Iune.
Port S. Iulian.

The two and twentieth day our Generall went ashore to the maine, and in his companie, Iohn Thomas, and Robert Winterhie, Oliuer the Master gunner, Iohn Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake, and entering on land, they presently met with two or three of the countrey people, and Robert Winterhie hauing in his hands a bowe and arrowes, went about to make a shoote of pleasure, and in his draught his bowstring brake, which the rude Sauages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes against our company, and droue them to their shifts very narrowly.

In this Port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or some other disorder, whereby (without redresse) the successe of the voyage might greatly haue bene hazarded: whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by master Doughties owne confession, and partly by the euidence of the fact, to be true: which when our Generall saw, although his priuate affection to M. Doughtie (as hee then in the presence of vs all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Maiestie, and of the honour of his countrey did moze touch him, (as indeede it ought) then the priuate respect of one man: so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the course of our lawes in England, it was concluded that M. Doughtie should receiue punishment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he seeing no remedie but patience for himselfe, desired before his death to receiue the Communion, which he did at the hands of M. Fletcher our Minister, and our Generall himselfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made ready, hee hauing embraced our Generall and taken his leaue of all the companie, with prayer for the Queenes maiestie and our realme, in quiet sort laid his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made diuers speeches to the whole company, perswading vs to vnitie, obedience, loue, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed euery man the next Sunday following to prepare himselfe to receiue the Communion, as Christian bretherzen and friends ought to doe, which was done in very reuerent sort, and so with good contentment euery man went about his businesse.

M. Thomas
Doughtie
executed.

The 17. day of August we departed the port of S. Iulian, & the 20. day we fell with the streight or fret of Magellan going into the South sea, at the Cape or headland whereof we found the bodie of a dead man, whole flesh was cleane consumed.

August.
The streight
of Magellan.

The 21. day we entred The streight, which we found to haue many turnings, and as it were shuttings vp, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often against vs, so that some of the flecte recouering a Cape or point of land, others should be forced to turne backe

backe againe, and to come to an anchor where they could.

In this streight there be many faire harbors, with store of fresh water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie: for the water is there of such depth, that no man shal find ground to anchor in, except it bee in some narrow river or corner, or betweene some rocks, so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come (whereinto the place is much subject) it carieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge & mountainous, the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderfull to looke vpon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceede them in a strange maner, reaching themselves aboue their fellows so high, that betweene them did appeare three regions of cloudes.

These mountaines are couered with snow: at both the Southerly and Easterly partes of the streight there are Islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the streights, euen as it hath in the maine entrance of the freat.

This streight is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seeme to stoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and sweete herbes doe very plentifully grow and increase vnder them.

The bredth of the streight is in some place a league, in some other places 2. leagues, and three leagues, and in some other 4. leagues, but the narrowest place hath a league ouer.

The 24. of August we arrived at an Island in the streights, where we found great store of foule which could not flie, of the bignesse of geese, whereof we killed in lesse then one day 3000. and victualled our selues thoroughly therewith.

The bredth of the streights of Magellan.

Abundance of foule in the streight.

September.

The 6. day of September we entred the South sea at the Cape or head shore.

The seventh day wee were driuen by a great storme from the entering into the South sea two hundred leagues and odd in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the Streight: in which height, and so many leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipse of the Moone at the houre of sixe of the clocke at night: but neither did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impayze our state, nor her clearing againe amend vs a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the Sea continued in his force, wee being darkened moze then the Moone seven fold.

From the Bay (which we called The Bay of seuering of friends) wee were driuen backe to the Southward of the streights in 57. degrees and a terce: in which height we came to an anchor among the Islands, hauing there fresh and very good water, with herbes of singular vertue. Not farre from hence we entred another Bay, where wee found people both men and women in their Canoes, naked, and ranging from one Island to another to seeke their meat, who entred traffique with vs for such things as they had.

57. Degrees and a terce of Southerly latitude. Boreo writeth that another hath found this place all Islands.

We returning hence Northward againe, found the 3. of October three Islands, in one of which was such plentie of birdes as is scant credible to report.

W. Winter was paraded and returned.

The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our Consorts wherein W. Winter was, who as then we supposed was put by a storme into the streights againe, which at our returne home wee found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared.

The trending of the coast of Chili.

Thus being come into the height of The streights againe, we ran, supposing the coast of Chili to lie as the generall Maps haue described it, namely North-west, which we found to lie and trend to the North-east and Eastwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of Chili hath not bene truely hitherto discovered, or at the least not truely reported for the space of 12. degrees at the least, being set downe either of purpose to deceiue, or of ignorant coniecture.

The Isle la Mocha in 38. degrees and 30. minutes.

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of Nouember with an Island called la Mocha, where we cast anchor, and our Generall hopping out our boate, went with ten of our company to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards haue forced for their owne safetie and libertie to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themselves in this Island. We being on land, the people came downe to vs to the water side with thew of great courtesie, bringing to vs potatoes, rootes, and two very fat sheepe, which our Generall receiued and gaue them other things for them, and had promise to haue water there: but the next day repaying againe to the shore, and sending two men aland with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they vse to thew no fauour if they take them) layde violent hands on them, and as we thinke, slew them.

Our Generall seeing this, stayed here no longer, but wayed anchor, and set saile towards the coast of Chili, and drawing towards it, we mette neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoe, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards, came to vs and tolde vs, that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdome of Peru: for which good newes our Generall gaue

gaue him diuers trifles, wherof he was glad, and went along with vs and brought vs to the place, which is called the port of Valparizo.

When we came thither, we found indeede the ship riding at anker, hauing in her eight Spaniards and three Negros, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards and their friends, welcommed vs with a drumme, and made ready a Bottija of wine of Chili to drinke to vs: but as soone as we were entred, one of our company called Thomas Moone began to lay about him, and strooke one of the Spaniards, and sayd vnto him, Abaxo Perro, that is in English, Goe downe dogge. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed, and blessed himselfe: but to be short, wee stowed them vnder hatches all saue one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt ouer boord into the sea, and swamme ashore to the towne of S. Iago, to giue them warning of our arrivall.

They of the towne being not aboue 9. households, presently fled away and abandoned the towne. Our Generall manned his boate, and the Spanish ships boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chappell which wee entred, and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gaue to M. Fletcher his minister.

We found also in this towne a warehouse storied with wine of Chili, and many boords of Cedar-wood, all which wine we brought away with vs, and certaine of the boords to burne for fire-wood: and so being come aboord, wee departed the Hauen, hauing first set all the Spaniards on land, sauing one John Griego a Greeke boyne, whom our Generall caried with him for his Pilot to bring him into the hauen of Lima.

When we were at sea, our Generall rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of Chili, and 25000. pezoes of very pure and fine gold of Baldiua, amounting in value to 37000. ducats of Spanish money, and aboue. So going on our course, wee arriued next at a place called Coquimbo, where our Generall sent 14. of his men on land to fetch water: but they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with 300. horsemen and 200. footemen, and slew one of our men with a piece, the rest came aboord in safetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on shore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a flag of truce, but we set sayle and would not trust them.

From hence we went to a certaine port called Tarapaza, where being landed, we found by the Sea side a Spaniard lying asleepe, who had lying by him 13. barres of silver, which weighed 4000. ducats Spanish; we tooke the silver, and left the man.

Not farre from hence going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy drining 8. Llamas or sheepe of Peru which are as big as asses; euery of which sheepe had on his backe 2. bags of leather, each bagge containing 50. li. weight of fine silver: so that bringing both the sheepe and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags 800. weight of silver.

Here hence we sailed to a place called Arica, and being entred the port, we found there three small barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57 wedges of silver, each of them weighing about 20 pound weight, and euery of these wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a brick-bat. In all these 3. barkes we found not one person: for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone aland to the Towne, which consisteth of about twentie houses, which we would haue ransacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoyle of the ships, left the Towne and put off againe to sea and set sayle for Lima, and by the way met with a small barke, which he boorded, and found in her good store of linnen cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, he let her goe.

To Lima we came the 13. day of February, and being entred the hauen, we found there about twelue sayle of ships lying fast moored at an anker, hauing all their sayles caried on shore; for the masters and marchants were here most secure, hauing neuer bene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as we were. Our generall rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of royals of plate, and good store of silkes and linnen cloth, and tooke the chest into his owne ship, and good store of the silkes and linnen. In which ship hee had newes of another ship called the Cacafuego which was gone towards Paiza, and that the same shippe was laden with treasure: whereupon we staid no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the shippes in the hauen, we let them drine whither they would, either to sea or to the shore, and with all speed we followed the Cacafuego toward Paiza, thinking there to haue found her; but before wee arriued there, she was gone from thence towards Panama, whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a barke laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which hee boorded and searched, and found in her 80. li. weight of golde, and a crucifixe of gold with goodly great Emeraunds set in it

The port of Valparizo in 33. degrees 40. minutes. Wine of Chili.

The towne of S. Iago taken.

Wine of Chili.

John Griego a Pilot taken.

Gold of Baldiua. Coquimbo in 29. degrees 30. minutes.

Tarapaza.

Arica in 18. degrees 30. min.

Lima in 11. degrees 50. minutes.

it which he tooke, and some of the cordage also for his owne ship.

The rich ship
called the Ca-
cafuego taken.

From hence we departed, still following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promised our company, that whosoever could first descrite her, should have his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortuned that Iohn Drake going by into the top, descried her about three of the clocke, and about five of the clocke we came to her and boarded her, and shotte at her three peeces of ordnance, and strake downe her Mizen, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as iewels and precious stones, thirtene chests full of royals of plate, foure score pound weight of golde, and five and twentie tunne of siluer. The place where we tooke this prize, was called Cape de San Francisco, about 150. leagues from Panama.

Cape de San
Francisco in 1.
degrees to the
North.

The Pilots name of this Shippe was Francisco, and amongst other plate that our Generall found in this ship, he found two very faire guilt bowles of siluer, which were the Pilots: to whom our Generall sayd: Senior Pilot, you haue here two siluer cups, but I must needs haue one of them: which the Pilot because hee could not other wise chuse, peeled vnto, and gaue the other to the Steward of our Generals ships.

When this Pilot departed from vs, his boy sayde thus vnto our Generall: Captaine, our ship shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your shippe shall bee called the Cacafuego: which pretty speech of the Pilots boy ministred matter of laughter to vs, both then and long after.

China silks, and
Porcellan.

When our Generall had done what hee would with this Cacafuego, hee cast her off, and wee went on our course still towards the West, and not long after met with a ship laden with linnen cloth and fine China-dishes of white earth, and great store of China-silks, of all which things wee tooke as we list.

Guatulo.

The owner himselfe of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish Gentleman, from whom our Generall tooke a fawlcen of golde, with a great Emeraud in the breast thereof, and the Pilot of the ship he tooke also with him, and so cast the ship off.

This Pilot brought vs to the hauen of Guatulo, the towne whereof, as he told vs, had but 17. Spaniards in it. As soone as we were entred this hauen, wee landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne-house, where we found a Judge sitting in iudgement, being associate with three other officers, vpon three Negros that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Judges & prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shipboard, and caused the chiefe Judge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to auoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our company, tooke a Spanish Gentleman as hee was flying out of the towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of golde about him, and other iewels, which he tooke, and so let him goe.

The Portugall
Pilot set on
land.
The Island
of Canno.

At this place our General among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall Pilot, which hee tooke at the Islands of Cape Verde, out of a ship of S. Mary port of Portugall: and hauing set them ashore, we departed hence, and sailed to the Island of Canno, where our Generall landed, and brought to shore his owne ship, and discharged her, mended, and graued her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently.

A ship with a
gouernour for
the Islands of
Philippinas.

And while wee were here, we espied a shippe, and set saile after her, and tooke her, and found in her two Pilots, and a Spanish Gouernour, going for the Islands of the Philippinas: wee searched the shippe, and tooke some of her marchandizes, and so let her goe. Our Generall at this place and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and reuenged: and supposing that her Maestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer vpon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

We thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, lest the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, hee being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streights in the South sea, where continuall stormes reigning and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands vpon the coast, he thought it not a good course to aduenture that way: he resolued therefore to auoyde these hazards, to goe forward to the Isles of the Malucos, and therehence to saile the course of the Portugals by the Cape of Buena Esperança.

Vpon this resolution, hee beganne to thinke of his best way to the Malucos, and finding him-
selfe

Selfe where he now was becalmed, he said that of necessitie hee must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely to sayle some what Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 600. leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sailed from the 16. of April, till the 3. of June.

The 5. day of June, being in 43. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the ayre so colde, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went the more the colde increased upon vs. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, till wee came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same.

In this Baye wee anchored, and the people of the Countrey having their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselves unto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came unto vs, they greatly wondered at the things that wee brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presents which they sent to our Generall, were feathers, and calles of net-worke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the uttermost brimmes of the circle, cliffs of wood set upon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, haue the fire in the midst. The men go naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hippes, having also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staid themselves: where one appointed for speaker wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes upon the hill, and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceived that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall with his company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive, & seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come unto vs, they restored againe unto vs those things which before we bestowed upon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of a goodly stature, & comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send some thing by their hand to their King, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drew neere unto vs, so did they stride to behaue themselves in their actions with comelinesse.

In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a marueilous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are limited, as some ten, some 12. &c. Next unto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Guard about his person, clad with Conie skins, & other skins: after them followed the naked comon sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, & having in their hands one thing or another for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching, a very warre-like shew. They being trooped together in their order, and a generall salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the King, being informed by another, whom they assigned to that office, with a manly and lustie voyce proclaymed that which the other spake to him in secrete,

June.
Sir Francis Drake sayled on the backside of America to 43. degrees of southerly latitude. 38. Degrees. A description of the people and Countrey of Noua Albion.

A long oration

Chaines like those of Canada.

continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foore of the hill, set themselves in order.

The King res-
signes his
crowne and
kingdome to
Sir Francis
Drake.

In coming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter-bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Guard, and euery degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women, which daunced & kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our General to sit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather supplications, that hee would take their prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which, to perswade vs the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our General thought not meete to reject, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in y same.

The like they
did in Hioh-
loa.

The common sorte of people leauing the King and his Guard with our General, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person: and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about, freed their sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nailes, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee vsed signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the liuing God, whom onely they ought to worship. They shewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon we gaue them lotions, plaisters, and oymments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Euery third day they brought their sacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderstood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from vs, but dayly frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grieuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They incited vs, that being absent we would remember them, and by stealth prouided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Great herdes
of Deere.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our General with his company trauailed by into the Countrey to their villages, where we found herdes of Deere by 1000. in a company, being most large, and fat of body.

Abundance of
strange conies.

We found the whole Countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of Conies, their bodies in hignesse as be the Barbary Conies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Miant, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne is on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great accompt of their skinner, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Noua Albion.

Our General called this Countrey Noua Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

Gold and sil-
uer in the earth
of Noua Albion.

There is no part of earth heere to bee taken by, wherein there is not some probable shew of gold or silver.

Their depar-
ture.
October.
Certaine Is-
lands in 8. de-
grees.
Strange Ca-
noas, like those
of Iaua.

At our departure hence our General set by a monument of our being there, as also of her Maesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maesties name, the day and yeere of our arriual there, with the free giuing by of the prouince and people into her Maesties hands, together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a peece of six pence of current English money vnder the plate, whereunder was also writtten the name of our General.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer discover the land by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.

After we had set saile from hence, wee continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning wee fell with certaine Islands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Islands came a great number of Canoas, hauing in some of them 4. in some 6. and in some also 14. men, bringing with them cocos, and other fruites. Their Canoas were

were hollow within, and cut with great arte and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glasse as if it were a hohne daintily burnished, hauing a prow, and a sterne of one sort, yeelding inward circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certaine white shels for a bzauerie, and on each side of them lie out two peces of timber about a yarde and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnesse, or bignesse of the boate.

This people haue the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe vpon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an ynche long, their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kinde of powder, which they alwayes carrie about them in a cane for the same purpose.

Leaving this Island the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October, we lighted vpon diuers Islands.

others, some whereof made a great shew of Inhabitants.

We continued our course by the Islands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Cinnamom.

The 14. of Nouember we fell with the Islands of Maluco, which day at night (hauing directed our course to runne with Tydore) in coasting along the Island of Mityr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Vice-king seeing vs at sea, came with his Canoa to vs without all feare, and came aboard, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him that the King would bee glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require, for which purpose he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whom if he once dealt, hee should finde that as he was a King, so his word should stand: adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would haue nothing to doe with vs, because hee held the Portugall as his enemy: whereupon our General resolved to runne with Ternate, where the next morning early we came to anchoz, at which time our Generall sent a messenger to the king with a velvet cloke for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffique and exchange of marchandize, whereof he had good store, in such things as he wanted.

In the meane time the Vice-king had bene with the king according to his promise, signifying vnto him what good things he might receiue from vs by traffique: whereby the King was moued with great liking towards vs, and sent to our Generall with spectall message, that hee should haue what things he needed, and would require with peace and friendship, and moreover that hee would yeeld himselfe, and the right of his Island to bee at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as we serued. In token whereof he sent to our Generall a signet, and within short time after came in his owne person, with boates, and Canoas to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer roade then she was in at that present.

In the meane time, our Generals messenger beeing come to the Court, was met by certaine noble personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose hands hee was most friendly and graciously intertaind.

The King purposing to come to our ship, sent before 4. great and large Canoas, in euery one whereof were certaine of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Calicut, hauing ouer their heads from the one ende of the Canoa to the other, a couering of thinne perfumed mats, bozne vp with a frame made of reedes for the same vse, vnder which euery one did sit in his order according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, diuers of whom beeing of good age and grauitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shew. There were also diuers yong and comely men attired in white, as were the others: the rest were souldiers, which stood in comely order round about on both sides, without whom sate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being thzee on a side all along the Canoas, did lie off from the side thereof thzee or foure yardes, one being orderly builded lower then another, in euery of which galleries were the number of 4. score rowers.

These Canoas were furnished with warlike munition, euery man for the most part hauing his sword and target, with his dagger, beside other weapons, as launces, caliuers, darts, bowes and arrowes: also euery Canoa had a small cast base mounted at the least one full yarde vpon a stocke set vpright.

Thus comming neere our shippe, in order they rowed about vs, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great personages beginning w great grauitie and fatherly countenances, signifying that the king had sent them to conduct our ship into a better roade.

Soone after the King himselfe repaired, accompanied with 6. graue and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with maruellous humilitie. The king was a man of tall stature, and seemed to

Nouember.

The Isle of Ternate.

The king of Ternate offereth himselfe and his kingdome to the seruice of the Queene of England.

The great and strange Canoa of the King of Ternate.

The King of Ternate came to visite Sir Francis Drake.

be much delighted with the sound of our musicke, to whom as also to his nobilitie, our Generall gaue presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

Sagu a kinde of
meale.

At length the King craued leaue of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboard, and in the meane time to send vs such victuals, as were necessarie for our prouision: so that the same night we receiued of them meale, which they call Sagu, made of the tops of certaine trees, casting in the mouth like some curds, but melterch like sugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the space of ten yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them store of rice, hennies, vnperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruite which they call Figo, with store of cloues.

A castle in Ternate.

The King hauing promised to come aboard, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreate our Generall to come on shoare, offering himselfe payne aboard for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, vpon mislike conceiued of the breach of his promise, the whole company also vnterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our General sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the Kings brother, reseruing the Vice-king for their safe returne. They were receiued of another brother of the kings, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought vnto, was a large and faire house, where were at the least 1000. persons assembled.

Romanes and
Turks Ligiers
in Ternate.
The maiestie
of the King.

The King being yet absent, there sate in their places 60. graue personages, all which were said to be of the kings Counsel. There were besides 4. graue persons, apparelled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keepe conincual traffike with the people of Ternate. There were also 2. Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in guarded with 12. launces couered ouer with a rich canopy, with embossed gold. Our men accompanied with one of their Captaines called Moro, rising to meete him, he graciously did welcome, and intertaine them. He was attired after the maner of the Countrey, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his waste downe to the ground, was all cloth of golde, and the same very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feete were a paire of shoes, made of Cordouan skinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hoopen rings of gold, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the links whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had five very faire iewels, and sitting in his chair of estate, at his right hand stood a page with a fanne in his hand, breatching and gathering the ayre to the King. The fanne was in length two foote, and in bredth one foote, set with 8. saphyres, richly imbrodered, and knit to a staffe 3. foote in length, by the which the Page did hold, and mooue it. Our Gentlemen hauing deliuered their message, and receiued order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the kings Counsell.

Ternate the
chiefest of the
Maluco-illes.

This Island is the chiefest of all the Islands of Maluco, and the King hereof is King of 70. Islands besides. The king with his people are Moores in religion, obseruing certaine new Moores, with fastings: during which fasts, they neither eat nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

A little Island
to the South-
ward of Ce-
lebes.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had heere by the fauour of the king receiued all necessary things that the place could yeeld vs: our General considering the great distance, and how farre he was yet off from his Countrey, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer, but waying his anchors, set out of the Island, and sayled to a certaine little Island to the Southwards of Celebes, where we graued our ship, and continued there in that and other busineses 26. dayes. This Island is througly growen with wood of a large and high growth, very straight and without boughes, saue onely in the head or top, whose leaues are not much differing from our brome in England. Amongst these trees night by night, throug the whole land, did shew themselves an infinite swarme of fiery wormes flying in the ayre, whose bodies beeing no bigger then our common English flies, make such a shew and light, as if euery twigge or tree had bene a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of Bats, as bigge as large hennies: of Crayfishes also heere wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignesse, one whereof was sufficient for 4. hungry stomacks at a dinner, beeing also very good, and restoring meate, whereof we had experience: and they digge themselves holes in the earth like Conies.

Fierp worms.

Bats.

Crayfishes.

Januarie the
anno 1579.

When we had ended our businesse here, we waited, and set saile to runne for the Malucos: but hauing at that time a bad winde, and being amongst the Islands, with much difficultie wee recoined to the Northward of the Island of Celebes, where by reason of contrary winds not able to continue our course to runne Westwards, we were inforced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for vs, by reason of infinite shoals which lie off, and among the Islands: whereof wee had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our shippe and liues. For of all other dayes vpon the 9. of Januarie, in the yeere 1579. wee came

ranne suddenly vpon a rocke, where we sticke fast from 8. of the clocke at night, till 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being indeede out of all hope to escape the danger: but our Generall as hee had alwayes hitherto shewed himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God: so now he continued in the same, and lest he should seeme to perish wilfully, both he, and we did our best in deuour to saue our selues; which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the ende we cleared our selues most happily of the danger.

We lighted our ship vpon the rockes of 3. tunne of cloues, 8. peeces of ordnance, and certayne meale and beanes: and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the speciall grace of God) changing from the Starreboord to the larboord of the ship, we hoisted our sailes, and the happy gale droue our ship off the rocke into the sea againe, to the no little comfort of all our hearts, for which we gaue God such prayle and thanks, as so great a benefite required.

The 8. of Februarie following, wee fell with the fruitfull Island of Barateue, hauing in the meane time suffered many dangers by windes and shoals. The people of this Island are comely in body and stature, and of a ciuill behauiour, iust in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry wayes, they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to relieue our wants in those things which their Countrey did yeelde. The men goe naked, salting their heads and priuities, euery man hauing something or other hanging at their eares. Their women are couered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets vpon their armes, for some had 8. vpon each arme, being made some of bone, some of horne, and some of brasse, the lightest whereof by our estimation waited two ounces apeece.

With this people linnen-cloth is good marchandize, and of good request, whereof they make rolls for their heads, and girdles to weare about them.

Their Island is both rich and fruitfull: rich in golde, silver, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially into any forme and fashion that please them.

Their fruits be diuers and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmotis, cucumbers, cocos, figs, sagu, with diuers other sorts: and among all the rest, wee had one fruite, in bignesse, forme, and huske, like a Bay berry, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becometh soft, and is a most good and wholesome victuall, whereof we tooke reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruits and spices: so that to confesse a trueth, since the time that we first set out of our owne Countrey of England, we happened vpon no place (Ternate onely excepted) where in we found more comforts and better meanes of refreshing.

At our departure from Barateue, we set our course for Iaua maior, where arriuing, we found great courtesie, and honourable entertainment. This Island is gouerned by 5. Kings, whom they call Raiah: as Raiah Donaw, and Raiah Mang Bange, and Raiah Cabuccapollo, which liue as hauing one spirite, and one minde.

Of these five we had foure a shipboord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and Greene: their vpper parts of their bodies are naked, saue their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkish roll, as do the Maluccians: from the middle downward they weare a pintado of lilke, trailing vpon the ground, in colour as they best like.

The Maluccians hate that their women should bee seene of strangers: but these offer them of high courtesie, yea the kings themselves.

The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well prouided of swords and targets, with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store.

They haue an house in euery village for their common assembly: euery day they meete twise, men, women, and children, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some fruites, some rice boiled, some hennes roasted, some sagu, hauing a table made 3. foote from the ground, whereon they set their meate, that euery person sitting at the table may eate, one reioysing in the company of another.

They boile their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a sugar loafe, being full of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they haue ready another great earthen pot, set fast in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the end they are a firme & good bread, of the which with oyle, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make diuers sorts of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature.

Their danger
vpon a rocke.

Cloues.
The helpe of a
current in the
deliuerie.

Februarie.
Barateue Is-
land.

Linnen-cloth
good marchand-
ize.

Nutmegs and
long Pepper
growing in
Barateue.

Commenda-
tion of the Is-
land of Bara-
teue.

Iaua maior.

Red & Greene
clothes much
esteemed.

The manners
of the people
of Iaua.

A strange fa-
shion of boy-
ling rice.

The French
pocks.

The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themselves, sitting naked from
ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venomous humour is drawen out. Not long before our de-
parture, they tolde vs, that not farre off there were such great Ships as ours, wishing vs to be-
ware: vpon this our Captaine would stay no longer.

The Cape of
Buena Esperanza
not so dange-
rous as the
Portugals
haue giuen
out.

From Iaua Maior we sailed for the cape of Good Hope, which was the first land we fell with-
all: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, vntill we came to Sierra Leona, vpon the coast
of Guinea: notwithstanding we ranne hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals
to be most false, who affirme, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world, neuer without in-
tolerable stormes and present danger to trauallers, which come nere the same.

This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole circumference of
the earth, and we passed by it the 18. of June.

Sierra Leona.
Differ-trees.

From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, where we arri-
ued the 22. of July, and found necessarie prouisions, great store of Elephants, Differs vpon trees
of one kinde, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Differ suffering no budde to grow. We de-
parted thence the 24. day.

We arrived in England the third of Nouember 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

The names of the Kings or Princes of *Iaua* at the time of our *English mens being there.*

{ Raia Donaw
{ Raia Rabacapala.
{ Raia Bacabatra.

{ Raia Tymbantou.
{ Raia Mawgbange.
{ Raia Patimara.

Certaine wordes of the naturall language of *Iaua*, learned and obserued by our men there.

{ Sabuck, silke.
{ Sagu, bread of the Countrey.
{ Larnike, drinke.
{ Paree, ryce in the huske.
{ Braas, sodden ryce.
{ Calapa, Cocos.
{ Cricke, a dagger.
{ Catcha, a looking glasse.
{ Arbo, an ore.
{ Vados, a goate.
{ Cabo, golbe.
{ Gardange, a plantane.
{ Hiam, a henne.
{ Seuir, linnen cloth.
{ Doduck, blew cloth.
{ Totoppes, one of their caps.

{ Gula, blacke sugar.
{ Tadon, a woman.
{ Bebeck, a tucke.
{ Aniang, a deere.
{ Popran, oynment.
{ Coar, the head.
{ Endam, raine.
{ Jonge, a shippe.
{ Chay, the sea.
{ Sapelo, ten in number.
{ Dopolo, twentie.
{ Treda, no.
{ Lau, vnderstand you.
{ Bayer, goe.
{ Adadizano, I will fetch it.
{ Suda, ynough.

1579.

The relation of a Voyage made by a Pilot called *Nuno da Silua* for
the Vice-roy of new *Spaine*, the 20. of May, in the yere of our Lord 1579. in
the citie of *Mexico*, from whence it was sent to the Vice-roy of the *Portugall-Indies*:
wherein is set downe the course and actions passed in the Voyage of *Sir Francis Drake*
that tooke the aforesayd *Nuno da Silua* at *S. Iago* one of the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, and
caried him along with him through the Streights of *Magellan*, to the Hauen of *Guatules*
in new *Spaine*, where he let him goe againe.



*N*uno da Silua borne in Porto, a Citizen and inhabitant of *Guaia*, saith, that hee
departed out of his house in the beginning of *Nouember* in the yeere of our
Lord 1577. taking his course to *Cabo Verde*, or The greene Cape, where
he anchored with his Shippe close by the Hauen of the Island of *Sant Iago*,
one of the *Islandes* of *Cabo Verde* aforesayde, being the nineteenth of
Januarye

January in the yeere of our Lord 1578. And lying there, there came five ships, which seemed to be Englishmen, whereof the Admirall boorded his ship, and by force with his men tooke him out of his ship, bringing him in the boate aboard the Admirals shippe, leauing some of his best men aboard his ship: and although the fortresse of the Island shot foure or five times at them, yet they hurt not the Englishmen: who hauing done, set saile from thence to the Island of Braua, taking with them the ship of the sayd Nunoda Silua: being there, they filled certaine vessels with fresh water: from thence holding their course inward to sea, hauing first with a boat set the men of Nunoda Siluas ship on land, onely keeping Nunoda Silua in his ship, as also his ship with the wines that were therein. And Nunoda Silua saith, the cause why they kept him on boord was, because they knew him to bee a pilot for the coast of Brasilia, that hee might bring them to such places in those countreys as had fresh water.

Being put off from the Island of Braua, they helde their course to the land of Brasilia, which they descried vpon the first of Aprill, vnder the height of thirtie degrees: and without landing or taking in fresh water, they helde on their course to Rio de la Plata, that is, The riuer of siluer, lying vnder five and thirtie degrees, little more or lesse: where they went on land, and prouided themselves of fresh water.

Rio de Plata.

From thence they helde on their course till they came vnder nine and thirtie degrees, where they ankered: and being there, they left two of their five shippes behinde them, and sailed but foure in companie (that of Nunoda Silua being one) till they came to the Bay called Baya de las Illas, that is, The Bay of the Islands, lying vnder nine and fortie degrees, where it is sayde, that Magellan lay and wintered there with his shippe, when hee first discovered the Streight, which now holbeth his name. Into this Bay the twentieth of June they entred, and there ankered so close to the land, that they might send to it with a harquebuse shot: and there they sawe the land to bee inhabited with Indians, that were apparellled with skimmes, with their legges from the knees downeward, and their armes from the elbows downeward naked, all the rest of their bodies being clothed, with bowes and arrowes in their handes, being subtil, great, and well formed people, and strong and high of stature: where five of the Englishmen went on land to fetch fresh water, and before they lept on land, foure of the Indians came vnto their boate, to whome the Englishmen gaue bread and wine: and when the Indians had well eaten and drunke, they departed thence: and going somewhat farre from them, one of the Indians cryed to them, and sayde: Magallanes, Esta he minha Terra, that is, Magallanes, this is my countrey: and because the Englishmen followed them, it seemed the Indians fledde upward into the land, and being somewhat farre off, they turned backe againe, and with their arrowes shewe two of the English shippers, one being an Englishman, the other a Netherlander: the rest came backe againe and saued themselves in the boate, wherewith they presently put off from the shoare. Here they stayed till the seuenteenth of August, vpon the which day they set saile, running along by the coast about a league and a halfe from the land, (for there it is all faire and good ground, at twentie, and five and twentie fathome deepe) and were about foure or five dayes before they came to the mouth or entrie of the Streight: but because the wind was contrary, they stayed till the 24 of August before they entred.

Bay de las Illas.

The entrie or mouth of the Streight is about a league broad, on both sides being bare and flatte land: on the North side they sawe Indians making great fires, but on the South side they sawe no people stirring. The foure and twentieth day aforesayd, they beganne to enter into the Streight, with an Eastnortheast wind. This Streight may bee about an hundred and tenne leagues long, and in bredth a league. About the entrie of the Streight, and halfe way into it, it runneth right forth without any windings or turnings: and from thence about eight or tenne leagues towards the ende, it hath some bouces and windings, among the which there is one so great a hooke or headland, that it seemed to runne into the other land: and there it is lesse then a league broad from one land to the other: and from thence forward it runneth straight out againe: And although you finde some crookings, yet they are nothing to speake of. The issue of the Streight lieth Westward, and about eight or tenne leagues before you come to the ende, then the Streight beginneth to bee broader, and it is all high land to the ende thereof, after you are eight leagues within the Streight, for the first eight leagues after you enter is low flat land, as I sayd before: and in the entrie of the Streight you find the streame to runne from the South Sea to the North Sea.

The description
on of The Arctis
of Magellan.

And after they began to saile in with the Eastnortheast wind, being entred they passed along without any let or hinderance either of wind or weather: and because the high land on both sides lay covered with snow, and that all the Streight is faire and cleare, they helde their course a harquebuse

harquebuse-shot in length from off the North side, hauing nine and tenne fathome depth, with good ground, as I said before, where (if neede require) a man may anker: the hilles on both sides being full of trees, some of the hilles and trees reaching downe to the sea side in some places hauing plaine and euen land: and there they sawe not any great riuers, but some small riuers that issued out of the risses and breaches of the land: and in the countrey where the great Cape or crooking is, on the South side they sawe certaine Indian fishermen in their Canoes or skiffs, being such as they saw first on the North side, but more people they saw not on the South side.

Being out of the Streight on the other side, vpon the first of September of the aforesaid yeere, they held their course Northwest for the space of three dayes, and the third day they had a North-east wind, that by force draue them Westsouthwest, which course they held for the space of ten or twelue dayes with few sailes vp: and because the wind began to be very great, they tooke in all their sailes, and lay byrning till the last of September.

This was the
Elizabeth 9.
John Winters
ship.

The 24 day of the same moneth hauing lost the sight of one of their shippes which was about an hundred tunne, then againe they hoised saile because the winde came better, holding their course Northeast for the space of seuen dayes, and at the ende of the sayde seuen dayes, they had the sight of certayne Islands, which they made towards for to anker by them, but the weather would not permit them: and being there, the wind fell Northwest: whereupon they sailed West-southwest.

They were di-
uen unto 57.
degrees of sou-
therly latitude.

The next day they lost the sight of another ship of their company, for it was very foule weather, so that in the ende the Admirals shippe was left alone, for the ship of Nuno da Silua was left in the Bay where they wintered before they entered into the Streights: and with this foule weather they ranne till they were vnder seuen and fiftie degrees, where they entered into a haven of an Island, and ankered about the length of the shot of a great piece from the land, at twentie fathome deepe, where they stayed three or foure dayes, and the wind comming Southward, they weped anker, holding their course Northward for the space of two daies, and then they espied a small inhabited Island, where being arriued, they strooke sailes, and hoised out their boate, and there they tooke many birds and Seales.

The Isle of
Mocha in 38.
deg. 30. min.

The next day they set saile againe, holding their course Northnortheast, and North, to another Island lying five or six leagues from the firme land, on the North side of the Streight, where they ankered about a quarter of a league from the land, in twelue fathome water. This Island is small and lowe land, and full of Indians, the Island being altogether possessed and inhabited by them, where they hopped out their boate, wherein the Admirall and twelue Englishmen entered, going to fetch fresh water, and to seeke for victuals: and being landed vpon the Island, the Indians in exchange of other things, brought two Spanish sheepe, and a little Haiz or rootes whereof they make bread, and because it was late, they returned againe vnto their ship, without doing any other thing for that day.

Sir Francis
Drake wound-
ed.

The next day the said Captaine with the aforesaid twelue men being harquebussiers, rowed to land againe, and set two of their company on shore with their vessels to fetch fresh water, and by the place where they should fill their water there lay certaine Indians secretly hidden, that fell vpon the two Englishmen and tooke them: which they in the boat perceiuing, went out to helpe them, but they were so assailed with stones & arrowes, that all or the most part of them were hurt, the Captaine himselfe being wounded with an arrow on the face, and with another arrow in the head, whereby they were constrained to turne backe againe, without once hurting any of the Indians, and yet they came so neere the boate, that they tooke foure of their oares from them. This done, they set saile againe, running along the coast with a South winde, sailing so for the space of five dayes, passing by the haven called Sant Iago, and put into another haven, and there they tooke an Indian that lay fishing in a Canoe, giuing him linnen and butchers chopping knives, with other trifles, and not long after there came another Indian aboard their shippe called Felipe, and he spake Spanish, he gaue the English Captaine notice of a certaine shippe that lay in the haven of Sant Iago, which they had left five leagues behind them: with that intelligence the Indian being their guide, the next day they set saile and went to the aforesaid haven of S. Iago, and entering therein, they tooke the said shippe, wherein they found a thousand seuen hundred and 70 Botijas or Spanish pots full of wine, and other things: which hauing done, they lept on land, where they rooke certaine sakes with meale, with whatsoeuer they could find; they tooke likewise the ornaments and the reliques out of the Church, where with they departed from thence, taking the aforesaid shippe, with two men (that they found in her) with them, and so departed from that haven, which lyeth vnder 32 degrees and a halfe, running along by the coast till they came vnder one and thirtie, and thirtie degrees: which was the place where they had

The haven
of S. Iago in 32.
degrees and
a halfe.

appointed

appointed to meete, and there to stay for ech other, if by tempest or foule weather they chanced to be separated, and so loose eche others company.

And comming vnder thirtie degrees, they found a very good haven, whereinto they entred, and ankered at five fathome deepe, the shot of a great peece from the land, which was right ouer against a river, where theyooke in fire pipes of fresh water: and to defend them that fetched the water, they set twelue men vpon the land, and being busied in filling of their water, they espied a company of men comming towards them, whereof halfe of them were Spaniards, being about two hundred and fifty horsemen, and as many footemen, but they had no sooner espied them, but they presently entred into the boat, and escaped away, loosing but one man.

The same night they set saile againe with both their ships, running along the coast about ten leagues farther, where theyooke in some fresh water, but because they perceiued certaine horsemen, they departed without lading any more water.

From thence they followed on their course along the coast for the space of 30 leagues, where they entred into a desert or vnhabited haven: yet they went not on land, for euery day they saw people vpon the shore, & there they made out a small pinnesse, the peece whereof they brought ready framed out of England, and hauing prepared it, they launched it into the water, wherein the Captaine with fiftene men entred with the chiefe boatesman called Iohn the Greeke, (being Master of the ship which they had taken in the haven of S. Iago,) wherewith they went to see if they could find the two shippes that they had lost by stormie weather, as I sayd before: and likewise thinking to goe on land to fill certaine vessels with fresh water, they durst not venture, for they saw people on all sides of the shore: so that in the ende they returned againe without hearing of the other ships: being there, theyooke all the ordinance out of their ship, and new dressed and rigged her: which done, they put a small peece of ordinance into the pinnesse, wherewith they set saile againe, following on their course.

Hauing sailed thirteene dayes, they came to an Island lying about the shotte of a bafe from the land, where they ankered, and there they found foure Indian fishermen in two Canoas, who told them that on the firme land they might haue fresh water, but they vnderstanding that there was not much, and that it was somewhat within the land, would not spend any time about it, but set saile againe, leauing the fishermen with their Canoas, following on their course along by the shore.

The next day being somewhat further, they espied certaine Indian fishermen that were vpon the land in their houses, which the English captaine perceiuing, presently entred into his pinnesse, and rowed on land, where heooke three of the said fishermen, taking with him halfe of the fish that lay packed vpon the shore ready to be laden, with the which Indians and booty, they came on boord againe.

The next day following, they saw a barke laden with fish, that belonged to the Spaniards, with foure Indians in it. This barke with the Indians and the fish theyooke, and bound the Spanish ship to their sterne, and so drowe it after them, leauing the said Indians within it, who by night vnbound the barke, and secretly made away with barke and fish, and were no more seene. The next day the Captaine went into the pinnesse, and because he saw certaine houses vpon the shore, he made thither, and being on land, he found two men in them, one whereof heooke, leauing the other behind, and there he found three thousand pesos of silver, (euery peso being the value of a ryall of eight,) and seven Indian sheepe, and hennes, &ooke al whatsoeuer they found: wherewith they departed from thence, following on their course. And two dayes after they came to the haven called Arica, where they found two ships, the one laden with goods and Spanish wares, out of the which theyooke only two hundred Botijas, or Spanish pots with wine, and out of the other seven and thirty barres of silver, which are peece of ten or twelue pound eche barre, and thinking to leape on shore (with two barks that they found in the said haven, with about seven and thirty harquebuses and bowes) they perceiued on the land certaine horsemen comming towards them, whereupon they left off their pretence, andooke with them a Negro that they found in the barks, with whom they returned aboard.

The next day in the morning they burnt the ship, that was laden with the Spanish wares, andooke the other with them, passing forward with it on their course, the Captaine sailing along the shore with his pinnesse, and the ship keeping about a league from him to seaward, to seeke for a ship whereof they had intelligence: and hauing in that maner sailed about five and forty leagues, they found the ship that lay at anker in a haven, who about two houres before had bene aduertised of an English pirate or sea-rouer, and had discharged eight hundred barres of silver out of her, and hidden it on the land, which silver belonged to the king of Spaine, of the which silver the English.

Englishmen had receiued some intelligence, but they durst not go on land, because there were many Indians and Spaniards that stood to guard it, and they found nothing in the ship but three pipes of water: the ship they tooke with them; and being about a league in the sea, they hoysed up all her sailes and let her drine, doing the like with the ship that they had taken in Arica, as also the other of Sant Iago, which likewise they let drine, following on their course with their owne ship, and the pinnesse.

Calao de Lyma.

Being seven or eight leagues from the haven of Calao de Lyma, they espied three ships, and hooyding one of them, they tooke three men out of her, and so held on their course towards Calao de Lyma, where they entred, being about two or three houtes within night, sailing in betweene all the ships that lay there, being seuentene in number: and being among the ships, they asked for the ship that had laden the siluer, but when answer was made them, that the siluer was layd on land, they cut the cables of the ships, and the masts of two of the great ships, and so left them. At the same time there arriued a ship from Panama laden with wares and merchandise of Spaine, that ankered close by the English ship, which was, while the English Captaine sought in the other ships for the siluer. As soone as the ship of Panama had ankered, there came a boat from the shoze to search it: but because it was in the night, they let it alone till morning, and coming to the English ship, they asked what ship it was: whereupon one of the Spanish prisoners (by the English Captaines commandement) answered and said it was the ship of Michael Angelo, that came from Chili: which they of the boat hearing, sent a man on boord, who climbing by, lighted upon one of the great peeces, wherewith he was afraid, and presently stept backe againe into the boat (because the shippes that lay there, and that sailed in those countreys, vsed to carry no great shot) and therewith they were abashed, and made from it: which the ship of Panama hearing, that was newly come in, shee iudged it to be a rouer, and therewith cutting her cables, shee put to sea, which the Englishmen perceiuing, shipped certaine men in their pinnesse, and followed her: and being hard by her, they badde her strike, which they of the ship refused to doe, and with a harquebuse shot killed one of the Englishmen, wherewith they turned againe into their shippe, and presently set saile, following after the ship, which not long after they overtooke: which they of the shippe perceiuing, hoysed out their boate, and leaping into it, rowed to the land, leaving the shippe with all the goods, which the Englishmen presently tooke, and with her sayled on their course.

The next day they saw a boat with sailes making towards them, where by they presently mistrusted it to be a spie, and not long after they perceiued two great ships coming towards them, which made the English thinke they came to fight with them, whereupon they let the shippe of Panama drine, thereth leaving Iohn the Greecke, with the two men that they had taken the same day that they entred into the Calao de Lyma, as I sayde before, and presently hoysed all their sailes, and sailed forward, not once setting eye againe vpon the aforesayde ships, for they made towards the ship of Panama, which the Englishmen let drine. From thence they sailed againe along the coast, following on their course: and hauing sailed certaine dayes, they met a frigate that went towards Lyma, laden with wares and merchandises of the countrey, from whence the Englishmen tooke a lampe and a fountaine of siluer, and asked the pilote being a Spaniard, if they met not with a ship, that they vnderstood should be laden with siluer, but the one pilote saide he met her not, and the other said he saw her about three dayes before. This frigate came not to the ship, but to the pinnesse, wherein the Captaine sailed, for the pinnesse ranne close by the shoze, and the ship kept a league and a halfe from the lande: whereupon they let the frigate goe, following on their course.

Payta.

Two dayes after they came to the haven called Payta, where they found a ship laden with Spanish wares, which the pinnesse booyed, and tooke without any resistance: for as soone as the Spaniards perceiued the Englishmen, they presently made to land with their boate, and two of them lept into the sea, none staying in the shippe, but the Master, Pilote, and some Negros, out of the which shippe the Englishmen tooke the pilote, and all the bread, hennies, and a hogge, and so sailed forward with the ship: but being about two harquebuse shot to seaward, they let it goe againe, not taking any thing out of it, and asking after the ship which they sought for, they told them that about two dayes before she departed from that place, wherewith they followed on their course, and before night they met with a ship of Panama, which they presently booyed, but tooke nothing from her but onely a Negro, and so left it, holding on their course.

The next day being the first of Februarie, they met another ship that sailed to Panama, laden with fish and other victuals, and fortie barres of siluer, and some gold, but I know not how much, which they tooke, and sent the passengers (with two friers that were in her) in a boate to land.

The

The next day they hanged a man of the ship, because hee would not confesse two place of golde that he had taken, which after they found about him: which done, they let the ship drif, following on their course.

The first of March towards noone, they espied the ship laden with silver, being about foure leagues to seaward from them: and because the English ship was somewhat heauie before, whereby it sailed not as they would haue it, they tooke a company of Botijas or Spanish pots for the better: and the shippe that sayled towards Panama made towards the English shippe to know what shee was, thinking it to bee one of the shippes that vled to saile along the coastes, and to traffique in the countrey: and being hard by her, the English Captaine badde them strike, but the other refusing to doe it, with a great peece hee shotte her mast ouerboord, and hauing wounded the Master with an arrowe, the shippe presently yeeldeo, which they tooke, and sayled with her further into the sea, all that night and the next day and night, making all the way they could.

The third day being out of sight of the land, they beganne to search the ship, and to lade the goods out of her into their ship, which was a thousand three hundred barres or peeces of silver, and foureteene chestes with ryals of eight, and with gold: but what quantitie it was I know not, onely the passengers sayd that there was great store, and that three hundred barres of the silver belonged to the king, the rest belonged to certaine merchants. That done, they let the ship with the men saile on their course, putting the three pilotes in her that they brought with them, so that as then they had none but their owne men aboard, being the first of March, and from thence they held their course towards the land of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua.

The thirteenth of March, either the day before or after, in the morning they descried land, not being very high, being a small Island two leagues from the firme land, and there they found a small Bay, wherein they ankered at fife fathome deepe close by the land, and there they stayed till the twentieth day. Upon the which day there passed a Frigate close by the Island, which with their pinnelle they followed, and taking her, brought her to the English ship, which frigate was laden with Salsaperilla, and Botijas or pots with butter and hony, and with other things. The English Captaine went on boord, and cast the Salsaperilla on the land, leauing all the rest of the wares in the frigate, and then he put all his peeces into the frigate, that so he might lay his ship on shore, to new calke and trimme her, which continued till the three and twentieth of March. Which done, and hauing made prouision of wood and fresh water, they held on their course along by the coast, sayling Westward, taking the sayd frigate and her men with them, and hauing sailed two dayes, they tooke their men out of her, and set them in the pinnelle, among the which were foure sailers, that meant to sayle to Panama, and from thence to China, whereof one they tooke, with the letters and patents that hee had about him, among the which were the letters of the king of Spaine, sent to the gouernour of the Philipinas, as also the sea-cards wherewith they should make their voyage, and direct themselves in their course.

The Island of Canno. The first sight of Nueua Espanna.

They calke and trimme their ship at the Ile of Canno ouer against Nicaragua.

Sea-charts of the South sea taken.

And so sailing vntill the first of Aprill, about euening they discovered a shippe that held two leagues to seaward from the land: and before the next day in the morning they were hard by her, and suddenly fell vpon her while her men slept, and presently made the men enter into their ship, among the which was one Don Francisco Xarate. Which done, they followed on their course with the sayd ship, out of the which they tooke certaine packes and other wares, but I know not what it was. They likewise tooke a Negro out of it, and three dayes after they both let the ship and men goe whether they would, setting therein the two saylers that should goe for China, which they had taken in the frigate, keeping onely one sailer to shew them where they should find fresh water, to the which ende they tooke the emptie vessels with them to fill with water, and so kept on their course to the haue of Guatulco, where they put in, being vpon Monday the thirteenth of Aprill, and hauing ankered, they stayed there till the five and twentieth of Aprill: and about three or foure houres within the night, they set sayle, holding their course Westward, and an houre or two before they let Nuno da Silva goe, putting him into another ship, that lay in the haue of Guatulco.

They arrive at Guatulco. Aprill 13. Still now.

Nuno da Silva set on land.

From thence forward the Englishmen passed on their voyage, to the Islands of Malucos, and from thence they passed by the Cape de Buena Esperança, and so to England, as it is well known, so that this is onely the description of the voyage that they made, while the said pilote Nuno da Silva was with them.

Hereafter followeth the copie of a letter written by sir Francis Drake (being in the South sea

sea of New Spaine, in his ship called The Pellican or the golden Hinde with the ship of *Sant Iohn de Anton*, which hee had taken) to his companions in the other shippes that were of his company, and by foule weather separated from him, as I said befoze: The contents wherof were these:

Master *Winter*, if it please God that you should chance to meete with this ship of *Sant Iohn de Anton*, I pray you vse him well, according to my word and promise giuen vnto them; and if you want any thing that is in this ship of *Sant Iohn de Anton*, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will satisfie againe, and command your men not to doe her any hurt: and what composition or agreement we haue made, at my returne into *England* I will by Gods helpe perfourme, although I am in doubt that this letter will neuer come to your hands: notwithstanding I am the man I haue promised to be: Beseeching God, the Sauour of all the world, to haue vs in his keeping, to whom onely I giue all honour, praise and glory. What I haue written, is not only to you *M. Winter*, but also to *M. Thomas*, *M. Charles*, *M. Canbe*, and *M. Anthonie*, with all our other good friendes, whom I commit to the tuition of him that with his blood redeemed vs, and am in good hope, that we shal be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe vs in aduersitie, desiring you for the Passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger, that you will not despaire of Gods mercy, for hee will defend you and preferue you from all danger, and bring vs to our desired haven, to whom be all honour, glory, and praise for euer and euer. Amen. Your sorowfull Captaine, whose heart is heauy for you: *Francis Drake.*

The voyage of *M. Iohn Winter* into the South sea by the Streight of *Magellan*, in consort with *M. Francis Drake*, begun in the yeere 1577. By which Streight also he returned safely into *England* the second of Iune 1579. contrary to the false reports of the Spaniards which gaue out, that the said passage was not passeable: Written by *Edward Cliffe* Mariner.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577. the 19. of September there went out of the riuer of *Thamis* ouer the lands ende one good and newe ship called the *Elizabeth*, of 80 tunnes in burthen: in company wherof went also a small pinnesse being 12 tunnes in burthen called the *Benedict*. The sayd ship with her pinnesse arriued at *Plimmouth*: in which haven were three ships more, one called the *Pellican* in burthen 120. tunnes, being Admirall of the flecte: a barke called the *Marigold* in burthen thirty tunnes, with a flieboat of 50 tunnes. These ships had in them 164 men, and were victualled and furnished with all kind of necessary provision to make a voyage into the South sea. Wee set sayle the 15 of November, but were put into *Falmouth* by contrary winds: and afterward were constrained to put backe againe to *Plimmouth* to repaire the great hurt which diuers of our flecte had sustained in that tempest: and at length the 13 of December wee set forward from thence vpon our voyage.

Then set for-
ward from
Plimmouth the
13. of Decem-
ber.
Cape Cantin.
Alaphi.

Mogador an
Island on the
coast of Barbary.

The five and twentie of December we had sight of *Cape Cantin*: this Cape lyeth in the latitude of 32. degrees and 30. minutes vpon the coast of *Barbarie*, neere to a towne called *Alaphi*. The land all along this coast is hie and great mountaines. Sayling from the sayd Cape South-southwest about 18 leagues, wee found a litle Island called *Mogador* an English mile distant from the maine, we sent our boate to sound the depth, and at the returne thereof we vnderstood by our men that the haven was without danger, hauing five fathomes of water fast by the rocks entering in vpon the poput of the Island: wherefore wee entered in with our whole flecte the 27 of December. The Doozes that were on the maine seeing our ships ride there, came from the mountaines to beholde vs: whom our Generall *M. Francis Drake* elpying, shewed to them a white flagge in token of friendship, and sent his boate to shoze with one of our men, which not long befoze had bene captiue in the countrey, and partly vnderstood their language, to talke with them. When the boate came to shoze, the sayd man went on land to them: to whom they shewed many tokens of friendship, casting vp their eyes to heauen, and after looking towne vpon the ground, as though they had swozne by heauen and earth, promising peace. That done two of them came aboard to our Generall, and our man stayed on shoze for a pledge.

These two Doozes, after they had made good cheere, and received certaine gifts of our Generall went to shoze againe, and our man came aboard also. But the craftie flaures hauing deuised to betrap vs, came the next day along the sea side with certaine camels as though they had brought some merchandize to traffique with vs: to whom our General sent certaine of our men in the boate to learne what they had brought, giuing charge that none of them should gee on land. But the boate

boate being neere the shore one of our men more hastie then wise leapt to shore; whom the Moores immediately tooke by force, and setting him on horsebacke caried him away into the mountaines, so that we saw him no more after that time. In the meane time wee set vp a Pinnelle in the island, whereof wee brought 4 loose out of England: which being finished, the last of December wee weighed, and came out of the North part of the island, the same way that wee came in: for the South chanel is dangerous, hauing but 8 foote at low water, and is full of rockes. This island standeth in 31 degrees 1 of latitude, being one league in circuite, not inhabited; and hath infinite number of doues vpon it.

Four loose
Pinnelles
brought out of
England.
Mogador in 31
degrees and
an halfe.

At Sea wee met with a contrary winde, so that wee beate off and on, till the 4 of Januarie 1578, at which time a more fauourable winde began to blowe at Northeast, and then wee set our course Southsouthwest, till on the 7 of Januarie wee came as high as Cape de Guer, which standeth in 30 degrees of latitude. Here our new Pinnelle tooke 3 Spanissh fisher-boates, called Cantars. From thence wee ran Southwest and Southsouthwest, carying the sayd Cantars along with vs, till the 10 of the sayd moneth, at which time wee found our selues in 27 degrees 4 min. being 10 leagues Westsouthwest from Cape Bojador, which lieth on the maine land of Africa. From thence we ran South and by West, untill the 13 day at noone, at which time wee had sight of Rio del Oro, where our Pinnelle tooke a Portugall carauel. The 15, the Marigold took a carauel about Cape de las Barbas. And thence we ran along the coast being low sandie land, till wee arrived at Cape Blanco. This Cape sheweth it selfe like the corner of a wall vpright from the water, to them which come from the Northwardes: where the North pole is eleuated 20 degrees 30 min. And the Crociers being the guards of the South pole, be raised 9 degrees 30 min. The said Crociers be 4 starres, representing the foyme of a crosse, and be 30 degrees in latitude from the South pole: and the lowest starre of the sayd Crociers is to be taken, when it is directly vnder the hypermost; and being so taken as many degrees as it wanteth of 30, so many you are to the Northwardes of the Equinoctial: and as many degrees as be more then 30, so many degrees you are to the Southwardes of the Equinoctial. And if you finde it to be iust 30 then you be directly vnder the line.

Cape de Guer in
30 degrees.

Cape Bojador in
27 degrees, 4.
min.

Cape de las
Barbas.
Cape Blanco in
20 degrees,
30. min.

Within the sayd Cape Blanco wee tooke one ship more, all the men being fled away, saue two. We brought this ship with all the rest which wee had taken before, into our harbour, 5 leagues within the Cape, where we washed and trimmed our ships, and went to sea againe the 22 of Januarie, leauing all the Spaniards there with their ships, sauing one Cantar, for which our Generall gaue them the Benedict. In which course wee ran continually to the Southwest, untill the 26 day, when wee found the North pole rayled 15 degrees 15 min. hauing the winde Northeast or Eastnortheast, which is common on that coast. For it doeth blow for the most part continually from the shore: and we kept the sayd course, untill wee came neere the island Bonauilla, within 2 leagues off the shore; so that wee haled off againe Northwest, the space of one houre, and then ran Southwest againe, till day light the 27 of Januarie: from which time wee ran Southsouthwest, untill 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we approached neere the island of Mayo, being high and hilly land, sauing that the North part of the island stretcheth out it selfe, a league into the sea very lowe. Wee came to anker vnder the West part of this island the 28 day of Januarie, and stayed there untill the 30 of the same. During which time, our General appointed M. John Winter and M. Thomas Doughtie, to goe ouer to the East part of the island with 70 men, to get some fresh victuals. And as wee marched through the island, about the middelt thereof, we found one house hauing a garden belonging to it, in which wee found ripe grapes, also ripe gourds, and melons, in the most dead time of our Winter. Wee found also a tree which beareth the fruite Cocos, which is bigger then a mans head, hauing within the ytter coate, which is about 3 inches thicke, a certaine nut as bigge as two fists, and hath within a white substance, cleauing fast to the shell, which is halfe an inch thick, very pleasant to taste, and within that a certaine hollownesse or voyde place, wherein is contained a pure and pleasant water in taste, and as some thinke, maruelous comfortable. As we passed through this island the inhabitants fledde into the mountaines, so that we could haue no talke with them.

The isle of
Maio.

Ripe grapes
in Januarie.

The Cocos
tree.

But we vnderstood by the Portugals which came with vs, that they were but seruants to those of S. Iago, to keepe their cattell and goates, which bee very plentiful in this island: but we found them so wilde, that we could take none sauing some yong kiddes; wherefore wee returned backe againe to our shippes. The Portugals had salted their Welles neere to the sea, so that we could not water.

Then our Generall commanded euery man aboard: afterward we weighed, and ranne ouer to Sant Iago the same night, being 10 leagues distant from thence: which seemed to bee a fruitfull

island and well peopled. For wee sawe 3 towne on the shore: two of which stode at vs, as we passed along. Our General made a shot at one of them againe. And sailing along the shore, at the South part of the island, wee tooke a Portugal Shippe laden with wine and other commodities. This island hath 15 degrees in latitude.

The isle of Fogo,

Braua,

Nonnez de Silua.

From hence wee ran Southsouthwest to the isle of Fogo, so called, because it casteth continually flames of fire and smoake out of the top thereof, all the whole island being one high mountaine. Two leagues West from the isle of Fogo, is another island called Braua, where the sea is about 120 fathomes deepe neere to the shore, so that we could not anker for the depth of the sea, by reason whereof we were constrained to depart without water. Here the Generall discharged the Portugals, giuing unto them our Pinnette which we built at Mogador: with wine, breade, and fish, and so dismissed them the first of Februarie, taking one of there companie along with him, called Nonnez de Silua. The 2 of Februarie wee set off from Braua, and directed our course South-southeast, running so untill the 9 of Februarie, being within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial: at which time, wee had the ayre troubled with thunder and lightning, notwithstanding calme with extreme heate, and diuers times great showes of raine.

Flying fishes.

Continuall raine at certaine seasons neere the Equinoctial.

Land in 31 degrees, 30 min. to the South of the Equinoctial.

Cape Sant Marie at the mouth of the Riuer of Place.

Cape of Hope in 47 degrees.

The 17 day wee were right under the line, which is the most seruent place of the burnt Zone: where in the middelt of Februarie we sustained such heat, with often thunder and lightnings, that wee did sweate for the most part continually, as though wee had bene in a stoue, or hote house. Here we saw flying fishes in great abundance, some a foote long, some lesse. Their fynnes where with they flye be as long as their bodies. They be greatly pursued by the Dolphin and Bonitoes, whom as soone as the flying fishes espye, immediately they mount out of the sea in great numbers, and fly as long as their fynnes continue moyst: and when they bee dry, they fall downe into the sea againe. And here is to bee noted, that after we came within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial, untill we were so much past it, no day did passe without great store of raine.

From hence wee directed our course towards the Southsouthwest untill the 5 of Aprill: at which time, wee had a very sweet smell from the land. The same day at noone wee sounded, and found the sea to be 32 fathomes deepe, the ground being soft oaze: and shortly after we had but 28 fathomes, being 31 degrees and 30 min. beyond the Equinoctial, towards the South pole: and wee had sight of the land about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone the same day. This land is very lowe neere the sea, and his mountaines by within the countrie.

From hence we ran towards the Southsouthwest, untill the 14 of Aprill; when wee found a little island, lying neere the maine land of Cape Sant Marie, by which is the enterance into the riuer of Place, being in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude. From this island wee ran 7 or 8 leagues along the maine, where we came to an anker under a Cape, which our General called Cape Ioy. Here euery ship tooke in fresh water. Then we departed, and ran about 15 leagues towards the Westsouthwest, where we found a deepe bay. In the bottome of this bay is a long rocke, not far from the maine: which rocke so breaketh the force of the sea, that shippes may ride commodiously under the same for Southerly windes. Vntill the 19 of Aprill, and roade there untill the 20 day at night. Here wee killed some seales. And from thence wee ran about 10 leagues, where we found the water very much troubled and fresh, and wee ran in so farre that we had but 3 fathomes water. Here wee tooke in fresh water, and ranne ouer to the Southward, and fell with the land which lyeth on the South part of the riuer of Place, the 27 day. This land lyeth Southsouthwest and Northnortheast, and is hold 3 or 4 leagues into the sea. Here our fly-boat lost our companie in the night.

From hence we ran toward the Southwest, hauing much foule weather and contrary windes, untill the 12 of May: and then wee sounded and had 28 fathomes, with blacke sande and small stones, and had sight of the land the same morning about 10 of the clocke. This land is 47 degrees in latitude. Our Generall named this land, Cape Hope. We came to anker there, about 3 leagues from the shore the same night. The next morning our General, went to the maine in a boate: by meanes whereof hee had bene in great danger, if the Marigold had not weighed, and ran in with the shore, and so tooke up the boate and men: for there arose such foule weather, with a chicke myst and a Southeast winde, that they were not able to recover their shippes againe which rode without: which were forced to weigh and runne to sea. The Prize weighed the 13 at night, and ran to the Southwards: the other stayed untill the 14 in the morning and then ran to sea, not being able to ride.

In the meane time while the Marigold rode under the shore, our Generall with certaine of his men went on land, where they sawe two naked men, sauing that they had a certaine skinne wrapt about their shoulders and robes upon their heades. To whom our General shewed a white cloth, in

in signe of friendship, who with certaine gestures of their bodies and handes, shewed the like to him againe, speaking likewise and making a noyle, which our men could not vnderstand, but they would in no case come neere our men. Our Generall went the next day to the same place againe: but hee had no sight of the foresaid maro or any other. Howbeit hee found certaine fowles, as Ditches, and other sea fowles, which the sayd men had newly killed, and laid them on an heape together, as though they had done that for our men of purpose. There was also a certaine bagge with litle stones of diuers colours, which together with the victuals our Generall brought aboard, and then weighed, and came to sea the 15 of the sayd moneth: where all the rest of the fleet mette with him, saue the Prize, and the fly-boat. The 16 day wee ran into a bay to the Southwardes of Cape Hope, where we roade at that night. The next morning our Generall weighed, & ran with- out the cape to the Northwardes, & sent the Elizabeth towards the South to looke for the Prize: leaving the Marigold and the Canter to search if in the bay they could finde any fit harbor for our ships. The same day being the 14 of May, our Generall met with the fly-boat (which lost vs the 27 of April) and brought her into saide bay. The 18 in the morning we had word from the ships, that they had found a safe harbour and we weighed and ran in, the same day being Whitsunday. The Elizabeth weighed & put forth againe to sea, the 20 day, to looke for the Prize, and not finding her came in the next day. In the meane time our Generall discharged the fly-boat, and ran her vpon the maine, where we broke her vp for fire-wood. In the meane while there came about 30 of the countrey people downe to the sea side: and when they were within 100 pases of our men, they set themselves in array very orderly casting their companie into the forme of a ring, euery man ha- uing his bow and arrowes: who when they had pight a staffe on the ground, with certaine glasses, beads, and other trifles, returned backe. Then the countrey people came and tooke them and after- ward approached neerer to our men, shewing themselves very pleasant, insomuch that M. Winter daunced with them. They were exceedingly delighted with the sound of the trumpet, and vialles. They be of a meane stature, well limmed, and of a dusky, tawnye, or browne colour. Some of them hauing their faces spotted with diuers colours, as red, white, and blacke. Their apparel is a cer- taine kttune wherein they wrap themselves, not reaching so low as to couer their priuy members, all the rest of their bodies be naked, sauing that they weare certaine rouses vpon their heads, whose ends hang ouer their shoulders. Euery one beareth his bow, being an ell in length, and arrowes made of reeds, hauing heads, framed very strangely & cunningly of a flint stone. They be much gi- uen to mirth and iollity, and are very sly, and ready to steale any thing that comes within their reach: for one of them snatched our Generals cap from his head (as he stouped) being of skarlet with a golden band: yet he would suffer no man to hurt any of them. They eate rawe flesh, for we found seales bones, the raw flesh whercof they had gnawen with their teeth like dogs. In this bay we watered, and victualed with seales: for there is such plentie that we slew about 200 in the space of one houre vpon a litle island.

Ditches and sea fowles.

The description of certaine Sauiages.

The port of Sant Julian.

Two of our men slaine by the Paragons.

The 3 of June we departed from thence, and being at sea we were put backe againe to Cape Hope, where we discharged our Canter and let her float in the sea. Afterward wee ran to the 50 degree of the South pole, where wee met with the winde Southerly, and so turned backe againe to the Northward. And as we ran along the shore, we met with our Prize the 19 of June, which we lost the 13 of May. The day following we found a harbour, into the which we entred with all our fleet the same day. This port is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and I suppose it to be the same which Magellan named Port S. Julian: for we found a gybbet on an hill, wherupon they were exe- cuted that did conspire against Magellan, and certaine bones also of their dead bodies. The 22 of this moneth our Generall going to shore vpon the maine with 7 or 8 of his men, met with 3 of the Paragons hauing bowes and arrowes, who came neere to our mē making them signes to depart. Whereupon a gentleman being there present, and hauing a bowe and arrowes, made a shot to the end to shew them the force our bowes, with the which shot his string broke: wherupon the Para- gons presumed to encounter them, directing their arrowes first at our M. Gunner, who had a ca- liuer ready bent to shot at them but it would not take fire: and as he leuelled his peece one of them shot him through the brest, and out at the backe, wherewith he fell downe starke dead. Also the gen- tleman that shot the arrow was so wounded that hee dyed the 2 day after and with the other was buried in a litle island lying in the said port. Our men left the slaine man on shore till night, and then fetched him in a boat. In the meane time the Paragons had stript him of all his clothes, and blewed his body laying his clothes vnder his head, and so left him vntouched, sauing that they had stucke the English arrow in his left eye. These men be of no such stature as the Spaniards re- port, being but of the height of English men: for I haue seene men in England taller then I could see any of them. But peradventure the Spaniard did not thinke that any English men would haue

The execution
of M. Thomas
Doughie.

The entrance
of the streight
of Magellan.

Ordinarie
flood and ebbe
in the streight.

Abundance of
Sea-fowles on
S. Georges
island in the
streight of
Magellan.

High hills on
both sides of
the streight.

Cape Desado:
where they en-
tered into the
South sea.
They were
driven to 57 de-
grees South-
ward.

They loose M.
Drakes com-
pany.

The voyage
given over.

They return-
ed out of the
streight the 11
of November,
having entered
into the South
sea the 6 of
September.

come thither so soone to haue dispyoued them in this & diuers others of their notorious lies: & here-
fore they presumed more boldly to abuse the world. The last of June M. Thomas Doughie was
brought to his answere, was accused, and conuicted of certaine articles, and by M. Drake condemn-
ed. He was beheaded the 2 of July 1578, whole body was buried in the said island, neere to them
which were slaine. We wintered in this port 2 moneths, during which time we had such weather
as is commonly in England in the depth of winter, or rather colder. After we had trimmed vp our
ships, and made prouision of fewell and fresh water, we departed thence with 3 ships the 17 of Au-
gust about noone. And the 20 of the said moneth we seized Cape Victorie, by the which Cape is
the way into the South sea, called The streights of Magellan, the first discoverer thereof. We
found the mouth of the streights to be 52 degrees: Southward of Equinoctial. In this streight,
we found the sea to haue no such current as some do imagine, (following the course of the primum
mobile from East to West) but to eb and flow as ordinarily as bys other coasts, rising 5 fathoms
vp right. The flood riseth out of the East ocean, and stretcheth it selfe so far into the streights, that
it meeteth the flood of the South sea neere about the midst of the streights, where it bendeth like
an elbow, tending to the West-north-west into the South Sea, whereas the East part from the
mouth of the streights to this elbow lyeth South-west and by West, or South-west to 53 de-
grees and 1/2, 30 leagues within the streights there be 3 islands. To the greatest our general gaue
the name of Elizabeth: to the 2 Bartholomew, because we found it on S. Bartholomews day: the
3 he named S. Georges island. Here we staid one day & victualled our selues with a kinde of foule
which is plentiful in that isle, and whole flesh is not farre unlike a fat goose here in England: they
haue no wings, but short pmeons which serue their turne in swimming. Their colour is somewhat
blacke mixt with white spots vnder their belly, and about their necke. They walke so vp right, that
a farre off a man would take them to be litle children. If a man approch any thing neere them, they
run into holes in the ground (which be not very deepe) whereof the island is full. So that to take
them, we had stauies with hookes fast to the ends, wherewith some of our men pulled them out, and
others being ready with cudgels did knocke them on the head, for they bite so cruellie with their
crooked bills, that none of vs was able to handle them aloue. The land on both parts is very high:
but especially toward the South sea, monstrous high hills and craggy rocks do exalt themselves,
whose tops be all hoary with snowe, in the moneths of August, September, and October. Not-
withstanding the lower partes of the hills are replenished and beautified with impenetrable
thicke woods of strange and vnkown trees, flourishing all the yere long. Here we made prouisi-
on of fewel and fresh water, and passed by Cape Desado into the South sea the 6 of September.
And running along towards the North-west about 70 leagues, the winde turned directly against
vs, with great extremitie of foule weather, as raine, haille, snow, and thicke fogs which continued so
more the 3 weekes, that we could beare no saile, at which time we were driven 57 degr. to the South
pole. The 15 of September the moone was there eclipsed, & began to be darkned presently after
the setting of the sunne, about 6 of the clocke at night, being then Equinoctial vernal in that coun-
tre. The said eclipse happened the 16 day in the morning before one of the clocke in England,
which is about fixe houres difference, agreeing to one quarter of the world, from the Meridian of
England towards the West. The last of September being a very foule night, and the seas fore
growne, we lost the Marigold, the Generals shippe and the Elizabeth running to the East ward
to get the shore, whereof we had sight, the 7 of October, falling into a very dangerous bay full of
rocks: and there we lost company of M. Drake the same night. The next day very hardly esca-
ping the danger of the rocks, we put into the streights againe, where we ankered in an open bay
for the space of 2 dayes, and made great fires on the shore, to the end that if M. Drake should come
into the streights, hee might finde vs. After wee went into a sound, where we staid for the space
of 3 weekes, and named it The port of Health, for the most part of our men being very sicke with
long watching, wet, cold and cuill diet did here (God be thanked) wonderfully recouer their health
in short space. Here we had very great muscles (some being 20 inches long) very pleasant meate,
and many of them full of seed-pearles.

We came out of this harbour the first of Nouember, giuing ouer our voyage by M. Winters
compulsion: full fore against the mariners minds who alleged, he stood in dispaire, as well to haue
winds to serue his turne for Peru, as also of M. Drakes safetie. So we came backe againe through
the streights to S. Georges Island, where we tooke of the foules before named, and after departed.

And thus wee passed by Cape Victorie out of the streights the 11 of Nouember, directing our
course to the North-east, till the last of this moneth. What time wee arrived at an island which
lyeth at the mouth of the riuer of Plac. Upon this island there is such an infinite number of seales,
as may seeme incredible to any man that hath not bene there, some of them being 16 score long.

not fearing the presence of men: for the most of our men were upon the island, for the space of 15 dayes to set up a Pinnele, during which time the seales would come and slepe by them, and rather resist our men, then give place, vntill morall blowes forced them to yeelde.

When our Pinnele was built, we went to another island, where wee did water, and after ward departed the first of Januarie 1579, and ran towards the North till the 20 of the said moneth, and then we arrived at an island which lieth on the coast of Brasil, neere to a towne called Sant Vincent inhabited by the Portugals. The sayd towne lyeth 24 degrees Southwarde, almost vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne. Here, by reason of foule weather we lost our Pinnele, and 8 men in her, and neuer saw them since. Here also our ship was in great danger, by the meanes of a strong current, which had almost cast vs vpon the shore before wee were aware, insomuch that we were constrained to anker in the open sea, and brake our cable and lost an anker, and presently let fall another anker; in weighing whereof our men were sore spoiled. For the capitan raine about so violently with the rising of the shippe in the sea, that it threw the men from the barres, and brake out the braines of one man; one other had his legge broken, and diuers others were sore hurt. At last wee gotte vpon our anker and set sayle, and ran into a place called Tanay, where we roade vnder an island and tooke in wood and water.

Sant Vincent in Brasil in 24 degrees.

as dangerous current.

Tanay a place in Brasil.

And while we staid here, there came 3 Portugals aboard vs in a canoa, to knowe what wee would haue, or of what countrey we were. To whom our Captaine made answer: that we were Englishmen, and had brought commodities for their countrey, if they would trafficke with vs: whereat they greatly marvelled. For they saide that they neuer heard of any English ship to haue bene in that countrey before; and so they went to land againe, hauing one of our men with them to speake with the Gouvernour of the towne, and we kept one of them for a pledge. Shortly after there came another canoa aboard vs with one Portugall and al the rest naked men of the countrey: of whom wee had two small Oren, one yong Hogge, with certaine hennes: also some cytrons, limons, oranges, and other fruites of the countrey. For the which our Captaine gaue to them, linen cloth, combes, knives, and other trifles. In the meane time the Gouvernour of the towne, sent word that we should haue nothing, vntill we would bring our shippe into the hauen. Whereunto our Captaine would in no case consent: for all their practise was to haue gotten vs within their banger, neuertheles we came somewhat neere the towne with our ship, as though wee would haue gone in; but we neuer meant it.

Here we tooke in our man; and set the Portugall pledge on land. After that we went to an island called the isle of Sant Sebastian; where wee tooke fish. Here the Portugals had betrayed vs, if a Brasilian one of their slaues had not bene. For he stole from them, & shewed vnto vs by signes, that the Portugals were conning with their canoas to take vs, as it fell out in deed: for the next morning they shewed themselves with 12 or 16 canoas, some of them hauing 40 men in them. The same night two of our men ran away with our boat to the Portugals. And thus wee came away from thence toward our owne countrey the 17 of March: and had sight of the Cape of Sant Augustine, lying in 8 degrees to the Southward of the line. After that we had sight of an island lying within 3 degrees of the Equinoctial, called the isle of Fernando de Loronha. We crossed the Equinoctial the 13 of April, and had sight of the North starre the 19 of the sayd moneth.

The isle of Sant Sebastian, about the Tropicke of Capricorne.

Cape Sant Augustine.

The isle of Fernando de Loronha.

The sea of Weedes, neere the Tropicke of Cancer.

Their arrivall at Ilfoord-combe in Devonshire.

The 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of May, wee sayled through the sea of Weedes, about the space of 100 leagues, being vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. From whence wee kept our course towards the North-east, vntill wee had the pole rayled 47 degrees. The 22 of May we raine Eastnortheast.

The 29 we sounded and had 70 fathomes with white oaze; hauing the North pole rayled 51 degrees. The 30 of May we had sight of S. Iues on the North side of Corne-wall, and the 2 of June 1579 we arrived at Ilfoord-combe in Devon-shire.

And thus after our manifold troubles and great dangers in hauing passed The streights of Magellan into the South Sea with our Generall M. Francis Drake, and hauing bene driven with him downe to the Southerly latitude of 57 degrees, and afterward passing backe by the same streights againe, it pleased God to bring vs safe into our owne native countrey to enioy the presence of our deare friendes and kinsfolkes, to whom bee prayse, honour, and glory, for euer and euer. Amen.

EDWARD CLIFFE,

Mariner.

Rrr 3

Instructions

Instructions giuen by the right honourable the Lordes of the Counsell, to M. Edward Fenton Esquire, for the order to be obserued in the voyage recommended to him for the East Indies and Cathay, Aprill 9. 1582.

I Item you shall enter as Captaine Generall, into the charge and gouernment of these shippes, viz. the Beare Gallion, the Edward Bonauenture, the Barke Francis, and the small Frigate or Pinuelle.

2 Item you shall appoint for the furnishing of the vessels in the whole, to the number of 200 able persons, accompting in that number the Gentlemen and their men, the Ministers, Chirurgians, Factors, &c. which sayd number is no way to be exceeded, whereof as many as may be, to be sea-men; and shal distribute them into euery vessel, as by aduise here before your going shal be thought meete: Provided that you shall not receiue vnder your charge and gouernement, any disorderd or mutinous person, but that vpon knowledge had, you shall remooue him before your departure hence, or by the way as soone as you can conueniently auoide him, and receiue better in his place.

3 Item, for the more and better circumspect execution, and determination in any waightie causes incident in this voyage, we will that you shall take vnto you for assistants, Captaine Hawkins, captain Ward, M. Nicholas Parker, M. Maddox, M. Walker, M. Euans, Randolph Shaw, Matthew Talboys, with whom you shall consult and conferre in all causes, matters, and actions of importance, not provided for in these instructions touching this seruice now in hand. And in all such matters, so handled, argued, and debated, wee thinke that conuenient alwayes to be executed, which you shall thinke meetest with the assent also of any 4 of them, the matter hauing bene debated, and so assented vnto, in the presence of your said assistants. And in case that such conference and debating the opinions of the aforesaid Assistants be found in effect any way to differ, then it is thought meete, that all such matters so argued vpon, shall rest to bee put in execution in such sort as you shal thinke most meetest, hauing the assent of any 4 of them, as aforesaid. And if any of these Assistants shal die, then the number of the one halfe of the Suruiours to ioynewith the General captaine for consent in all things aforesaid.

4 Of all which your assemblies and consultations, for the matters aforesaid, we thinke it very conuenient, that a particular and true note should be kept, for which cause we appoint master Maddox minister, and if he should decease, then the General with halfe the Assistants Suruiours, to name one to keepe a booke of all such matters as shall bee brought in consultation, and of all such reasons as shall be propounded by any person, either on the one side, or on the other: what was resolved on, and by whose consent, who dissented there from, and for what causes. In which book he shall in the beginning of the note of euery such assembly, set downe particularly the day, and the place, if it may be, the names of the persons then present, and vpon what occasion the sayd consultation was appointed or holden, and shall haue to euery acte, the handes of the General, and of all, or so many of the said Assistants as will subscribe: which booke the said master Maddox, or the other vpon his decease appointed in his place shall keepe secrete, and in good order to bee exhibited vnto vs, at your returne home.

5 Item, if there happen any person or persons imployed in this seruice, of what calling or condition, hee or they shall be, should conspire, or attempt priuately or publikely, any treason, mutinie, or other discord, either touching the taking away of your owne life, or any other of authoritie vnder you, whereby her Maesties seruice in this voyage might bee ouerthrowne, or impugned: we will therefore, that vpon iust prooffe made of any such treason, mutinie, or any other discord attempted as aforesaid, the same shalbe punished by you, or your Lieutenante according to the qualitie and enormitie of the fact. Provided alwayes, and it shall not bee lawfull neither for you, nor for your Lieutenante to proceede to the punishment of any person by losse of life or lim, vnlesse the partie shall be iudged to haue deserued it by the rest of your Assistants, as is before exprest, or at the least by foure of them. And that which shall concerne life to be by the verdict of twelue men of the company employed in this voyage, to be impanelled for that purpose, with the obseruation of the forme of our countrey lawes in that behalfe, as neere as you may. Provided, if it shall not appeare, that the forbearing of the execution by death, shall minister cause to increase the facte of the offender, then it were better to conuince the partie of his facte, by the othes of 12 indifferent persons, and to commit him to hard imprisonment, vntill the returne. And aswell of the factes committed by any, as also of the prooffe thereof, and of the opinions of you, and your Assistants, and the manner of the punishment, the Register shall make a particular and true note, in the booke of your consultation, as is before appointed.

6 Item, you shall not remooue Captaine William Hawkins your lieutenant, master Captaine Luke Ward your viceadmiral, or captaine of the Edward Bonaventure, nor captaine Carlile from his charge by land, whom we will not to refuse any such seruice as shall be appointed to him by the Generall and the counsell, nor any captaine of other vessels from their charges, but vpon iust cause duly prooued, and by consent of your Assistants, or of foure of them at the least.

Mr. Carlile by
on occasion
was not in
this voyage.

7 Item, for the succession of the Generall, gouernour of this whole voyage, if it should please God to take him away, it is thought meete that there should bee the names of such Gentlemen secretly set downe to succede in his place one after the other, which are seuerally written in parchment, included in bals of ware, sealed with her Maiesties signet, put into two coffers locked with three seuerall locks, wherof one key is to bee in the custodie of captaine Luke Ward, the other of William Hawkins, the third of master Maddox the Minister, and the same two coffers to bee put into two seuerall shippes, videlicet, the one coffer in the Gallion, in the custodie of the Generall, the other in the Edward Bonaventure in the custodie of the Viceadmirall: the same two coffers vpon any such casualltie of the Generals death by consent of the Assistants which shall ouerlieue, to bee opened, and the partie therein named to succede in the place, who shall thereupon take vpon him the charge in the said voyage according to these instructions, in such sort as if they had bene specially directed vnto him, and the rest of the companie so to take and repute him in every respect, as they will answer to the contrary. But if it shall so fall out, (as we hope it will) that there shall bee no such neede, but that the Generall doe continue still, then shall you at your returne deliuer backe the sayd coffers and bals of ware sealed in such sort as they be, without opening them, vntill it be in the case aforesayd.

8 You shall make a iust and true inuentorie in every ship and vessell appointed for this voyage of all the tackle, munition, and furniture belonging to them at their setting forth hence, and of all the provisions whatsoeuer, and one copie thereof vnder your hand, and vnder the hands of your Viceadmirall and lieutenant, to be deliuered to the Earle of Leicester, and the other to the gouernour of the companie for them before your departure hence, and the like to bee done at your returne home of all things then remaining in the sayd ships and vessels, with a true certificate how and by what meanes any parcell of the same shall haue bene spent or lost.

The gouern-
our of this
companie.

9 Item, you shall vse all diligence possible to depart from Southampton with your sayd ships and vessels before the last of this present moneth of Aprill, and so goe on your course by Cape de buena Esperanza, not passing by the streight of Magellan either going or returning, except vpon great occasion incident, that shall bee thought otherwise good to you, by the aduise and consent of your sayd Assistants or foure of them at the least.

They are im-
posed to go
by the Cape
of Buena Espe-
ranza.

10 Item, you shall not passe to the Northward of the 40 degree of latitude at the most, but shall take your right course to the Isles of the Malucos for the better discovery of the Northwest passage, if without hinderance of your trade, & within the same degree you can get any knowledge touching that passage, wherof you shall do wel to be inquisitiue, as occasion in this sort may serue.

11 Item, you shall haue speciall regard after your departure from the coast of England, so to order your course, as that your ships and vessels lose not one another, but keepe companie together both outward and homeward. And lest if they happen to seuer the one from the other by tempest or otherwise, it shall not bee amisse that you appoint to the Captaines and Masters certaine places, wherein you will stay certaine dayes. And euery ship passing aforesaid, and not knowing what is become of the other ships, to leaue vpon euery Promontorie or Cape a token to stand in sight, with a writing lapped in leade to declare the day of their passage. And if any wilfulnesse or negligence in this behalfe shall appeare in any person or persons that shall haue charge of any of the ships or vessels aforesayd, or if they or any of them shall doe otherwise then to them appertaineth, you shall punish such offenders sharply to the example of others.

12 Item, we do straightly enioine you, and consequently all the rest employed in this voyage in any wise, and as you and they will answer the contrary at your comming home by the lawes of this realme, that neither going, carrying abroad, nor returning, you doe spoyle or take any thing from any of the Queenes Maiesties friends or allies, or any Christians, without paying iustly for the same, nor that you vse any manner of violence or force against any such, except in your owne defence, if you shall be set vpon, or otherwise be forced for your owne safegard to do it.

13 Item, wee will that you deale altogether in this voyage like good and honest merchants, traffiquing and exchanging ware for ware, with all courtesie to the nations you shall deale with, as well Ethniks as others, and for that cause you shall instruct all those that shall goe with you, that whensoever you or any of you shall happen to come in any place to conference with the people of those parts, that in all your doings and theirs, you and they so behaue your selues towards the

the sayd people, as may rather procure their friendship and good liking toward you by courtesie, then to moue them to offence or mistaking, and especially you shall haue great care of the performance of your word and promise to them.

Strange
people to be
brought home.

14 Item wee will, that by the aduise of your Assistants, in places where you and they shall thinke most fit, you lettle if you can a beginning of a further trade to bee had hereafter: and from such places doe bring ouer with you some fewe men and women if you may, and doe also leaue some one or two, or more, as to you and your Assistants shall seeme conuenient of our nation with them for pledges, and to learne the tongue and secrets of the countreys, hauing diligent care that in deliuering and taking of hostages, you deliuer not personages of more value then you receiue, but rather deliuer meane persons vnder colour of men of value, as the Infidels do for the most part vse. Provided that you stay not longer to make continuance of further trade, then shall be expedient for good exchange of the wares presently carried with you.

15 Item you shall haue care, and giue generall warning, that no person of what calling soeuer hee be, shall take vp, or keepe to himselfe or his priuate vse, any stone, pearle, golde, silver, or other matter of commoditie to be had or found in places where you shall come, but hee the said person so seized of such stone, pearle, golde, silver, or other matter of commoditie, shall with all speede, or so soone as he can, detect the same, and make deliuerie thereof to your selfe, or you Viceadmirall, or Lieutenant, and the Factor appointed for this voyage, vpon paine of forfeiture of all the recompense he is to haue for his seruice in this voyage by share or otherwise: and further to receiue such punishment, as to you & your Assistants, or the more part of them shal seeme good, and otherwise to be punished here at his returne, if according to the qualitie of his offence it shalbe thought needfull.

16 Item, if the Captaines, Marchants or any other, shall haue any apparell, iewels, chaines, armour, or any other thing whatsoever, which may bee desired in countreys where they shall traffique, that it shall not bee lawfull for them or any of them to traffique, or sell any thing thereof for their priuate accompt: but the same shall bee prized by the most part of those that shall bee in commission in the places where the same may be so required, rated at such value, as it may bee reasonably worth in England, and then solde to the profite of the whole voyage, and to goe as in aduventure for those to whom it doeth appertaine.

17 Item you your selfe shall in the Gallion keepe one booke, and the Factor appointed for the same shipp another, wherein shall bee a iust accompt kept, aswell of the marchandise carried hence, as of those you shall bring home. And aswell at your setting forth, as from time to time, as exchange shalbe made, you shall set your hand to their booke, and they theirs to yours, and the like order shal you see that the Captaine and the Factor in the Edward Bonauenture shall vse in their ship, and the other Captaines and Factors in each other vessell.

18 Item you shall giue straight order to restraime, that none shall make any charts or descriptions of the sayd voyage, but such as shall bee deputed by you the Generall, which sayd charts and descriptions, wee thinke meete that you the Generall shall take into your hands at your returne to this our coast of England, leauing with them no copie, and to present them vnto vs at your returne: the like to be done if they finde any charts or maps in those countreys.

19 Item you shall at your returne so direct your course, that all the ships vnder your government may come home together, and arriue here in the riuer of Thames, if it may conueniently be. And wheresoever in this Realme you, or any of the shippes shall arriue, you shall giue speciall and straight order, that no person of what condition soeuer he be, shall unlade, or bring on land, or forth of the vessels in which he came, any part or parcel of marchandise, or matter of commoditie brought in any of the sayd vessels, vntill we being certified of your or their arriuall, shall giue further order and direction therein, vnder the penalties and forfeitures expessed in the fifteenth article, against such as shall retaine any thing to their priuate vse, as in the sayd article is further expessed.

20 Item, to the intent that all such persons as shall go with you in this voyage, may better vnderstand what they ought to do, and what to auoid, wee thinke it requisite, that aswell out of these, as otherwise with the aduise of your Assistants and Masters of the ships, you shall cause some conuenient order to bee set downe in writing for their better government both at sea and land, if they shall happen to goe on lande any where: and the same to bee openly read and made knownen vnto them, to the intent they may vnderstand how to behaue themselves, and vpon any fault committed, not to haue any excuse to pretend ignorance, and so to auoid such punishment as it is requisite to haue ministred for the keeping of them in good order.

21 And to the end God may blesse this voyage with happie and prosperous successe, you shall haue an expectall care to see that reuerence and respect bee had to the Ministers appointed to accompany you in this voyage, as appertaineth to their place and calling, and to see such good order

as by them shall be set downe for reformation of life and maners, duely obeyed and perfourmed, by causing the transgressours and contemners of the same to be severely punished, and the Ministers to remooue sometime from one vessell to another.

22 Provided alwayes, that the whole direction and government of the people, life and limme excepted, as in the first article, and the course of this voyage, shall bee wholly at your disposition, except in the course by the Streight of Magellan, either outward or homeward, and in your passage by the Northward of 40 degrees in latitude, wherein you shall follow directions set downe in the nine and ten articles, as also in the displacing of the Captaine of the *Edward Bonaventure*, and other captaines, wherein you shall followe the order appointed in the first article: Provided that wee meane not by this article to derogate any thing from the authoritie of your assistants established in the third article, or in any other article of these instructions.

23 Item, in all occasions and enterprises that may fall out to bee vpon the lande, wee will that Captaine Carlile shall haue the generall and chiefe charge thereof.

24 And finally wee require you and euery of you to haue a due regard to the obseruation and accomplishment of these our instructions, and of all such other things, as may any kind of way tend to the furtherance and benefite of this seruice committed to your charge.

*M. Carlile by
on occasion
was not in
this voyage.*

The voyage intended towards China, wherein M. Edward Fenton was appointed Generall: Written by M. Luke Ward his Viceadmiral, and Captaine of the *Edward Bonaventure*, begun Anno Dom. 1582.



The second of April I departed with the *Edward Bonaventure* from Blackwall, and the 19 of the same arrived in Nettle roade at Hampton, where I found riding the Gallion *Leicester*: and so remaining there till the first of May, wee set saile thence in the forenoone, being of vs in the whole flecte foure saile.

1 The Gallion *Leicester* of 400 tunnes Admirall, whereof was Generall Captaine Edward Fenton, and William Hawkins the ponger lieutenant Generall in her, and Christopher Hall, Master.

2 The *Edward Bonaventure* of 300 tunnes Viceadmirall, whereof was Captaine Luke Ward, and Thomas Perrie Master.

3 The *Francis* of fortye tunnes, whereof was Captaine Iohn Drake, and William Markam Master.

4 The *Elizabeth* of fiftie tunnes, whereof was Captaine Thomas Skeuington and Ralph Crane Master.

We spent by meanes partly of businesse, and partly of contrary windes, the moneth of May vpon the coast, and then leauing the land wee put off to sea, and proceeded on our voyage intended by the grace of God for China: untill the moneth of August following, nothing fell out much worthy the knowledge of the worlde, which is not common to all nauigants, but about the beginning of August aforesayd, being somewhat neere the coast of Guinie, vpon the shooting off a peece and the putting out of a flag in the Admirall, I went on boord, and M. Walker, M. Shaw, M. Gessreis, our Master & Pilot with me, where the generall counsel was assembled to consider of two points, viz.

The first, whether it were necessarie to water presently or not, which was thought very needful of all men, and so concluded.

The second, where the best and aptest place was to water in, which was thought of the greater number to be at Sierra leona on the coast of Guinie, which was also concluded, and by the Master and Pilots agreed to goe hence Southeast, which determined, wee returned aboord.

The 3 day wee went Southeast and Eastsoutheast, till sixe a clocke at night that wee sawe the lande of Guinie, which bare Northeast of vs about 12 leagues off, which scene, wee sounded, and had no ground: then went I and our Master and Pilot aboord the Admirall, and after many debates concluded to run in Northeast by East, and at eleuen at night wee came aboord againe, and went all night Northeast by East.

The 4 at eight a clocke in the forenoone wee were within 2 leagues of the lande, which bare off vs Northeast, which rose like a hill full of woods, and on each side low land: wee being perswaded by our pilots that it was the entrance into Sierra leona, went in Northeast untill wee were within an halfe league of the shoar, and had brought the South point Southeast by East off vs. At eleuen a clocke finding it a bay and not Sierra leona, wee brought our tacks aboord, and stood along West by North and West larboord tacked.

In this time our Admirals pinnesse rowed in, and went on land vpon the South side of the bay,

and

and the Elizabeths boate with her. They found houses of boughes, and in one of the houses the tongue of a beast, and a bullocks tongue fresh-killed; also a lake with plenty of fresh water, and fresh water-fish in it had by the sea side: they found drie pomegranates, and peare like nuts, with other unknownen fruites under the trees. The Elizabeth ranne in, and brought the South point South by West of her, and ankered within Faulcon shot of the shore in seven fathoms deepe, where they tooke fish with hookes, while hee stayed for the boates.

The 4 all the after noone wee ran along the coast (which lyeth North-west and by North, and Southeast by South) West, and within a point one way or the other, seeing the lande under our lee three or foure leagues off, and all night likewise.

They arrive in
the river of Si-
erra leona.

The 9 at thre a clock in the morning our Admirall shot off a peece, and at foure wee weped and went hence North-east. At five in the morning wee saw the land along, and the Island which wee saw the night before, and diuers other Islands about it, & so ran in North-east until we had brought our selues thwart of the river, and then ran in East about five at night, being a league within the river. Our Admirall shot off a peece, and there wee ankered in eight fathoms sand. Being at anker, I manned our boate and would haue gone aboard the Admirall, but could not, the flood was bent so strong, and she rode halfe a mile beneath vs in the tyde, but we had no tyde.

Trees hung
with opsters.

The 10 in the morning at five a clocke I sent our skiffe with our pilot in her to find a roade, and a watering place: in the meane time at sixe a clocke we set saile with our ship, and being calme wee towed with our boat until ten, and then ankered a mile short of the watering place. After dinner I went on land with my skiffe to finde timber to fith our make, and searching along the shore we found a good watering place: and further seeking in the wood, which all the countrey is full of, and of diuers sorts, wee found Limmon trees full of fruites: also trees growing by the water side with the stalkes hung full of opsters and great periwinkles, and crabs amongst them: wee found drie pomegranates with many other fruites unknownen to vs. In the meane time our Admirall and the Edward with the barkes, hauing a gale at West, set saile, and ran up and ankered in the rode before the accustomed watering place.

Their trafique
here with the
Portugals.

The 22 day certaine Portugals which had bene with vs before, came down and brought some other Portugals and Negros with them in a shippe boate, wherein they brought vs 80 mewe of rice, 500 and odd weight of Elephants teeth, and a Negro boy, which boy they gaue the Generall, and the rice and teeth for the Elizabeth, which wee solde them with all her tackle and sailes, hauing neede of the rice, because our meale which wee brought out of England was decayed and naught, whereof wee had into the Edward 30 bushels, which is a mewe and a halfe: the Francis had 5 bushels, and the Gallion had the rest. And wee had 200 weight of Elephants teeth, and the Gallion 300 and a halfe, and sixe pound. During this time we sent our skiffe with the Admiralls pinnesse up the river to meete with a Gundall, which the Portugals had sent for fresh victuals for vs: who not finding her, returned at night: All this day I with M. Walker remained aboard with the Admirall, and after their dinner and supper wee ended our businesse, and returned aboard, hauing had many good speeches with the Portugals.

Sickness by
eating some
fruit in Gui-
nea.

The 26 day being Sunday, Captaine Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Bannister, Captaine Drake, M. Euans, M. Hooke, and others came aboard and heard the Sermon, and dined with me: after dinner wee went on shoare to the lower point where we followed the footing of an Elephant, but saw him not, and so spent the time to and fro till supper time, and then came aboard, and supped together, which done, each man departed to his abode.

This night I was very sicke, (and so were all they that were on shoare with mee,) with eating of a fruite of the countrey, which wee found on trees, like nuts: whereof some did eate scire, some fine, some sixe, and more, but wee vomitted and scoured vpon it without reason.

The 27 day in the afternoone the olde Greeke Francisco came aboard to me, with request that hee might haue the Francis boate to goe up for his owne boate which was not come downe, with whom I talked of this Countrey and Countrey-people, until five of the clocke at night that the flood was come, and then I went aboard to the Admirall, and got his consent, and sent themselves in her: viz. Ferdinando the Portugall Master, and his Negro: In the meane time I sent foure of my men to watch in the Elizabeth all night.

The 28 day in the morning at foure a clocke I sent my skiffe with the Admiralls pinnesse down to the West point to fith, who came aboard againe at one in the afternoone, and brought as much fish as all our companies could eate.

The Portugals
presents.

During the time that our boates were a fishing, came downe the river a canoa and the Portugals former boate, with hennies, oranges, plantans, which they presented the Generall and mee with: and also the rest of the rice due to vs for the payment of the Elizabeth. For the partitions whereof

whereof I went aboard the Admirall, where I dined. After dinner M. Evans began to barter away certaine of the ships commodities with the Negros, without acquainting the Generall or any other untill hee had done, wherof grew more wordes then profite, as by the bookes of merchandise appeareth. Which done I came aboard, and had two of the Portugals to supper with mee. About two of the clocke in the morning we had a Ternado, and much raine.

The 29 about 4 a clocke in the morning, I in my skiffe, and Captaine Parker in his pinnesse, went downe to the West point, and there wee landed with 11 men in all well furnished, and searched the woods, plaines and plashe, after an Elephant, finding the haunt, footing, and soyle of many newly done, yet wee saw none of them. Wee saw hoggs, goates or fatwines, and diuers sorts of fowles very wilde: and hauing traualled about 2 leagues, about noone wee returned to the point, where wee landed, and met our boates which had bene at sea, and taken plentie of good fish: there wee refreshed our selues with such victuals as wee had, and came aboard our seuerall ships, where I found the Portugals and Negros, who had dined, and after supped aboard with mee.

The 2 of September we set saile at five of the clock in the morning, & went out West betweene 7 and 10 fathom, with a pretie gale at East til 8, then it waxed calme, wee being shot out of the harbour a league and a halfe. It continued calme this day till one in the afternoone, and then it blew by at Westsouthwest a good gale, so wee stood off Northnorthwest, and Northwest till 5 in the afternoone, then wee ankered in 12 fathom, being 6 leagues off the point West by North.

The 3 day about eight a clocke in the forenoone, the Generall came aboard to mee, complaining that his maine crosse-trees were broken, and therefore determined to goe into Sierra leona againe when the winde blew: at 12 at noone wee set saile, and went in Eastsoutheast, and South-east, and Southsoutheast, being carried to the Northward with the flood. And at 7 at night wee ankered in eight fathom three leagues off the entrance, Westnorthwest.

The 12 day came downe the riuer a boate with three other Portugals, with whom the Generall bargained, to let them haue 3 barrells of salt for 5 barrells of rice, and after that rate to exchange for 40 barrells, which hee acquainted mee with: afterwards I dined among the Portugals with him: after dinner I went on shoare to the ouen, and to the carpenters. After I had bene on shoare and seene the worke there, I returned aboard, & there supped with mee the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and seuen Portugals: after supper each man returned to his place.

The 13 in the afternoone, the Portugals came againe aboard me, and brake their fast with me: after I sent by them by the riuer in my skiffe 12 barrells of salt, and gaue them a bottell of wine for one of the sauage Queenes.

The 15 after dinner, the Master, M. Walker, and I, accompanied with 12 other travelled ouer a great deale of ground to finde some cattell, but found none: and comming home thorow the Oyster bay, I found of my company and of the Admirals together roasting of oysters: and going from them, Thomas Russell one of my companie sawe a strange fish named Vclif, which had fought with a crocodile, and being hurt came neere the shoare, where hee waded in, and by the taile drew him a lande, and there slewe him, and sent the Generall the hinder halfe of him: the head-part I kept, in whose nose is a bone of two foot long like a sword, with three and twentie pycks of a lide, sharpe and strange: The bodie wee did eate, and it was like a Sharke.

The 30 and last day of September the Francis cooke came aboard about seuen a clocke in the forenoone from fishing with my net, and brought among other fish, a Sea-calse (as wee called it) with haire and lymptis, and barnacles vpon him, being seuen foote long, foure foote nine inches about: which to see I sent for the Generall, and such as pleased to come see it out of the Admirall, who came and brought with him M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, and most part of his companie, who hauing viewed the beast, which was ougly being aliue, it being flayed, opened, and dressed, proued an excellent, faire, and good meate, broyled, roasted, sodde and baked, and sufficed all our companies for that day.

The first day of October in the morning, wee tooke in to make by our full complement of rice twentie barrells for the twelue barrells of salt, deliuered the Portugall Lewis Henriques before.

The 2 day about five a clocke in the morning, wee set saile hauing little winde: the Captaine with the Master, and other of their companie of the Portugals came aboard me, complaining that the carsey by them receiued for the foure Negros of the Generall, was not sufficient for their payment, whereupon I gaue them scarlet caps, and other things to their content, who finding themselves well pleased, departed away in the Gundall, and we hauing little winde, got downe thwart of the fishing bay, and there came to anker about nine a clocke the same forenoone.

The third day about two a clocke in the morning wee set saile, and went hence South-west by West till two in the afternoone then being little wind: at five wee ankered six leagues East-south-east

M. Evans one of our marchants.

They search the countrey.

They returned to Sierra leona againe.

Traffique with 3 other Portugals, viz. 1 Lewis Henriques a dweller here about 20 peeres. 2 Matthew Fernandes Captaine. 3 Pedro Vaz pilot.

They enter by to search the countrey.

A twojndly killed.

A strange fish taken.

east of the Southermost part of the land in fifteene fathom, and there wee rode till eight a clocke at night, and set saile with a stiffe gale at Northeast, which sometime blew, and sometime was little winde, and so continued all night.

The first day of November in the forenoone, wee tooke in our maine saile to mend it: in the meane time, the Admirall came by by vs, and desiring mee with my Master, and M. Blackcoller to come aboard to him about certaine conference, hee sent his boate to vs, where by him was propounded, whether it were best for vs to stand on with the coast of Brasil as wee did, or else to stand about starboord tacked to the Eastwards: whereupon diuers of their charts and reckonings were shewed: by some it appeared, wee were a hundred and fifteene leagues, by some a hundred and fiftie leagues, by some a hundred and fortie leagues, and some a great deale further short of Brasil, next hand Northeast of vs: but all agreed to bee within twentie minutes of the line, some to the North, some to the South of the line.

After many debatements, it was agreed by most consent to stand on for the coast of Brasil, except the wind changed, and there to doe, as weather should compell vs. In this consultation, wee had speeches of courses, and places of meeting, if by misfortune wee should bee separated, wherein was no full order concluded, but that we should speake every night with the Admirall, if wee conveniently might, and so to appoint our course from time to time, if wee lost companie, to stay fifteene dayes in the riuer of Plate, and from thence to go for the streights, and there to ride, and water, and trimme our ships.

The 12 in the afternoone M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Bannister, and others came aboard to visite M. Walker. After a time of abode with him, they returned to the gallion all againe, except M. Maddox, who remained with M. Walker here aboard.

This night M. Maddox and I, behelde many constellations in the firmament, and set downe certaine newe starres raised to the Southwards. All day and night wee went South, and South by East among.

The seuenteenth day in the afternoone wee shot off three peeces of ordinance in honour of our Queenes Maestie. This day after dinner came master Maddox, and Captaine Drake with others to take their leaue of master Walker, as I with all my company had done before, supposing him past hope of recouerie. At foure of the clocke, finding our selues in nineteene degrees to the Southwards of the line, and cleare of the shoals called by vs Powles, wee went hence South-southwest all night following.

The 18 day being Sunday, after dinner the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Parker, and many other came aboard, and visited M. Walker: which done, they dranke, and departed aboard againe. All this day and night, we went our course South-west by South, with a franke gale.

The 19 day about noone, the Sun was in our Zenith, being declined to the Southwards 21 degrees, and 33 minutes, where wee found the aire fresh and temperate, as in England in June when a fresh gale of winde doeth blow in the heate of the day, but the evening, the night, and the morning are more fresh and colder here, then it is in England either in June or Iulie.

The first of December, about fixe of the clocke in the morning, wee sawe lande on the coast of Brasil, in the height of 28 degrees or thereabouts, which bare Northwest, and was eight leagues from vs very high land. Wee stood in with it, being much winde, and coming neere, found diuers Islands: and seeing the Francis would not come roome nor run ahead vs, wee stood in with the shore, and sounded in 30 fathom oaze three leagues off the lande, bearing from the Westnorth-west to the Northnorthwest of vs, and so stood still till it shoaldd orderly into seven fathoms, within a mile of a headland: then perceiuing a breach ouer our bowe, and no hope of a good harbour, in that place, wee bare vp roome, and our Admirall after vs, whom wee hailed: then hee tolde vs hee would seeke harbour to leeward, requiring me to go ahead. Then seeing the barke was asterne, I hoisted out my kisse, and set her masse and saile, taking her ging, and Tobias one of my Masters mates with mee, and ranne before the shippe, sounding in 15 fathom saire sand, leauing a ledge of rockes alee-aboord of vs: so the ships and the barke looffed vp vnder a headland, and ankered in eight fathom, halfe a mile off the lande, hauing brought the headland which lyeth in 27 degrees 50 minutes Southsoutheast off them, and the North land Northeast off them.

I stood on with the kisse, hoping to finde a better harbour to leeward three leagues, but it prooued not so: wherefore I returned, and in my way aboard I met with a rocke in the sea, where we landed, and killed good store of fowle, and after I went aboard the Admirall, where I presented him with fowle, and returned aboard to supper.

In this time our boates had bene aland, and found water, ballaste, and two decayed houses, as they told me, and our men aboard hooked fresh-fish. This night wee rode quietly.

19 degrees of
Southerly la-
titude.

Cold evenings

Diuers Is-
lands.

The latitude
of 27 degrees,
50 minutes.

The

The second, being Sunday, our masters moored our ships further into the bay. We brought the South point Southeast off vs, and the North land Northeast: and so rid.

After dinner captaine Parker, with my boat, and company, went a land, and there placed pipes, and made three wells. In the meane time, I accompanied with M. Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Cotton, and diuers of mine owne people, landed farther within the bay, and found two riuers of fresh water, and a good fishing place. Presently I sent aboard for my net; with which at one draught we drew 600 great mullets; and 5 great basses; the like draught was neuer seene with so small a net: with which we went aboard, giuing to the admirall 240, to the Francis 80, and the rest our company spent, and gaue almighty God thanks for his great goodnesse.

All this while was captaine Parker and others gone into the land, and fired the woods; which burned extremely.

The third day in the morning our carpenter calked without board, and the master and others tooke by all the merchandize in the steare sheets to the keele, and there put downe a boate losing of stone; and seeing the merchandize well conditioned, stowed the same againe. In the meane time, myselfe, and others in our boats, scraped off the wormes, and washed the rudder, and part of one side of our ship.

After dinner, the master, pilot, and I, went ashore, and obserued the Sunne at noone, which being past, with our net we drew plenty of diuers sorts of fishes, and went from that bay to the watering place: from thence, aboard the generall, which had taken physicke, and gaue them and the Francis fish for their companies, and so went aboard, where our company had romaged afore-mast; so that this afternoone we tooke in two boats more lading of stones afore-mast.

The first day in the morning, before fire of the clocke, we saw a saile which went towards the Southwards, the admirall not hauing knowledge thereof. I went aboard, and certified him; who appointed me to goe and bring her in, and to take captaine Parker and some of the gallions men into the Francis, and the admirals skiffe with vs: so we gaue her chase, and tooke her five leagues to the leewards of the place we rode in. Then not being able to fetch the rode againe, we ankered in the sea. I intending to come away in the pinnelle, and leaue the Francis, and the prize together, being ready to depart, the winde blew at South a stout gale, and raue; so that about fire of the clocke, we ankered in the rode, where our ships rid.

After we had taken them, and that captaine Parker and I were aboard, we had much talke with them before they came to the ships; and being ankered there, the chiefe men were caried aboard the general, which was a gentleman, named Don Francisco de Torre Vedra, nephew to the gouernour of the riuer of Plate, named Don John de Torre Vedra.

We found an Englishman, named Richard Carter borne in Limehouse, who had bene out of England foure and twenty yerres, and hath bene nere twelue yerres dwelling in the riuer of Plate, at a towne named Ascension, three hundred leagues by in the riuer, whither they were now determined to goe inhabit, hauing two women, and two yong childe, seven friers, the rest boyes, and sailers, to the number of one and twenty persons.

The olde frier was had in great reuerence among the rest: insomuch that they called him the Holy father. He was abiding in no place; but as visitour he went visiting from monastery to monastery.

The substance of all the speeches was, that the Spanish fleet was before the Streights of Magellan, as they thought; for they were departed five weeks past from the riuer of Ienero, where they had bene seven moneths to refresh and winter, and that these were not of that company; but came out of Spaine the 26 of May 1582 in a barke of fourescore tun, and fourescore persons, of purpose for the riuer of Plate. The friers bring eightene in number, could not agree, and their barke was a ground at Spirito Santo, like to be lost: therefore the olde frier bought this small barke of 46 tun, at a port named Spirito Santo, in Brasill; and so diuided themselves: and coming from thence, lost company at sea: but they thought they were before at the riuer of Plate. After his speeches, I went and appointed (by the generals order) men to remaine aboard the prize with captaine Parker, and brought one of the Portugals sailes away with me, and came aboard, where I found that our men had filled water all day.

The 7 day in the morning the generall sent for me; where he shewed me and M. Maddox certaine articles which the friers and mariners Spaniards were examined of; which tended altogether to the knowledge of the Spanish fleets intent, and of the meanes whereby we might be discovered by the way of the riuer of Plate by land to Peru. In this time came the rest: after whose coming it was debated, whether it were best to take the boat & people with vs or not. Which was not determined; but referred till further examination.

30 bay.

Wells made by our men.

An exceeding great draught of fish.

The woods set on fire by our men.

30 saile seen and taken.

Richard Carter an Englishman taken in the prize.

The number of 21 in the prize.

Then was it determined to passe by the streights, notwithstanding the Spaniards were there, but not to set by force, nor to build pinnelle, but water, and so thorow.

The Spanish
barke dissim-
led.

The eight day afore noone M. Walker and I went aboard the admirall to dinner, where was determined to discharge the Spanish barke, named Our lady of pity, and all the men, except Richard Carter the English man, and Iohn Pinto a Portugall, which dwelled at the riuer of Plac. After dinner, the generall appointed mee and captaine Hawkins to see them all set aboard their ship, and to receiue from them certaine necessaries, which willingly they imparted with vs, and to leaue them satisfied. Which done, I returned aboard.

The 9 day, being Sunday, in the morning, I sent M. Shaw and M. Gessries aboard the admirall, to peruse the Spaniards letters; wherein they found the estate of the fleet which was in the streights of Magellan, as by the note thereof appeareth.

Spanish pre-
sents.

About ten of the clocke the generall, M. Maddox, captaine Hawkins, and captaine Parker, came aboard of me. The generall began to reprocure my quarter master for grudging of victuall for the Francis. Which was answered: and he well satisfied. Then sent I for the olde frier and Don Francisco; who all dined with me: and after dinner, the Spaniards hauing receiued the canoa, which was suncke, aland, and stones to ballast them, which my boat caried them, and all other things to their liking and content, they departed from me. The generall also departed, and his company, who being gone, I diuided the sugar and ginger among my people, which the Spaniards gaue vs: and after spent the day in ordinary businesse.

The 10 day in the morning, our skiffe went a fishing, wherof we eat as much to supper as serued the company: the rest we salted for store, and to proue if they would take salt or not.

Things found
in the island.

The 11 day, betimes in the morning, our skiffe went againe to fish, and tooke great plentie. About seuen of the clocke I went aland, taking with me the master, and others of our best men, to the number of 22 persons, & trauelled to the place where our people before had found many great iars of earth, and decayed habitations of the Indians, and trees, being dead and withered, of sweet wood. From that place we saw ouer the tops of a narrow wood, a faire plaine, which at the request of the master and the rest, I went with them to see. We passed thorow a thicke and perillous wood, before we came to the supposed plaine: and when we came to it, we found the lowest part thereof higher then any of our heads, and so mossy vnder foot, that we slipped to the knees many steps, which so wearied vs, that for my part, I was very sicke, and so halted aboard, leauing the master with 15 men, which cut a tree of sweet wood, and brought many pieces thereof aboard.

They leave the
harbour in 27
degrees and
50 min.

About 3 afternoone, M. Walker and many of our men being ashore, the winde came faire, and we layed out a warpe to the Northeast, and began to winde ahead. After we layed out another warpe with a bend, and wound to the plat, and so rid by it with one anker all night.

The 12 day about five a clocke in the morning, we set saile, and as we ran out betwixt the ledge of rocks and the maine, in eight fadome water, as we were cattring our anker, the cattrope, stopper, and all bzake; so that we were glad to let slip all the cable, and cast off our boat and skiffe to wey the same. After we had stood out a good way, the admirall was vnder saile: then cast we about and went roome with the admirall which weaued vs, who sent in his pinnelle and the Francis to helpe out our boats; so by the helpe of the admirals pinnelle, with her saile, we had our boat the sooner, and about 12 a clocke at noone had taken in the anker, cable, our long boat, skiffe, & all, and put out all our sailes bearing after the admirall, which went hence South by east. About sixe a clocke at night, being thicke weather, we lost sight of the land, being foure leagues off or thereabout. All night it was but little winde: yet went we our course South by west.

The 13 day about seuen afore noon, the wind blew at Southsoutheast, & was very foggy; with which gale we stood in larboord tacked West, till ten a clocke the same forenoone. Then had we sight of the land ahead, all along (for it waied cleere weather) it sheweth a farre off like white cliffes, but is all sandy hilles, and bayes along the sea side. At one a clocke after noone we were in 16 fadome water, and within halfe a league of the shore, where we saw seuerall fires made by the Indians to giue warning to the other people within the land, as we supposed. Then we cast about, and stood off Southeast by east till midnight, that the winde came large: then went we our course South by west till next morning.

The 14 day we went our course South by west, hauing sight of the land at sixe a clocke in the morning about seuen leagues off: and so went till sixe at night, that wee saw land againe seuen leagues off West, and the winde shifted to the South. Then we cast about, and stood off Eastsoutheast at seuen at night for a while: then came by the winde at Northwest, and blew agood.

The 15 day in the morning, the admirall was ahead, as farre as we could almost see her, by whose default I know not; and being little winde, we could not get to her till foure of the clocke after

after noone : then we hayled her , and stood in betweene the Southsouthwest and the Southwest till fire at night, that the winde was variable, and foule weather. Then we cast about, and sounded in 23 fadome soft oaze, and stood off a while North-east; and presently cast about againe, and went South by East larboord tacked, and Southsoutheast among all night : finding at foure in the morning 15 fadome sand.

The 20 day, about ten a clocke afore noone, we went aboard the admirall; viz. M. Walker, the master, the pilot, the two merchants, and my selfe, being directed so to doe by the Generall. Upon our comming the generall was going to dinner, where wee also dined with him. Having dined, the generall called vs his assistants into his cabbin, and there deliuered to vs in writing two demands, to be by vs considered vpon, and he to haue our opinions therein.

The effects of the demands were these.

1 Whether it was best for vs to aduenture our selues to passe the streights of Magellan or not; considering the force of the enemy, which we knew to be there before vs: and also that our determination was there to set by our pinnelle, make yron hoops, carene our ships, and do all our necessary businesse for the full accomplishment of our voyage.

2 If that course were not thought best, which way were meetest for vs to take.

To the first we were of opinion, that it were good to heare the opinions of captaine Hawkins, captaine Drake, and the two pilots, which had passed the streights, and knew the harbours, and likeliest places to be fortified, and inhabited or not, who were called, & the three matters with them. Their opinions were as diuers as their names; & as much differed, as before this time they were wont vsually to doe: onely they all agreed in this one point, that it was impossible for vs to passe the streights without seeing, and incountring with the ships, although the fortification of the land did not annoy vs: which being long and thorowly debated, and their opinions with the three matters demanded, which accorded not scant any one with other, they were dismissed.

Then the generall receiued the opinions of vs his assistants, beginning with the yongest in authoritie first: which when he had heard them all ouer, and being set downe in writing vnder our hands, he tooke deliberation till after supper to giue his determination.

When we had all supped, then he sent for vs downe into his cabbin, and deliuered in writing his determination, (which was) to victuall, and furnish our selues on this coast, before he proceeded any further; and named two places, The riuer of Plate, or S. Vincent, to be chosen.

For the better deciphering of the riuer of Plate, & the commodities thereof, was called before vs, Richard Carter, which doth dwell there; who could not assure vs of any wine, except we could stay foure moneths for it: but other victuals plenty. The riuer is shoale and dangerous, the road seven leagues from any towne, or place of commodity: which considered, with the trechery that might from thence be vsed, into the streights by sea, and into Peru by land, we all concluded to go to S. Vincent, which place is inhabited with Portugals, and where in honest sort we might conveniently haue all our businesse done.

With this resolution we tooke our leaues about eight a clocke at night, & being come aboard, presently bare vp, and went roome, hauing all the day before beat by the winde larboord-tacked Eastsoutheast till at night: after it was a little winde all night, we went North next hand.

The 21 day, after seruite, I declared vnto my company the intent of our returne to the port of S. Vincent, where with they were well satisfied, being before doubtfull that we should not proceed, but returne without performance of our voyage. It continued calme all day till six at night, then we went Northwest by west till eight at night, and then we cast about, and stood off East-southeast, and East by south all night with a good gale.

The 22 day in the morning we missed the Francis, which by all presumption went roome in the beginning of the night.

The 25 day, being Christmasse day, it was little winde in the forenoone till ten a clocke; then it blew a fresh gale, with which wee went our course Northnortheast. In the afternoone it was lesse wind: yet went we our course North by east, and Northnortheast, and North, and North by west, till midnight. Then being in shoaled water, wee cast about, and lay Southsoutheast, and Southeast by south, an houre; and seeing our admirall came not after vs, we cast about backe againe, and presently met him: so we went both together next hand Southsoutheast all the rest of the night. This afternoone we saw the skim of fishes so thicke in the sea, that it seemed a water troubled with trampling of horses; which was thicke, and limy: for we had taken by some of it.

The 17 day of January, about seuen a clocke, the master, M. Blacoller, and I went in our skiffe, and rowed, and sounded round about an ile, and found 16 fadoms within a stones cast hard aboard the shoze, and faire ground: after we landed, and found nothing but woods and bushes,

Small map of the South Atlantic showing the route of the expedition.

Richard Carter the Englishman taken in the prize, carried along with them.

They returned in the latitude of 33.

John Drake the Francis went to the riuer of Plate, where his ship was cast away, but the men got to land, and lived 15 moneths among the Salvages.

Infinite number of fish.

29 small island
to which our me
called Faulcon
isle.

and strange woymes: we saw a faulcon, and one other small bird, and therefore named it Faulcon ile: it is a mile about, with a rocke on the East side, which lieth close to it, and it is in sight without danger. After we came aboord, and dined; at two a clocke we set saile with winde South-east, and ran in North-east a while, till the winde scant: then we went in North-north-east, till we were in seven fadome and a halfe of water, within a league of shore: then we cast about, and stood off South-south-east all night, till five a clocke the next morning.

The 18 day about thzee a clocke, afoze day, we saw our admirall againe, and kept her company till day.

Citron Isle,

The 19 day, being within a league of the Citron ile, about eight a clocke afoze noone, we went aboord the general, viz. M. Walker, the master, the pilot, and my selfe, reioycing of our good meeting, who tolde me of their euill road, where they lost an anker, a cable, and a haulser, and how the day before, their pinnelle was ashore on the same island, and found fowle, and water there, whither now they had sent their boat and pinnelle for more water, where I know they had small store.

I also taking captaine Parker, the master, and M. Wilks with me, went ashore, and trauelled to the top of the ile, which is wooded, and high grasse, but euill water, and little on it, but poong fowle plenty, and dangerous comming to them. By this time (I hauing let the isles, and headlands about in sight with a compasse) came a small gale at South-south-east; then our admirall shot off a piece for the boats, and hence I went, and dined aboord with him, and came after aboord, and went in North-north-east and North-east till morning: at which time wee were within a league of the isle, entering before S. Vincent, but knew not how much water was upon the barre to go out.

Their arrivall
at S. Vincent,

Three canoes of
Portugals &
Indians.

The 20 day in the morning, being calme, the generals pinnelle came in to the shore, with intent to sound the entrance, but seeing thzee canoes, with ech at the least twenty men, whereof the greater part were naked Indians, which rowed, the rest Portugals, they returned aboord againe. The canoes came with a flag of truce within, calling of our ship, and we shewed them the like, asking what we were, and of what nation: at length one Portugall went aboord the admirall, by whom the generall sent a letter to the gouernour, crauing a pilot to bring in our ship of courtesie, and to haue traffique. About noone, hauing the winde at South, we bare in North-west, and so to the North-east, as the chanell trended: but comming into seven fadome water, we ankered, vntill our boats had sounded the barre. During which time, I went aboord the admirall, to conferre with him about our proceedings.

After I had stayed a while aboord the admirall, the generall came aboord with me, where we published vnto all my company very good rules for their behauiour and profit, to their great satisfaction: after he went downe into my cabbin, where with all his assistants he conferred of diuers particulars of our voyage: by which time the boat being returned from sounding, we departed, and set saile; following our skiffes, and with our ships got within the barre into seven fadome: then being becalmed, we ankered againe before a sandy bay, wherein stands a castle and houses: we rid within musket shot of it: and ankered about foure a clocke afternoone.

21 castle.

Then went I forwards with my skiffe vnto a further point, sounding along. Before my returne, the generall had sent for me to supper; and thither I went: but being ready to sit downe, there came out vs a canoa, wherein were ten Indians and two Christians; the one an ancient Genouois, the other a Portugall; who came aboord, and there receiued a small banket, declaring their comming was to vnderstand our intents, and what we sought: who being satisfied, departed with a farewell of thzee great pieces from ech ship.

22 canoa with
ten Indians
and two Christians, where
of one was an
old Genouois,
John Whitehall
an Englishma
which dwells
at Santos,
hath married
this Ioseph Dorys
daughter.

The 21 day about thzee a clocke afternoone, came a canoa, with the old Genouois named Ioseph Dory, a Fleming named Paul Badeues, and Steuen Repose a Portugall, and brought a letter from the gouernour, and withall, answere of feare and doubtes of vs, &c. After many speeches and requests, a banket was made them, and the generall in his pinnelle with his muslicke, & trumpets; and I in my skiffe with trumpets, drum and fife, and taboz and pipe, accompanied them a mile by the riuer: at going off, we saluted them with a volley of thzee great pieces out of ech ship: and after vs came captaine Parker with the admirals long boat, and certeine shot in the same, to attend on the generall.

Santos.

The 22 day betimes in the morning, I went aboord the admirall to conferre about the sending of some token and present to the gouernour, which was by all the assistants determined to send him thzee yards of fine skarlet, & thzee yards of fine murrey-cloth; and to Ioseph Dory the old Genouois, Steuen Repose the Portugall, and to Paul Badeues the Fleming, ech of them thzee yards of fine blacke cloth, which our merchants went by to Santos withall in the admirals skiffe, about nine a clocke afozenoone.

Also this forenoone, we being minded to goe by higher with our ships into harbour, I aduised them

them to goe view the place, and found the road before we went up; which we did: where were found the place both unconuenient, and the road woofle: and so we returned, and left the first determination. This day we tooke downe our main-tops, and top-mast, and all the shrouds,

About two a clocke after noone our merchants returned with their presents, not hauing bene at the towne, because Steven Repose by the way met them on the riuer, and aduised them to stay vntill there had bene word sent to the gouernour, who was vnwilling to speake with them yet, but shortly would send their answer.

The rest of this forenoone we spent in communication about the appointing of a purser for the Edward. Also we signed an assent for comming to this place: about which thing grew foule speeches betweene the generall and his lieutenant, after the olde custome,

Then went wee to supper: and being at supper, certaine Indians came aboard, and brought the generall a strange crow, and potatos, and sugar canes, to whom he gaue looking glasses, great pinns, and biscuit: and so we departed, being late. Also this afternoone I ran ouer towards S. Vincent, and sounded the bay a league ouer, and found the chanell and flats, and returned aboard againe within two houres, hauing a good gale of winde.

The 23 day our skiffe went ashore to fish, and tooke pretty store: we sent our main-top ashore to be mended, and many of our men to wash their clothes; also I went my selfe with them aland, to take order that no man should any wayes offend the Indians. In the meane time the generall with all the rest of the chiefest gentlemen, came ashore, and viewed the place, and appointed out the fittest roome to set vp our smithes forge, and ouens to bake our biscuit, and place for our coopers to trim our water cask.

The 24 day at foure of the clocke, before day, we heard one call for a boat on the North shore, to whom I sent my skiffe, who brought aboard one named Iohn Whitehall, an English man, which is married here in this place, and with him two of his Indians; whom I entertained vntill I sent word to the generall to prepare himselfe to receiue him: in which time he and I talked of many seuerall particulars.

About five a clocke I conueyed him aboard the admirall: there he discovered vnto vs what had bene done at the towne, as fortification, and sending their wiues away, &c. aduising vs to receiue no more delapes, but to come vp presently before the towne with our ships.

About ten a clocke came a canoa, and brought downe Ioseph Dory and Steven Repose, who tolde vs that on Saturday the gouernour would meet our generall, and talke with him, praying vs in the meane time to vse our ordinary businesse of cooperage, carpenters worke, filling water, fishing, and washing, &c. but not to set vp forge, nor ouen, vntill speech had with the gouernour. After this answer, we dined together aboard the gallion: after dinner we left the messengers sitting in the cabbin, and went vpon the poope; where the generall demanded the aduice of his assistants, whether it were not best to stay these men while we had them or not, or whether it were best to go vp with our ships to the towne or no.

Whereunto ech man paused to make answer: wherefore I deliuered my opinion; which was, that we were forbidden to vse violence to any nation for trade.

Secondly, I considered that diuers of our nation, worshipfull merchants, and now aduenturers in this voyage, had set out the Minion hither, and begun a trade, which with our forcible dealing might be spoiled, and our nation brought in harred.

Lastly, that with force we were not like to attaine so much commodity, as we were in possibility to haue with courtesie.

Whereupon all was concluded, and they suffered to passe away: to whom the generall gaue the three cloake-clothes, to Ioseph Dory, to Paul Baudese, and to Steven Repose, to ech of them one, which were before cut out for them: and so friendly we and they departed about two a clocke after noone.

About foure of the clocke this afternoone we saw three saile of ships come bearing in about the point, which alsoone as they saw vs, ankered vpon the barre, and put themselves in readinesse, sending from one ship to another with their boats, and blowing off their ordinance, meaning to take vs: and we before night, getting our men and other necessaries from the shore, which were busse on land, armed our ships to defend our selues. Then went I aboard the admirall to know what he meant to do: who determined to set his watch in warlike sort; and so he did: for after the trumpets and drum had sounded, he shot off a great piece, as they before had done; and presently the viceadmirall shot at me, whom I answered with another, and so ceased. We then set vp our main-top, and top-mast, rigged before eleuen of the clocke the same night. In the meane while they let slip their ankers and cables, and came driuing and towing with their boats in vpon vs,

The Indians presents.

The chanell of S. Vincent sounded.

Portable ouens to bake in.

Iohn Whitehall.

Good counsell by the foresayd Englishman giuen to our men.

The Minion of London some time in Brasil for traffiques.

Three Spanish ships discovered.

The fight be-
tween the En-
glish & Spa-
nish ships at
S. Vincent.

The Spanish
viceadmirall
sunke by the
English.

This Greeke
tolde the Ge-
nerall there
were 600 and
odde in the 3
Spanish
ships.

Here the galli-
on and the Ed-
ward Bonau-
cure were seue-
red, and neuer
met afterwarde

meaning to haue boorded vs: and being neere our admirall, he halled them; who refused to tell of whence they were, thinking by spending of time to get aboord of him: to whom I called still to beware, and to shoot at them in time. At length he let flie at them, yet was glad to let an anker and cable slip to auoid them: then came they all driuing downe chwart my haulse, so that I was faine to let slip an anker and cable to shun the gallion. All this while the ordnance and small shot plyed of all parts, and I was faine to send the gallion my skiffe with a haulser to ride by, for shee was loose, and with the flood draue by within me. Then was the viceadmirall on my broad side, who was well payed before, yet I left not galling of him, til I thought our powder spent in vaine to shoot at him, he was so tozne, and broken downe by vs. About foure of the clocke it rained so fast, that we could scant discerne one the other, the Moone being gone downe, yet rid the admirall, and the rereadmirall, but a litle ahead of vs: during which time, we paused, and made ready all our munition.

The 25 day, by day-light, we saw the viceadmirall sunke hard by vs, so that his yards which were hoisted acrosse, and his tops, and that ouer head, was aboue water: most of their men were gotten away in their boats, sauing about fourtie persons which hung in the shrowds, and coppes, whom I aduised our generall to send for away, and had made ready, and well manned our pinnesses; but being vpon the way going, the generall called them backe, and would not suffer them to goe. There were three of their boats also going for them from their ships; at whom I shot, and made them to retire, and leaue them vpon the shrowds. At length our generall sent for two of the men away: which his pinnesse brought to him; the one was heaued ouer boord, because he was soze hurt, not like to liue; and he was a Parillian; the other was a Greeke, borne in Zante, boat-swaine of the viceadmirall: the rest of the men, some swam away vpon rafts, some were drowned, and some remained still hanging on her. By this time it was faire day-light, and I called to our generall to wey, and driue downe to them, who required mee to goe first and anker on their quarter, and he would follow, and anker on their bowes. I weyed, and went downe, and ankered by them; yet not so nere as I meant, for the ebbe put me off to the Northwards. There rid I alone, spending shot at them, and they both at me, foure houres, before our admirals anker would come by: during which time, I had some spoile done; but when our admirall came, he had her part, and eased me very well.

At length our admirall began to warpe away, and being come without me, set saile, and began to stand out into the sea: I went aboord of him to know his pleasure. Who determined to get out of shot; but could not, because the winde scanted on them. The Edward before she could get by her ankers, endured many more shot, after the gallion was further off a good way then she, and sometime the gallion had two or three. Thus we ended about two of the clocke after noone: the rest of this day and part of the night, we spent in mending, sitting, and putting our ordnance and furniture in order for the next morning, thinking they would haue bene with vs.

The 26 day in the morning we could not see them, because they were gone by the riuer: wee manned our boats and pinnesses, and weyed two ankers and one cable, that they let slip the night before: as our men were weying the third anker, the bwoy-rope brake, and so we lost that anker. Our admirall had an anker of twelue hundred, and a good cable of eleuen inches, and we had an anker about fife hundred, with a piece of a basse cable, and bwoy-rope nothing worth.

After dinner I went aboord the admirall, to confer with him, who determined to go off to sea, and thither I caried Sennor Pinto to interpret the Indian language, with an Indian named Peter, which fled from the bay where we rid in a canoa, and brought with him a Spaniards caliuier, flaske, and touchpore, to goe with vs, whom our admirals boat met, and brought him aboord to the admirall. Hee tolde vs that the Spaniards had brought many dead men on land, and buried them, and also landed many hurt men in their bay, and that there were certeine Spaniards gone ouer thozow the woods to looke after vs. Then the Generall, captaine Hawkins, and master Maddox came aboord of mee to biewe my hurt men, and harmes of my shippe, both men, shippe, and tackle; and I also went aboord him to peruse his hurts, who had but one man, a sailer, slaine.

The 28 day in the morning died Lancelot Ashe, of a hurt; who departed very goodly. This day we stood to the Northwards: and in getting in our ankers and skiffe, we were put 3 leagues to leeward of Fiddle ile, but the gallion rid still.

The 29 day in the morning, seeing my selfe put to sea from the admirall, I assembled master Walker, master Shawe, master Ieffries, the master, the masters mate, and the pilot, to whom I shewed that I was desirous to goe backe to seeke our admirall, whereunto the master, pilot, and masters mate answered directly, that wee could not fetch the ile where wee left them,

them, and to meete them in going backe it was very vnlikely and to vs dangerous many wayes, as well for falling into the laps of the Spaniards, as to be put on a lee shoare: whereupon all the rest aduised me to stand off into the sea, whereunto I assented, remembering withal, that time spent consumed victuall, and howe long wee had beaten vp and downe in the same bay before, to get in with calmes and contrary windes.

Thus wee concluded that M. Walker should set downe each mans opinion, and wee set to our handes, and from henceforth hee to keepe a Register of all our proceeding, as M. Maddox did aboard the Admirall.

The first day of February, wee went East by South, and East Southeast with a stoute gale: and went the same course the 3. 4. and 5. dayes following.

The 5. day about 10. a clocke in the forenoone M. Walker died, who had bene weake and sicke of the bloodie fluxe 6. dayes, wee tooke a view of his things, and pyried them, and beaueed him ouerboard, and shot a peece for his knell.

M. Walker the
Preacher died.

The 14. day I called into my cabbin the two marchants, the Master and the Pilot, shewing them our wants of victuals and other necessaries: whereupon they and I concluded, that it was best for vs to returne to our countrey, with as litle losse of time and expence of victuals as might be, being without hope of reliefe vpon this coast, and yet to keepe the coast of Brasil to friend for feare of extremitie.

The 17. day in the morning hauing much raine, wee saued about two tunne of water, of which we were very glad.

The 18. day I obserued the variation of the compasse, which varied one point, and a halfe to the Southwards, by our ordinary compasse of London.

Variation of
the Compasse.

The second day of March the Master, Pilot, & I agreed to fetch the yle of Fernando Loronha. From the 3. day to the 10. day we went West, and by South, and ran in for the shoare.

The 10. day we saw the land, which was sandie hilles with woods on it.

The 11. day seeking to goe a shoare, wee sawe foure men, which weaueed to vs with a white shirt, and we weaueed to them with a flagge of cruce: At length one of them swamme to our boats side, and there lay in the Sea talking with vs, almost an houre: in the ende, being partly perswaded by Pinto, who talked with them in the Indian tongue, and partly entised with such trifles as I shewed him, hee came into our Skiffe, and called to his companions on shoare, who came aboard swimming: wee deliuered them certaine barricos to fetch vs them full of fresh water: after, there came downe 40. Indians, boyes, women, and men, and with them a French boy, but the former Indians deceiued vs of our barricos. Whereupon Pinto and Russell swamme a shoare to seeke water, but found none.

The same day wee sailed to a place where boats might land, & I went a land in my Skiffe, and found the Indians, and Frenchman which were with mee the day before, and they brought our three barricos full of fresh water: for which I rewarded them with some trifles. In the meane time our boat went ashore, and our men with some of the Indians brought vs twentie barricos more of fresh water, and I my selfe went to shoare and brought 23. hemmes of India.

The 12. day betimes in the morning, wee manned our boat and Skiffe, and tooke some trifling things to shoare, and barricos: at our first arriuall the rude Indians flocked together, wading to the Skiffe wherein I was, begging, and wondering about vs: First I caused them to fetch 27. barricos of water, whom I rewarded with small bells, &c. In the meane time they brought hens to me, wading to the Skiffe, for I kept my selfe alwayes afloat, and for their hens I gaue them a knife, and a smal looking glasse. All this while M. Blackcoller our Pilot, Thomas Russel, Marke Thawghis were still on shoare, and would not carry aboard: In the ende, fearing some treacherie, because all the Indians were slipped on shoare from mee, I called our men away, and suddenly they layed handes on our men ashore, and with their bowes shot thicke at vs in the boats, and waded into the water to vs, laying handes on our Skiffe, yet God of his mercie deliuered vs from their hands, with the losse of five men slaine, and others hurt.

Creation of the
Indians.

Thus we got aboard with 40. hens, ducks, turkies, and parrats, and three hogtheads of water: and I carried a Frenchman aboard with mee, named Iaques Humfrey, who was by chance in the boat with me when this fray began.

Iaques Humfrey
a Frenchman
saueed.

The 17. day we tooke three sharks in the morning.

From that day to the first of April, wee went our course, sometime with raine, and sometime with variable windes, & so til the 4. of April: which day we saw 4. birds with long tailed, which hovered about the ship, and in the afternoone we saw and tooke vp many weedes which braue thicke in the sea, which we iudged to be giuen with the East windes from the ples of Cape verde.

From

As desperate
act.

Variation of
the Compasse.

To the north
ward.

To the north
ward.

The yle of
Sylly.

We came to
Plymouth.

1583.

To the north
ward.

To the north
ward.

To the north
ward.

To the north
ward.

From this day till the 11. day we went our course sometime Northeast, sometime Northwest according to the winds: upon this 11. day George Coxe one of our Carpenters, hauing the night before broken by the hold, and stolne wine, and drunken himselfe drunke, being taken in the roome, leapt ouerboard out of the beake head, and so drowned himselfe.

The 12. day wee spied our foremast to be perished in the lownes, and durst not beare our fore-top saile vpon it, but went hence with our sailes next hand, North all day and night.

From hence to the 20. day we went Northeast and by North. This day I obserued the variation of the compasse: and I noted that the South point of the compasse caried more then halfe a point to the Westwards.

The 25. day of May wee went betweene the East northeast, and the Northeast with a small gale till fise a clocke in the afternoone: then had we sight of land, which rose ragged to the Northwards like broken land, we being about fise leagues off: that yle bare Northeast by North of vs, and the Northmost part bare North by East of vs, with a rocke a sea boord: we then sounded, and had fiftie and fise fadome grey sand, and maze great store in it: so wee stood in Northeast till eight a clocke, and then behelde it againe being within foure leagues of it, bearing as before, but wee coulde not make it, for some thought it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, some iudged it the yle of Vllant: then we sounded againe in 55. fadome browne sand, and little maze in it: at eight a clocke at night we went about, and stood off South south west one watch, then the wind shynked to the South west, that we coulde lye but South south west fire glasses, so that at thre a clocke wee cast about, and lay North west fire glasses, and North north west a watch being then eight a clocke the next day.

The 26. day wee lay as nigh as wee coulde betweene the North and the North northeast, and saw the same land againe, and made it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, and the ragges to bee the Seames, which bare now East Northeast of vs: and wee stood on till tenne a clocke, then being within two leagues of the rockes and lesse, wee cast about and stood off South west, because wee coulde not double the uttermost rockes: when we were about we draue to the Southwards very fast, for the ebbe set vs West south west, and being spring tides, it hoysed vs a pace to leeward, for the space of one houre: then with the flood which was come, we draue againe to windwards: at twelue at noone it was calme till 6. afternoone, then wee stood about larboord tacked, South south west one watch, then at midnight wee cast about and stood ouer North till foure afozennoone.

The 27. day hauing brought the land East southeast of vs, we made it to be Sylly being before deceiued, and went hence East by North to double Grimsbie, leauing The bishop and his clearks to the South westwards, which we before tooke to be The Seames.

At 7. a clocke in the afternoone we sawe the lands end of England, which bare East by North off vs, and is 7. leagues off from Sylly.

The 29. day at fise a clocke beforenoone we had brought the Ramhead North of vs, and were within a league of it, and went in Northeast next hand, being thicke and foggie, and little winde: so that at eleuen a clocke we got in within the yland, and there by mistaking of a sounding, our ship came aground betweene the yle and the maine, and there sate till 4. a clocke in the afternoone that it was halfe flood.

The 30. day about 9. a clocke, with much adoe I furnished away P. Ieffries, M. Symberbe, and William Towreson with letters, after dined at M. Blacollers, and made many salutations with diuers gentlemen.

The 31. I wrought aboard all day, and put our ship, and things in order: Afternoone I hauing pitie of some poore men of Milbrooke, which were robbed the night before by a pirate named Purser, which rid in Cawson bay, I consented to goe out with the Edward in company of a small shippe which they had furnished to bee their Master, so about fise of the clocke in the afternoone, came a hundred men of theirs aboard of mee: About twelue a clocke wee set saile, and by thre afoze day wee were gotten to the windwards of him, then hee set saile, and went hence to the Eastwards, and outsailed vs, because our consozt would not come neere him: after a small chale which we gaue him to no effect, wee returned into our old road, and there moored the ship about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and hence went all the Milbrooke men againe ashore from mee. And thus I ended a troublesome voyage.

The

The voyage set out by the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yere 1586. intended for *The South sea*, but performed no farther then the latitude of 44. degrees to the South of the *Equinoctial*, Written by M. John Sarra coll marchant in the same voyage.



On the 26. day of June, in the yere 1586, and in the 28. yere of the Queenes maiesties raigne, wee departed from Grauesend in two ships; the Admirall called The red dragon, and the other The barke Clifford, the one of the burden of 260. tunnes, with 130. men, and the other of the burden of 130. tunnes, with 70. men: the Captaine of the Admirall was M. Robert Wichrington, Of the vice-admirall M. Christopher Lister, both being furnished out at the costs and charges of the right honorable the Erle of Cumberland, hauing for their masters two byethren, the one John Anthonie, and the other William Anthonie.

The 24. of July wee came into the sound of Plimmouth, and being there constrained by Westerly winds, to stay till the 17. of August, wee then departed with another ship also for our Rear-admirall called the Roc, whereof M. Hawes was Captaine, and a fine pinnelle also called the Dorothie, which was sir Walter Raleighs. The foure being out in the sea, met the 20. of August, with 16. sailes of hulkes in the Sleue, who named themselves to bee men of Hamborough, laden and come from Lisbone. Our Admirall hailed their Admirall with courteous wordes, willing him to strike his sailes, and to come aboord to him onely to know some newes of the countrey, but hee refused to do so, onely strooke his flag &ooke it in. The vice-admiral of the hulkes being a head, would neither strike flagge nor saile, but passed on without budging, whereupon our Admirall lent him a piece of Ordnance, which they repayed double, so that we grew to some little quarrel, whereupon one of the sternmost hulkes, being as I suppose more afrayde then hurt, strooke amaine, our Admirall being neere him, laid him aboord, and entred with certaine of his men, how many I know not, for that we were giuing chase to the Undermost men, thinking our Admirall would haue come vp againe to vs, to haue made them all to haue strooke: but the weather growing to be very thicke and foggie, with small raine, he came not vp but kept with another of the hulkes which Captaine Hawes had boarded and kept all night, and tooke out of her some prouision that that they best liked. They learned of the men that were in the hulke, that there were 7. hulkes laden in Lisbone with Spaniards goods, and because their lading was very rich, they were determined to go about Ireland, and so they let her goe againe like a goole with a broken wing.

The next day after being the 21. day, wee espied 5. sailes more, which lay along to the Eastwards, but by reason of the night which then was neere at hand, wee could hardly come to them. Yet at last we hailed one of the biggest of them, & they tolde vs that they were al of Hamborough: but another saide hee was of Denmarke, so that in deede they knew neither what to say, nor what to do. Our Admirall being more desirous to follow his course, then to linger by chaling the hulkes, called vs from pursuing them with his trumpet, and a piece of Ordnance, or els wee would haue seene what they had bene, and wherewith they had bene laden.

The 22. day because of contrary winde wee put into Dartmouth all 4. of vs, and taried there seuen dayes.

The 29. we departed thence and put out to Sea, and began our voyage, thinking at the first to haue runne along the coast of Spaine, to see if wee could haue mette with some good prize to haue sent home to my Lord: but our Captaine thought it not the best course at the last, but rather kept off in the sea from the coast. And vpon Saturday the 17. of September wee fell with the coast of Barbarie, and the 18. hailed in with the roade of Santa Cruz. The 21. day wee fell with one of the ylands of the Canaries, called Forteuentura. In running alongst this yland, we espied vpon a hill by the water side, one wauiug with a white flagge, whereupon wee manned both our boates, and sent them towards the shoare, to vnderstand what newes. They found them to bee two ragged knaues and one horseman, and they tolde vs that Lanzarota was taken, and spoyled in August by the Turkes: when we saw they had nothing else to say, we left them, and proceeded on our course, and fell againe with the coast of Barbarie.

The 25. day of September about 10. of the clocke we fell with Rio del Oro, standing iust vnder our Tropike: we anchored in the mouth of it in 8. fadom, the entrance of it is about 2. leagues ouer. And the next day our Captaine with the boate searched the riuer, and found it to be as broad 14. or 15. leagues by, as at the entrie of it, but found no towne nor habitation, saying that there came downe two poore men, and one of them spake good Spanish, and told our Captaine, that certayne Frenchmen vsed to come thither, and laded some oxe hides, and goats hides, but other com-

Lanzarota
spoiled by the
men of Algiers.

Rio del Oro, in
23. degrees and
a halfe.

Trade of the
Frenchmen in
Rio del Oro,
modest

moditie there was none. We departed thence the 27 day, & the last day of the moneth being calme we went aboard our General, & there consented to goe for Sierra Leona, to wood and water. From thence till the 10. of October wee were much becalmed with extreeme hot weather, much lightning, and great stoe of raine. This 10. day we sounded, finding a great current as we supposed by the rippling water, which after wee found to bee an ordinary tide, the flood setting to the North-west, and the ebb Southeast, and here we had but 18. fathome water, and no lande to bee seene: it was on the Southermost part of the shoules that lie in about 11. degrees, but halling South off againe, it presently deeped vnto 50. fathome, and after halling Southeast and by East, and East southeast, we sounded, but had no ground in 120. fathome.

Sierra Leona.

The 21. of October wee fell with land vpon the coast of Guinea, in the height of 8. degrees, a very high land, but of no great length: it was the high land ouer Sierra Leona. Wee were in to the land, and found neere the shoare moze water then in the offing: at the Northen end of the high land we ankered about a mile, and somewhat moze from the shoare in 11. fathome. To goe into the harbor of Sierra Leona we did boztow vpon the South side, hauing no ground in 10. fathome, halfe a mile from the shoare.

Vpon the Northside of this harbour is very shoale water, but on the Southside no feare, moze then is to be seene.

A towne of the Negros.

The 23. day being Sunday wee came to an anker in the bay of fresh water, and going ashore with our boate, wee spake with a Portugal, who tolde vs that not farre off there were Negros inhabiting, and that in giuing to the king a Botija of wine, and some linnen cloth, hee would suffer vs to water and wood at our pleasure. But our Captaines thinking it not good to giue any thing for that which they might take freely, landed, and certaine of our men with them, whereupon the Portugall and the Negros ranne all away into the woods. Then wee returned againe into our boates, and presently went and landed in another place, thinking to haue fetcht a walke, and so to come to our boates againe. But wandering through a little wood, we were suddenly and vnawares vpon a towne of the Negros, whereupon they strooke by their drumme, giuing withall a great shout, and off went their arrowes as thicke as haile. Wee were in number about 30. casualties, and 20. with our weapons, which wee also let flie into the woods among them, and what hurt we did, we know not.

A strange monster.

Then wee returned to our boates, and tooke wood and water at our pleasure, and reasonable stoe of fish, and amongst the rest we halled vp a great foule monster, whose head and backe were so hard, that no sword could enter it: but being thrust in vnder the belly in diuers places, and much wounded, hee bowed a sword in his mouth, as a man would do a girdle of leather about his hande, and likewise the ppon of a boare speare. He was in length about nine foote, and had nothing in his belly, but a certaine quantitie of small stones, to the value of a portell.

Another great and fine towne of the Negros.

The fourth of Nouember wee went on shore to a towne of the Negros, which stood on the Southeast side of the harbour, about a Sacar shot from the roade, which we found to be but lately built: it was of about two hundred houses, and walled about with mightie great trees, and stakes so thicke, that a rat could hardly get in or out. But as it chanced, wee came directly vpon a port which was not shut vp, where we entred with such fiercenesse, that the people fled all out of the towne, which we found to be finely built after their fashion, and the streetes of it so intricate, that it was difficult for vs to finde the way out, that we came in at. Wee found their houses and streets so finely and cleanly kept, that it was an admiration to vs all, for that neither in the houses nor streets was so much dust to bee found, as would fill an egge shell. Wee found little in their houses, except some matts, goards, and some earthen pots. Our men at their departure set the towne on fire, and it was burnt (for the most part of it) in a quarter of an houre, the houses being couered with reed and straw.

A towne burnt.

Rice in stacks.

After this wee searched the countrey about it, where wee found in diuers plaines good stoe of rice in stacks, which our men did beate out, and brought a bozt in the hulke, to the quantitie of 14. or 15. tunnes in both our ships.

Isles.

The 17. day of Nouember wee departed from Sierra Leona, directing our course for the Straights of Magellan. In this harbour diuers of our men fell sicke of a diseale in the belly, which for the time was extreeme, but (God bee thanked) it was but of small continuance. Wee founde also in diuers places of the woods, images set vpon pinnes, with diuers things before them, as eggs, meale, rice, round shot of stones, and diuers other things, such as the barbarous people had to offer by.

When we came neere to the Line, wee found it nothing so hot as it is at Sierra Leona, by reason of the great winde and raine.

About

About the 24. day of November one or two of our men died, and others also were sicke of a Calentura.

The second day of January we had a little sight of land, being about the height of 28. degrees to the Southward of the Line.

The 4. day wee fell with the shoare high and bold, being in 30. degrees, and a terse, little more or lesse. All of it to the Northward was a high land, but to the Southward it did presently faile, and was a very low land, and all sandie. About five leagues from the shoare wee sounden, and had about fiftene or sixteene fathome water, and blacke sandie oze. We thought to haue gone to the shoare, and to haue watered, but we could not discerne any good harbour, and therefore we cast off to seaward againe.

They fall with
an high land
in 30. degrees

The 12. day wee found our selues in 32. degrees and 27. minutes. From the day of the Natiuitie of Christ, till the 13. day of this moneth, although the Sunne was very neere vnto vs, yet we found no want of winds but variable as in England, & not so hot but that a mans shoulders might well digest a frize gowne, and his bellie the best Christmas cheere in England, yet wee for our parts had no want, but such as might content honest men.

The tenth day being about 8. leagues from the shoare, and a little short of the Riuer of Plate, it was my good happe to espie a saile, which was a small Portugal bound for the Riuer to a towne called Santa Fee: and from thence by horse and carts, the marchants, and part of their goods were to bee transported into Peru. This shippe being about the burthen of 45. or 50. tunnes, wee tooke that day about thre of the clocke, wherein there was for Master or Pilote an Englishman called Abraham Cocke bozne in Lee. We examined him and the rest concerning the state of the Riuer, and they told vs that there were in the Riuer five townes, some of 70. households, and some of more. The first towne was about 50. leagues by the Riuer called Buencs Ayres, the rest some 40. some 50. leagues one from another, so that the yppermost towne called Tucaman is 230. leagues from the entrance of the Riuer. In these townes is great store of cozne, cattell, wine, and sundry fruits, but no money of gold or siluer: they make a certaine kinde of slight cloth, which they giue in trucke of sugar, rice, Parmalade, and Sucker, which were the commodities that this shippe had.

A Portugal ship
taken, wherein
was for Pilot
Abraham Cocke
an English-
man, left there
before by the
Minion of Lon-
don 1587.

Five townes
vpon the riuer
of Plate,

They had aboard also 45. Negros, whereof euery one in Peru peeldeth 400. duckets a piece, and besides these, there were as passengers in her, two Portugal women and a child.

The 11. day wee espied another saile, which was the consort of this Portugall, and to him also we gaue chase, and tooke him the same day: hee was of the burthen of the other, and had in him good store of sugar, Parmalade, and Succats, with diuers other things, which we noted downe our booke. In this ship also we found about 35. Negro women, and foure or five friers, of which one was an Irish man, of the age of thre or foure and twentie yeeres, and two Portugal women also, which were bozne in the riuer of Ienero. Both these ships were bought in Brasil, by a yong man which was Factor for the bishop of Tucaman, and the friers were sent for by that bishop to possesse a new Monasterie, which the bishop was then a building. The hookes, beads, and pictures in her, cost (as one of the Portugals confessed) about 1000. duckats.

Another Portu-
gal ship ta-
ken.

An Irish frier
taken.

The bishop of
Tucaman in
the riuer of
Plate.

The netues of
Sp. Iohn Drake.

Richard Faire-
weather.

Of these ships we learned, that M. Iohn Drake, who went in consort with M. Fenton, had his Barke cast away a little short of the Riuer of Plate, where they were taken captiues by the Sa- uages, all sauings them which were slaine in the taking: the Sauages kept them for a time, and vled them very hardly, yet at the last Iohn Drake and Richard Faireweather, and two or thre more of their company with them got a Canoa, and escaped, and came to the first towne of the Spaniards. Faireweather is married in one of the townes, but Iohn Drake was carried to Tucaman by the Pilot of this ship, and was liuing, and in good health the last yeere. Concerning this voy- age of the Portugals they tolde vs that it was the thirde voyage that was made into the Riuer of Plate these 30. yeeres.

The 12. of January wee came to Seale pland, and the 14. day to the Greene pland, where go- ing in we found hard aboard the maine 8. fathome, 7. and 6. and neuer lesse then five fathome. There lies a ledge of rocks in the faire way, betwixt the pland and the maine, so that you must bee sure to hozrow hard aboard the maine, and leaue the ledge on the larbord side.

Seale- pland
and Gree-
pland.

One of the Portugals which wee caried along with vs in our shippe seemed to bee a man of ex- perience, and I entred into speach with him concerning the state of the Riuer: hee tolde mee that the towne of Buencs Ayres is from the Greene pland about leuentie leagues, standing on the Southside of the Riuer, and from thence to Santa Fee is 100. leagues, standing on the same side also. At which towne their shippes doe discharge all their goods into small Barkes, which rowe and towe by the Riuer to another towne called Ascension, which is from Santa Fee 150. leagues,

Buencs Ayres

Santa Fee.

leagues, where the boats discharge on shoare, and so passe all the goods by caris and hoxses to Tucaman, which is in Peru.

The towne of Ascension stands in a very fertile place, reaping corne twice in the yeere, with abundance of wine, cattell, and fruits. In the townes of Ascension and Tucaman a rapier of 20. rials of plate is worth 30. duckats, a bore of Parmalade 20. duckats; a looking glasse a foote o-uer is worth 30. li. pictures in tables of 14. inches, 30. and 40. li. a piece.

The 16. day wee went from Greene yland to the watering place, which is about a league to the Westward, where wee tooke in about 18. tunnes of water, and the 22. day came againe to Seale yland to make prouision of Seales, where a storme arose, which put vs in some danger, by the breaking of our anckers and cables, and the winde blew so colde, that wee much marueiled at it, considering the height of the place. I must needes in this place finde fault with our selues and the whole company, that riding in this Riuer 16. dayes, the chanell was not sounded, nor the way made perfect.

The 29. day wee tooke into our ship one Miles Philips, which was left in the West Indies by M. Hawkins.

The first of February I tooke the Sunne in 38. degrees. And the 3. day of I tooke it againe and found it to be in 41. degrees.

The 7. day of February our Captaine master Lister being in one of the prizes, boyled ouer boord his Gundelo, and went aboord the Admirall, and being there they sent their Gundelo aboord vs, for our Master, master Collins, and my selfe, & at our comming we were called into the Captaines cabbin, where were set in counsell for matters touching the state of our voyage, these men whose names are vnder written.

Master Robert Wichrington Captaine of the Admirall.

Master Christopher Lister Captaine of The barke Clifford.

John Anthonie, Master of the Admirall.

Thomas Hood Pilot for the Streights.

William Anthonie, Master of the barke Clifford.

David Collins. } Tristram Gennings.

Master William Wichrington.

Master Beumond Wichrington.

Master Wafnes. } Master Norton.

Master Wilkes. } Master Harris.

Thomas Anthonie.

Nicholas Porter.

The master Gunner :

And Alexander Gundie, his mate.

John Sarracol.

This company being all assembled together, the Master of the Admiral declared that the cause of our assembly was to determine after good aduice, what course or way were best and most likely to all mens iudgements to be taken. First for the good preferment of my Lords voyage, then the health of our men, and lastly the safegard of our shippes, and further shewed his minde to vs all in these wordes, as neere as I could cary them away.

My masters, my Lords determination touching this our voyage is not vnknown vnto you all, hauing appointed it to be made, and by the grace of God to be performed by vs for the South sea. But for as much as wee doe all see the time of the yeere to bee farre spent, as also the windes to hang contrary, the weather drabes on colder and colder, the nights longer and longer, our bread so consumed that we haue not left about two moneths bil ket, our drinke in a maner all spent, so that we haue nothing but water, which in so cold a countrey as the Streights, if we should get in, and bee forced there to winter, would no doubt be a great weakening to our men, and a hazard of the ouerthrow of the voyage: These things considered, both our Captaine, Master Hood, and I, doe rather thinke it good for the wealth of our voyage, the health of our men, and safetie of our ships, to goe roome with the coast of Brasill, where by Gods grace wee shall well victuall our selues, both with wine which is our greatest want, and other necessities.

Besides, it is giuen vs here to understand by the Portugals which we haue taken, that there is no doubt, but that by Gods helpe and our endeuour, wee shall bee able to take the towne of Baya, at our pleasure, which if wee doe put in practice, and doe not perforce it, being some what aduised by them, they offer to loose their liues. And hauing by this meanes victualled our selues,

we

wee may there spend vpon the coast some three or foure moneths, except in the meane time wee may happen vpon some good thing to content my Lord, and to purchase our owne credits: otherwise, wee may take the Spring of the yeere, and so proceede, according to my lords directions. And assure your selues (by the assistance of God) wee will not retorne without such benefite by this voyage, as may rebound to my lords profite, and the honour of our countrey. Nowe if there bee any of you that can giue better course and aduise, then this which I haue deliuered, let him speake, and wee will not onely heare him, but thanke him for his counsell, and followe it.

To this speech of M. Anthony, M. Lister our captaine answered in this sort: M. Withrington, & M. Anthony both, you know, that the last words that my lord had with vs in such a chamber were, that in any case we should follow our voyage only for the South sea, except by the way, we might perchance meete with such a purchase, as that wee might retorne with 6000 pounds: and therefore I see no safetie, howe wee may dare offer to goe backe againe, being so neere the Streights as we are: for my part I neither dare nor wil consent vnto it, except we be further forced, then yet wee are. My accompt is this, that he that dieth for this yeere is excused for the next, and I rather choose death, then to retorne in disgrace with my lord.

A resolute and
worthy speech
of captaine
Lister.

Hereunto both the captaine and master of the Admirall replied that they were all of that mind: yet notwithstanding, that in going roome the voyage was in better possibilitie to bee performed, then in wintering either in the Streights, or at Port S. Iulian, all things considered. And so agreeing, and concluding all in one, they were determined presently to beare vp.

The next day being the 8 of February, there fell out many and diuers speeches on each part concerning the altering of our course, some would continue for the Streights, and other some would not. Whereupon a viewe was taken in both ships of victuals, and reasonable store was found for both companies: and the winde withall comming to the North, we determined to take out of the prizes the best necessities that were in them, and so cast them off, and to plie for the Streights.

All this time wee held on our course, and the 15 day wee found our selues in the height of 44 degrees, but then the winde came to the South, with much raine, wind, cold, and other vntemperate weather, continuing in that sort five or sixe dayes, in which time we hulled backe againe into the height of 42 degrees.

They retorne
being in the la-
titude of 44
degrees.

Sunday being the 20 of February, our Admirall being something to the leeward of vs, and the storme somewhat ceased, put aboord his flag in the mizen shrouds, as a token that hee would speake with vs, and thereupon wee bare roome with him, and hauing halled one another, captaine Withrington shewed the disposition of all his company, which was rather to goe roome with the coast of Brasil, then to lie after that sort in the sea with foule weather, and contrary winds. Our captaine on the other side shewed the contrary disposition of his men, and company, willing notwithstanding to proceede: but in the ende, both the shippes fell asunder, and our captaine sayd, Seeing then there is no remedie, I must be content, though against my will.

The 21 day the weather grew faire, and the wind good at the South for the Streights, yet our Admirall bare roome still, we supposing hee would haue taken the benefit of the time: whereupon our whole company began to thinke of the inconueniences that would arise by deuiding our selues, and losing our Admirall, being very willing to continue their course, and yet not without the company of the Admirall. And then wee began to cast about after him, and at the last bare with him, and he tolde vs, that vpon a second viewe of the victuals, hee found their store so slender, and their want so great, that there was no remedie for them but to seeke some meanes to be relieved, which was the onely cause that hee bare Northward. This speech made vs of the barke to enter into a new consultation: and we found many of our men weake, and all our calli- uers not seruiceable, and the Smiths that should mend them to be in the Admirall. We considered also, that by breaking of company, eche ship should be the more weakened: wee continued in this consultation til the foure and twentieth day, and in all that time found master captaine Lister most desirous to accomplish, and to fulfill the voyage, and not willing in any case to turne his ship, but that the desire which we all had to continue in consort with our Admirall, made vs to thinke well of his company, and in fine, an agreement and conclusion was thus made on all sides, to follow the Admirall, without any more talke of the Streights till the Spring.

A final resolu-
tion to retorne

The 10 day of March, it fell out so vnfortunatly, that Samuel Teller our Masters mate, fell ouerboord, and so perished, we being not able by any meanes to recouer him.

The eight and twentieth day being in the height of one and twenty degrees, wee espied a saile, which wee iudged came out of the Streights, and had rich lading, but the night being at hand,

hand, we lost her very unluckily, and the next day could haue no sight of her.

The first day of April we fel with the land of Brasilia, in the height, as I iudge, of sixteen degrees and a tierce, and our Captaine went then aboard the Admirall, where they concluded to sende the pinnelle and our boate on shore for fresh water, because wee stood in neede of it, which did so with eightene good men, and three or foure tunne of water caske. They were from vs till the eighth day in the morning, at which time we espied them againe, and that day we came all together into the roade of Camana, where there came a Canoa aboard vs, and one of the chiefest Portugals that belonged to the place. Here wee tooke in beefes, hogs, water and wood at our pleasure, hauing almost no man able to resist vs, but some of our Portugals stole from vs in the Canoa.

The rode of
Camana.

They come in
to the riuer of
Baya.

The 11 day wee entred into the hauen of Baya, where wee were receiued at the point comming in, with two great pieces of Ordnance, which discharged bullets at vs five times a piece, but they lost shot and powder, and did vs no harme. After wee had passed the point, wee halled in for the roade as close as the wind would permit vs, but could not come so neere as we desired, and therefore we came to an anchor a faire birch off the towne, not without great store of shotte from thence, but yet our harme was none at all for ought they could doe.

At our comming in, wee found in the road eight ships and one carauel, of the which one was a hulke or double flieboat of the burden of two hundred and fifty tunnes, hauing in her 24 pieces of good Ordnance: shee with the rest of the ships, together with the towne, gaue vs shot, and shot, but not one touched so much as any of our sayles. And least wee should seeme in the meane time to be idle, we repayed for euery shot of theirs, two or three sometimes at the ships and the towne together.

The next day at night wee thought to haue halled in with the ships, and to haue fetched out some of them: but the wind blew then off the shore, so that wee could not possiblly doe it. And againe the next day at night we concluded to goe with our owne two boates, and two other boats of the countrey which we had taken before, which went with carauel-sayles, into the roade, and accordingly performed the same, notwithstanding the shot of the enemy. The Moone did shine, and gaue very good lighe, and in we went with our carauels and boates, and the shot came about our eares as thicke as haile: but the Portugals and the rest perceiuing vs no whit at all to shrinke or be dismayed, forsooke their ships, & began to prouide to saue themselves, some with their boats, some by swimming, and so wee entred the ships with a great howte, and found few to resist vs: but yet the shore not being a cables length from vs, they did so plie both their great and small Ordnance at vs, that it much annoyed vs: But yet for all that we made light of their shot, and our men of the barke Clifford entred the Admirall and Viceadmirall, and our Admirals men entred two other ships of the like burden, and presently euery one cut the cables in the haule, and so by the helpe of God in despite of them all, wee brought away foure of them. The least whereof was of the burthen of 130 tunnes.

They take 4
ships out of
the harbour of
Baya, notwith-
standing the
shot of the ene-
mie.

A hulke of
Flushing.

In this boile the hulke shotte at vs many times, but did no hurt at all: but at the last comming by the hulke towing our new prizes, we halled them and demanded whence they were, they answered vs of Flushing, and then we commanded him to wey anchor, and to come after vs: And not daring to refuse it, he did so, and brought with him a carauel with fortie or fifty butts of wine in her, and another small barke which had little or nothing in her: and rode by vs as one of our company, and was a ship of the burden of two hundred and fifty tunnes. Our hard happe was to find no great matter, either of marchandize or victuals in these ships, sauing in one of them we found foure butts of wine, in another two, in another one, and some fish, and all the rest of their lading was on shore.

All this was done vpon Easter eue, and we gaue thanks to God, that we had sped so well: and that very night there came a boate from the towne, with a Dutch merchant, and one Portugall, to offer some ransom for the ships, as they sayd, but as I iudge rather to espie our strength: we kept them that night aboard, and the next day we sent them to our Admirall.

The next day being Easter day arose a very great storme, insomuch that our carauel which we first tooke brake from vs, and one of our new prizes also, by meanes of the breaking of her cable, slipt away: whereupon, although the winde was great, and the sea troublesome, yet wee sent certaine of our men in our boat, to recouer them if they might, but we feare, that the rage of the weather hath caused vs to leese both our men and prizes.

In the midst of this storme, our two Spaniards which wee tooke in the riuer of Plate, seeing vs all busie about our prizes, beganne to thinke howe they might escape our hands, and suddenly slipt both out of one of the cabins windowes, and by swimming got a spoare, a thing which

which seemed to vs impossible, considering the outrage of the weather.

This storme continued long, and prevented vs of making our intended attempt against the towne, hauing as much to doe as possibly we might, in keeping our ships and prizes from running ashore, and falling into the hands of those that stood gaping greedily for our ruine.

The 19 day the storme being a little ceased, wee all weyed and came to an Island that lyeth next North-west from the bay, and the twentieth day we went on shore, and our carpenters set by our pinnesse.

The 23 day the people of the countrey came downe amaine vpon vs, and beset vs round, and shot at vs with their bowes and arrowes, but in short time wee caused them to retire, and many of them were caried away by the helpe of their fellowes, although wee had some of our men hurt with some of their arrowes.

The 24 day we receiued out of the carauel twelue butts of wine, and foure barrels of oyle, and halfe a quarter.

The 26 of April our pinnesse was lanchd: and the same day came downe vnto vs a great number of Portugals and Indians, with whom we skirmished the space of two houres to their cost.

The second day of May the Admirals boate went a shore with 14 men to fill water, and presently being on shore, they were intrapped with two or thre hundred Indians which assaulted the, and slew one or two of our men, but the rest escaped notwithstanding the number of the enemy, and came safe againe with water to the ship. We suffered this losse by meere negligence, & want of circumspection.

The 5 day the captaine of the Admiral himselfe tooke a small barke, his owne little carauel, our pinnesse and the Dutchmans boate, and at night went on shore to get victuals, amongst the bullocks which were in the fields: and in the morning they were gone so farre, that they were out of sight. Which being perceiued by the enemy, they presently made ready their galley for Admiral, with foure carauels, with as many men in them as possibly could thrust in & stand one by another: and they bare ouer with the North shore to meete with our pinnesse and boats: whereupon our men fell into great danger, although M. Lister our captaine dissuaded M. Wichrington from that attempt, by laying before him the danger both of himselfe and vs also, being so far one from the other. But being once gone, there was no remedie but they were to abide whatsoever might happen: we in the barke Clifford, although wee were weakely left, yet perceiuing the Galley to make after our men, weyed and pursued the galley, as nerre the shore as we could conveniently come for want of water: the hulke also weyed and came after vs to follow the enemy, but the enemy with his oares got sight of our pinnesse and boats before wee could, and bare directly with them: which being espied of our men, and they seeing no way to auoide them, made themselves ready (notwithstanding the great odds) to fight it out like men, and to liue and die together. The course that they tooke for their best aduantage vpon the sudden, was this: they went all into the pinnesse, and made fast the Dutchmans boate to one side, and the small carauel to the other side, and so waited the comming of the enemy, giuing them first of all a piece of Ordnance for their welcome, which they presently repaid againe with a piece out of the prow of the galley, and presently after, with thre or foure small brasse pieces, charged with haile shot, and so giuing a mighty shoute, came all aboord together, crying, entrad, entrad: but our men receiued them so hotely, with small shot and pikes, that they killed them like dogs. And thus they continued aboord them almost a quarter of an hour, thinking to haue deuoured our men, pinnesse and all. And surely to mans iudgement, no other thing was likely in regard of their great number, and the fewnes of our men, and they at the first thought all was their owne: but God, who is the giuer of all victories, so blessed our small company, and so strengthened their armes and mindes to fight, that the enemy hauing receiued a mighty foyle, was glad to ride himselfe from their handes: and whereas at their entrance, wee esteemed them to bee no lesse then betwixt two hundred and thre hundred men in the galley, we could scarce perceiue twenty men at their departure stand on their legs, but the greater part of them was slaine, many deadly wounded, their oares broken, & the departed from our men, hanging vpon one side, (as a Sow that hath lost her left eare) with the number of dead and wounded men that lay one vpon another. And whereas their comming aboard was in a great brauado, with drumme, shouting, and crying, they departed without either noise of drumme or speech.

We lost in this conflict of our men, thre onely, which were Alexander the Master Gunners mate, Laurence Gambrel a proper yong man of Hampton, and another that was master Benmans man. Some also were hurt with the arrowes of the enemy, but the wounds were curable: and thus it pleased Almighty God, of his great goodnes, to giue victory to 50 or 60 English-

in galley as
Baya.

in marvellous
defeat of the
Portugals by
a few of our
men.

men, againſt ſire or ſeven hundred Portugals and Indians, for which we ceaſed not to giue ſuch dutifull thanks to his Maieſtie, as ſo miraculous a victorie required.

Now touching the purpoſe of our men, who made that attempt for freſh victuals, their labour was nothing loſt, but in deſpice of the enemy they brought to our ſhips 16 or 17 pong bullockes, which was to our great comforts and refreshing. As for vs that were in our ſhip, we could not come neere them by two miles, or more, to giue them any aid, yet we ſuppoſe that the countenance of our ſhips was an encouragement to our men, and ſome manner of feare to the enemy.

Now whereas our opinion concerning the number of the Portugals and Indians, which were ſlaine, as aforeſayd, was grounded at that time vpon our probable coniecture, not being able otherwiſe to come to the knowledge thereof: you ſhall vnderſtand that the next night after the fight, there came aboard vs two Indians vpon a Gyngetho, who were runne away from their maſters, and they told vs for a very good truth, that the gallie went out from the towne with foure hundred men in her, but there came not backe to the towne againe alieue about thirty of them all: and I amongſt the reſt being deſirous to know of one of them, what the newes was at the towne, he answered me with great laughter: *Todo eſta cacado en Tierra.*

About 260
Portugals &
Indians ſlain.

The twelfth day I was ſent for to come aboard the admirall, about the hulke: where vpon the complaint of the Dutchmen, maſter Wichrington entred into bond to them for the payment of their freight, but how my lord would like that bond of debt at our returne, I knowe not. I gaue him my aduiſe and counſell to get his bond againe into his hands.

The thirteenth day our captaine ſent out of our ſhip certaine victuals vnto the Admirall, as one butte of dight riſe, two cheſts of cleane riſe, one barrell of oate-meale, one barrell of peafon, and one barrell of oile, becauſe they were ſomewhat ſcanted of victuals, and we at this time were to haue out of the Admirall our part of ſire and twenty cheſts of ſine ſugar, and more, of eight cheſts, and ſire cheſts that were taken in the Bay of Todos Santos, at the Ingenios, more of one hundred and thirty hats, and other diuers pillages, which were taken in the prizes, and at the ſhoze.

The foureteenth day being Monday, it was concluded amongſt vs all, not to leaue the towne of Baya ſo, but notwithstanding the time that they had to ſtrengthen themſelues and the towne, yet to giue an attempt for the winning of it: and therefore wee prouided our pinnelles, carauels, and boates for the enterpriſe: and as we were departing from our ſhippes, the winde turned directly contrary to our courſe, ſo that our determination for that time was broken, and wee returned againe to our ſhips: and to ſay the truth, if the weather and winde had ſerued, our attempt had bene very deſperate, conſidering the number of Portugals and Indians which were then gathered together, to the number of ſeven or eight thouſand, and their artillery vpon the ſhoze, playing vpon vs: but neuertheleſſe we had proceeded, if the winds had ſauoured vs.

The 16 day we went to certaine Ingenios of the Portugals, where we found the people fled and we entred their houſes without reſiſtance. We found in their purging houſe 1000 pots of ſugar, ſome halfe purged, ſome a quarter, and ſome newly put into the pots: ſo that euery man tooke his pot of ſugar for their prouiſion, and ſet all the reſt on fire.

The 17 day wee all weyed to goe to another Ingenio, to ſee if wee could find there better ſugar, and in the way we met with a prize, which was a carauel, which wee found vniuing with the weather, and entred her, and had in her onely three Faulcons of yron, which our pinnelle brought away, and ſet the ſhip on fire. Dalaſmor in the ſmall prize ran ſo farre in, that hee brought his ſhip on ground, where ſhee lay three or foure houres, till ſuch time as there came from the towne ſine carauels full of men, which being perceiued of vs, our captaine with our men went to him to ayde him. The carauels came within Faulcon ſhot of vs, but durſt come no neerer, leſt they might haue caſted of the like banket, that they receiued the laſt time. About halfe flood came the galley againe, and three carauels more, but before they came, the barke was a floate, and ſet ſayle: and then they all went to gard their Ingenios, which we had purpoſed to viſit: but the night comming on, perſwaded vs to the contrary.

They returne
againe to Baya.

The 19 day we ſet ſayle to goe into the roade of Baya againe, with our pinnelles, and a flag of cruce, to ſee if we could recouer our foure men, which remained alieue of thoſe ten, that periſhed in our boate, of whom we ſpake before, which foure were vnforgunately fallen into their hands: but they at our approaching neere the towne, ſhot at vs, and wee as ready as they, gaue them in all 27 ſhot, and ſo ankoyed a little from the towne, to ſee what they would doe.

The 20 day riding ſtill before the towne, our Admirall ſent a Negro aſhoze, with letters from the Portugals, that wee had priſoners aboard: the effect of which letters was, that if we might haue our men releaſed and deliuered vs, they ſhould haue theirs from our ſhips.

The

The next day in the morning, in stead of their bloody flagge, they put by two white flagges, and sent a Gingacho off to vs with two Indians, with letters of answere from the Gouvernour: but they would not consent in any case that we should haue our men, and willed their Portugals to take their captiuitie patiently, for they would not reueeme them: a motion they made in their letters, to buy againe one of their prizes, which we had taken out of the rode: but our admirall answered them, no, seeing they detained our men, wee would keepe both their men, and ships too. The same euening we weyed, and came out of the hauen, halfe a league to seaward.

The 22 we set saile to sea, and the 23 came to an Island twelue leagues to the Southward of Baya, to wood, and water.

The 24 day being aboord with our pinnesses, we met with a Canoa, wherein was one Portugall, and five Indians: we shot at the Canoa, and killed an Indian, and tooke the Portugall, and one of the Indians, and brought them aboord our shippes: we there examined them, and the Portugall confessed that there was a shippe laden with meale, and other victuals, bound for Fernambuck, but put into a creeke, because she durst not goe along the coast, hearing of our shippes. Whereupon we manned both our pinnesses, and tooke the Portugall with vs, to goe and seeke the same ship, but that night we could not find her.

The 26 day we went againe, and found her, being halled by into a creeke, where a man would haue thought a shippe boate could not haue entred: wee found her inuene laden with meale principally: but she had also in her fourteene chests of sugar, of which two were in powder, and twelue in loaves. This ship was of the burden of one hundred and twenty tunnes, and a new ship, this being the first voyage that euer she made, and as the Portugall confessed, shee was freighted for Fernambuck, but the men of Baya hauing great want of bread, bought both the ship and her lading, and so thought to stay her in this creeke, till we were gone off the coast: but it was our good hap to disappoint their pretense, and to fetch her from thence, where they thought her as safe as if she had bene at Lisbon.

The 28 day we deuided the meale amongst vs, according to the want of euery ship.

The 30 day, 16 or 17 Dutchmen went with their boate from the hulke to shoare, to fill water: and vpon a sudden they were assaulted with fifty or sixty Portugals, and so many more Indians armed with shot and other weapons, and they slew their Master and Purser, and the rest were hurt, but yet escaped with their liues: a good warning for vs to bee circumspect, and carefull in our landing.

The last day of May wee cast off one of our prizes, which wee called the George, and our Admirall and the hulke tooke the men and other necessaries out of her, into them. The same day the Portugals which had hurt the Dutchmen came to the shoare, and dared vs to come on land: whereupon wee went into our pinnesses with sfortie shot: but the cowardly villanes ranne all away to the hills, from the water side: but master Lister with nine men followed them, and they fled still before them, and durst not stay their appoach: so they came backe againe, and wee filled water quietly, and at our pleasure.

The third day of June our captaine master Lister, hauing a great desire for the performance of this voyage, according to my Lords direction, went to our admirall, and requested him to giue him five butts of wine, one barrell of oile, three or foure barrells of flesh, and to haue Thomas Hood and seuen or eight seamen for some of our landmen, and by Gods help, he with the barke Clifford, would alone proceede for the South sea: but the admirall mightily withstood his motion, and would grant no iote of his particular requests.

The 7 of June, hauing no vse at all of our prizes, we burnt one, and cast off another, and filled our owne ships with the necessaries of them.

The 8 day wee put off to sea, but yet with much adoe came againe to our ankozing place, because of the weather.

The 10 day the admirall sent for vs to come aboord him, and being come, hee opened a Carde before all the company, and tolde vs that my lords voyage for the South sea was ouerthrowen for want of able men, and victuals, and that therefore hee thought it best to plie for some of the Islands of the West India, or the Açores, to see if they could meete with some good purchase, that might satistie my lord. These wordes were taken heauily of all the company, and no man would answere him, but kept silence, for very grieve to see my lords hope thus deceiued, and his great expenses and costs cast away. The common sort seeing no other remedie, were contented to returne as well as he.

The 16 day wee espied a sayle, whereupon our pinnesse, and Dalamor gaue her chase, and put her ashore vpon the Island, where the men forlooke her, and ran away with such things as they

An Island 12 leagues to the South of Baya,

A new Portugall ship taken in a creeke,

A good warning for vs to be circumspect in landing.

June.

An offer of captaine Lister to go with his one ship ouer for the South sea.

Another pinnelle taken.

July.
They returned Northward.

could conveniently carie: our pinnelle boorded her, and found little in her: they tooke out of her nine chests of sugar, and one hogge, and 35 pieces of pewter, and so left her upon the sands.

From this time forward we began to plie Northwards, and the first of July fell with the land againe, where we fished, and found reasonable good floze. I tooke the latitude that day, and found our selues in 10 degrees and 22 minutes.

The 7 day we determined to fall with Fernambuck, and we came so neere it, that Dalamor (as he told vs) espied some of the ships that were in the harbour: yet notwithstanding we all fell to leeward of the riuer, & could not alter that, by any meanes recover the height of it againe: but we ceased not on all parts to endeouour the best we could, & oftentimes lost company for a day or two, one of another, but there was no remedie, but patience, for to Fernambuck we could not come, hauing so much ouershot it to the Northward, and the wind keeping at the South and Southwest.

Fernambuck in the Southern latitude of 7 deg. 50 min.

The 20 day I tooke the Sunne in 5 degrees 50 minutes, which was 2 degrees to the Northward of Fernambuck, and the further wee went, the more untowardly did the rest of our ships worke, either to come into haue, or to keepe company one with another. And truely I suppose, that by reason of the forward course of the Admirall, he meant of purpose to lose vs: for I know not how the neerer we endeouored to be to him, the further off would he beare from vs, and wee seeing that, kept on our owne course, and lookt to our selues as well as we could.

The 24 day our whole company was called together to consultation, for our best course: some would goe for the West India, some directly North for England: and in conclusion, the greater part was bent to plie for our owne countrey, considering our necessities of victuals, and fresh water, and yet if any place were offered vs in the way, not to omit it, to seeke to fill water.

At lowe tide in 3 degrees & 49 minutes.

The 26 day in the morning, we espied a lowe Island, but we lost it againe, and could descrie it no more. This day we found our selues in 3 degrees and 49 minutes.

The 27 day we searched what water we had left vs, and found but nine butts onely, so that our captaine allowed but a pinte of water for a man a day, to preserue it as much as might be, where with euery man was content, and we were then in number fiftie men and boyes.

August.

The hulke of Flushing burnt with all the men by negligence.

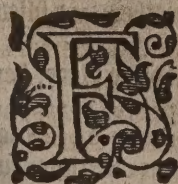
The first of August we found our selues 5 degrees to the Northward of the line, all which moneth we continued our course homeward, without touching any where: toward the end whereof, a sorrowfull accident fell out in our hulke, which being deuised from vs in a calme, fell asire by some great negligence, and perished by that meanes in the seas, wee being not able any wayes to helpe the ship, or to saue the men.

The 4 day of September, we had brought our selues into the height of 41 degrees & 20 minutes, somewhat to the Northwards of the Islands of the Azores: and thus bulking vp and downe with contrary winds, the 29 of the same moneth, we reached the coast of England, and so made an end of the voyage.

A discourse of the West Indies and South sea written by *Lopez*

Vaz a Portugal, borne in the citie of *Elnas*, continued vnto the yere 1587. Wherein among diuers rare things not hitherto deliuered by any other writer, certaine voyages of our Englishmen are truely reported: which was intercepted with the author thereof at the riuer of *Plate*, by Captaine *Withrington* and Captaine *Christopher Lister*, in the flecte set forth by the right Honorable the Erle of *Cumberland* for the South sea in the yere 1586.

This voyage was made in the yere 1572.



FFrancis Drake an Englishman being on the sea, and hauing knowledge of the small strength of the towne of *Nombre de Dios*, came into the harborough on a night with foure pinnelles, and landed an hundred and fifty men: and leauing one halfe of his men with a trumpet in a fort which was there, hee with the rest entred the towne without doing any harme till hee came at the market place: and there his company discharging their callievers, and sounding their trumpets (which made a great noyse in the towne) were answered by their fellows in the forte, who discharged and sounded in like manner. This attempt put the townesmen in such extreme feare, that leauing their houses, they fled into the mountaines, and there bethought themselves what the matter should be in the towne, remaining as men amazed at so sudden an alarme. But the Spaniards being men for the most part of good discretion loyned foureteene or fiftene of them together with their pieces, to see who was in the towne: and getting to a corner of the market-place they discovered the Englishmen, and perceiuing that they were but a few, discharged their pieces at them; and their fortune was such, that they slew the trumpetter, and shot the captaine (whose name

name was Francis Drake) into the legge: who feeling himselfe hurt retired toward the Fort, where he had left the rest of his men: but they in the Fort sounded their trumpet, and being not answered againe, and hearing the calievers discharged in the towne, thought that their fellowes in the towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnelles. Now Francis Drake (whom his men carried because of his hurt) when he came to the fort where he left his men and saw them fled, he and the rest of his company were in so great feare, that leaving their furniture behinde them, and putting off their hose, they swamme & waded all to their Pinnelles, and departed forth of the harbour, so that if the Spaniards had followed them, they might have slaine them all. Thus Captaine Drake did no more harme at Nombre de Dios, neither was there in this skirmish any more then one Spaniard slaine, and of the Englishmen onely their Trumpetter, whom they left behind with his trumpet in his hand.

From hence the coast lieth all along till you come to Cartagena. Betweene Nombre de Dios and Cartagena is a great sound or gulfe, where the first Spaniards that ever dwelt vpon the firme land built and inhabited the towne of Dariene: howbeit they abode not long there, because of the vnholofomenesse of the place.

But Captaine Drake being discontent with the repulse that the men of Nombre de Dios gaue him, went with his Pinnelles into the said bay or sound of Dariene, where hauing conference with certaine Negros which were ranne away from their masters of Panamá and Nombre de Dios, he was informed that at the very same time many mules were coming from Panamá to Nombre de Dios laden with gold and siluer. Upon this newes Francis Drake taking with him an hundred shot, and the said Negros, stayed in the way till the treasure came by, accompanied and guarded onely by those that vpon the mules, who mistrusted nothing at all. When captaine Drake met with them, he tooke away their golde: but the siluer he left behinde, because he could not carrie it ouer the mountaines. And two dayes after this he went to The house of crosses called by the Spaniards Venta de Cruzes, where all the merchants leaue their goods, where hee flew fire or seuen of the marchants, but found neither gold nor siluer, but great store of marchandise: and so he fired the said house, with all the goods, which were iudged to be worth aboue two hundred thousand ducats. Thus not finding golde in this house to satisfie his minde, hee burned the marchants goods, and forthwith recovered his Pinnelles: where fortune so fauoured his proceedings, that he had not bene aboord halfe an houre, but there came to the sea side aboue three hundred souldiers, which were sent of purpose to take him: but God suffered him to escape their hands, to be a farther plague vnto the Spaniards.

Venta de cruzes.

Also another Englishman named Iohn Oxenham hearing what spople Captaine Drake had done vpon that coast, made a voyage thither to enterprize the like. His ship was of burthen about an hundred and twentie tunnes, and he was accompanied with seuentie persons: he had conference also with the foresaid Negros, but being aduertized that the treasure was conducted by souldiers, he determined with himselfe to doe that which neuer any man before durst vndertake to doe. For being most resolute of his purpose, and not looking nor forecasting what danger might ensue of this bold enterprize, he landed his men in the same place where Captaine Drake was, and halling his ship to shore, cut downe boughes of trees, and couered his ship with them, and hid vp his great ordnance in the ground. Thus leaving not one man in his ship, he tooke two small peeces of ordnance, and his calievers, and good store of victuals, with all other necessaries for his intended voyage. And he went with the Negros aboue twelue leagues vp into the maine land, vnto a riuer that runneth into the South sea: and by this riuer in a wood he cut downe timber, and built a Pinnelle, which was 45 foote long by the keele: which Pinnelle being finished, he went downe the riuer and passed into the South sea, carrying five Negros with him for his guides, and he arriued at the Island of Pearles being 25 leagues distant from Panamá. This Island lieth in the South sea, as they saile from Peru to Panamá, and here he stayed ten dayes, before he could take any shipping, but at length there came a small barke from a place called Quico in Peru: this barke he tooke, and found in her 60000 pezos of golde, with much wine and beards, and not being content with this, he stayed a long while, before he would sende away his prize or any of his men. Shortly after he tooke another barke that came from Lima, wherein he found 100000 pezos of siluer in barres, which being all aboord his Pinnelle, he shaped his course toward the riuer from whence he came: but before his departure he landed on the foresaid Island to finde pearles, and went to a small towne of the Island inhabited by Negros for the same purpose; where finding but small store, he returned to his Pinnelle, and coming neere vnto the riuer he sent away his two prizes, and with his Pinnelle entered by the riuer. The Negros of the Island of perles, so soone as the Englishmen were departed, posted in their Canoas to Panamá, to signifie vnto

Iohn Oxenham
anno 1575.

A riuer running into the South sea.

unto the Gouvernour what they had done. Whereupon the Gouvernour within two dayes after sent out foure barkes and an hundred souldiers, and Negros to rowe, the captaine of which souldiers was called Iuan de Ortega; who went first to the Island of pearles, & there had knowledge which way the Englishmen did take, and in pursuing them he met with the two prizes taken by the Englishmen, which tolde him that they were gone by the riuer. But when he was come to the enterance of the riuer, he knew not which way to take, because the riuer ranne into the sea by three mouthes, and not all at one. Therefore being determined with himselfe to passe by the greatest of the three, he saw comming downe with the streame many feathers of hens out of one of the lesser mouthes: which mouth he entered, and sayling foure dayes by the same, hee descried the Englishmens pinnelle lying vpon the land, and comming to boord her, they found in her no more but five Englishmen, of which they killed one, and the other 4 fled, & hauing thoroughly ransacked the said pinnelle, they could finde nought in her, but victuals. The Spaniards seeing this, determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leauing about twentie men to keepe their barks they marched with eightie shot vp into the countrey, and halfe a league from the riuer they found a little house made with boughes, where the Englishmen had left all their treasure; which the Spaniards tooke and carried backe to their barkes, meaning not to follow the Englishmen any further: but the English captaine with all his men, and about 200 Negros followed the Spaniards vnto the riuers side, and set vpon them with great fury: howbeit the Spaniards lying behind the bushes did easily put the English to flight, and they tooke seuen of them alieue, and slew eleuen and five Negros: so the Spaniards returned with the losse of two men and five or six hurt. Then they asked those Englishmen which they had taken prisoners, why they departed not with their treasure, hauing fifteene dayes libertie: They answered, that their captaine had commanded them to carry all that golde and siluer vnto the place where their ship was, and they were agreed to carry it, although they made three or foure iourneys, for he promised to giue them part of the treasure beside their wages, but the mariners would needes haue it by and by; whereat the captaine being angry, because they put so small trust in his word, would not suffer his saylers to carrie it, but said he would get Negros to serue his turne, and so these were the Negros aforesaid, whom he had brought to carry away the golde and siluer: but by the way he met with the five Englishmen which fled from the pinnelle, who told him of the Spaniards; and then he made friends with all his men, and got the Negros to take his part: but hauing the ouerthrow, and his best men being slaine and taken prisoners, he thought to haue returned to his ship, and so to haue gone for England. The Spanish captaine hauing heard this discourse of the English prisoners, buried the dead bodies, embarking all things, and with the Englishmen and their pinnelle returned backe vnto Panamá. Thus was the Englishmens voyage ouerthrowen.

Now so soone as the the foure barkes and the pinnelle were arrived at Panamá, the Gouvernour of that place sent a messenger ouerland to Nombre de Dios, to aduertise the townesmen, where the Englishmens ship lay: whereupon they of Nombre de Dios manned out foure ships and went into the bay of Dariene where the Englishmen had left their ship, which they tooke away with them to Nombre de Dios, with all her ordinance; so that the poore Englishmen were left in the mountaines very naked and destitute of all comfort: for the Spaniards had taken out of the foresaid house of boughes all their tooles & other necessaries, so that they could by no meanes haue any succour: whereas otherwise they might haue builded another pinnelle, and provided better for themselves to haue returned for their owne countrey.

These newes comming to the eares of the Viceroy of Peru, he thought it not conuenient to suffer those fiftie Englishmen which were yet alieue, to continue in the mountaines among the said Negros. Wherefore he sent a seruant of his called Diego de Frees with 150 shot to seeke them, who at length found them making of Canoas to take some one small barke or other that sayled to and againe in the North sea, whereby they might the better shift for themselves: but before they had finished their pretended worke, the Spanish souldiers set vpon them, and tooke fifteene of them that were sicke: but the rest fled, whom the Spaniards pursued among the mountaines, and in the end the Negros betrayed them, and they were all taken and carried to Panamá. Where the Iustice asked the English captaine, whether he had the Ducenes license, or the license of any other Prince or Lord: And he answered that he had none, but that he came of his owne proper motion. Which being knowne to the Iustice, the Captaine and his companie were condemned and were all put to death at Panamá, sauing the Captaine himselfe, the Master, and the Pilot, and five boyes, which were caried to Lima, where the Captaine and the two other men were executed, but the boyes are yet liuing.

Warre made
against the
Negros.

The king of Spaine hauing intelligence of these matters, sent 300 men of warre against those Negros

Negros who had assisted the Englishmen, which Negros before were slaves unto the Spaniards, and (as is aforesaid) fled from their masters into those mountaines, and so ioyned themselves to the Englishmen, thinking by that meanes to be reuenged of the Spaniards crueltie.

At the first comming of these three hundred souldiers they tooke many of the Negros, and did great iustice on them according to the qualitie of their offences. But after a season the Negros grew wise and wary, and prevented the Spaniards so, that none of them could be taken. Whereof the king being aduertised by his Captaines, as also how the countrey was full of mountaines and riuers, and very vnhealthfull, insomuch that his souldiers died, he wrote vnto his said Captaines to make an agreement with those Negros, to the ende the countrey might be in quiet. And so they came to agreement with the Captaines of the Negros, and all was appeased. Afterward the Negros inhabiting two places which the Spaniards allotted vnto them, the kings pardon was proclaimed vnto all those which before the day of the proclamation thereof had runne from their Masters, vpon condition that from that day forward, whatsoeuer other fugitiue Negros should resort vnto them, they should returne them home either dead or alive, if not, that they should pay for them. Upon these conditions, and to make all quiet in the mountaines, all things were concluded and agreed vpon. So that now the Negros dwell in great townes, where they haue Spaniards for their teachers, and a Spaniard for their Iudge, and with this they holde themselves very well contented, and are obedient vnto their rulers.

The Spaniards since they conquered those parts haue seene many Frenchmen on that coast, Frenchmen. but neuer any Englishmen in that place, saue those two onely which I haue before mentioned. And although the Frenchmen haue come strong, yet durst they neuer put foot on shore as the English did. But the king of Spaine hearing that Englishmen as well as Frenchmen beganne to haunt that coast, caused two gallies to be made and well appointed, to keepe the coast. The first yeere that they were made they tooke sixe or seuen French ships. So soone as this was knowne there fled fewe English or French men of warre to come on the coast, vntill this yeere 1586. when as the aforesaid Francis Drake came with a strong flecte of about foure and twentie ships, and did such harme as is well knowne vnto all Chriftendome. But (God sparing the king of Spaine life) hee will sufficiently prouide to keepe his subiectes from the inuasions of other Nations.

Seven french ships taken by the gallies.
Sir Francis Drakes voyage to S. Iago, Sant Domingo, Cartagena, And S. Augustine.

Cartagena.

Now to go forward with our begunne discourse, the next towne vpon this coast beyond Nombre de Dios is Cartagena: it standeth in a more healthfull place, and is a greater towne then the other, bordering vpon a better countrey, which aboundeth with plentie of victuals, and hauing a very good port for the harbour of ships: and it is called Cartagena, because it resemblith very much the citie of Cartagena in Spaine. It containeth aboue foure hundred households. It is very rich by reason of the ships staying there, when they goe or come from Spaine. And if the ships chance to winter before they goe home into Spaine, then they lie at Cartagena. Also it is greatly enriched by the marchandize, which is there discharged to be carryed to the new kingdome of Granada, from which kingdome much golde is brought vnto Cartagena. This new kingdome of Granada is two hundred leagues within the land: neither can they trauele from Cartagena to this kingdome by land, because of the mountaines and standing waters, which lie in the way, so that they are faine to carry their goods by a riuer called The great riuer of Magdalena. They can goe with their barkes but two hundred leagues by this riuer: for although it be large and very deepe, yet there runneth so swift a current, that the barkes are constrained to discharge their goods at a place in the riuer called Branco de Malambo, into small canoes which rowe close by the shores side. In this riuer are great abundance of Crocodiles, so huge and terrible to behold, that such as neuer sawe them before are very fearefull at the first sight of them, for if a man chance to put his hand or foote into the water, they will streightway catch at them. In some places this riuer is very vnhealthfull and full of noysome wormes; but the first place thereupon which the Spaniards doe inhabite called Mompo is exceeding healthfull. The countrey adjoining vpon this riuer they call The new kingdome of Granada, because the captaine called Cesada which first conquered the same, and inhabited there, was borne at Granada in Spaine: for it is the vse of the Spanish captaines, when they haue conquered any Province of the Indies, to call it after the name of the place where they themselves were borne. This new kingdome of Granada is very fruitfull, and bringeth forth much corne & other victuals, and hath many golde-mines, and great quantitie of emeralds, wherof they send so many into Spaine, that now they are become little worth: but before these countreys were found, they were in great estimation. There are also dwelling many of the Indian people so meeke and gentle of nature, that they are called flies. This land is very plaine and holsome, and the inhabitants are giuen to peace.

Nuevo reyno de Granada.

Rio grande della Magdalena.

Branco de Malambo.

Mompox.

From

Popayan.

From this kingdome they trauell to another countrey called La gouernacion de Popayan; it is rich of golde, and withall very fruitfull, but fuller of mountaines then the new kingdome of Granada, and hath fewer Indians dwelling in it, but those that are there are full of courage and very valiant, which caused the Spaniards to make great warre before they could ouercome them. In this prouince there are 13 townes of Spaniards, and in The new kingdome of Granada there are nine townes of Spaniards.

Quito.

From this countrey of Popayan they trauell along till they come to the first inhabitants of Peru dwelling in a towne which ioyneeth vpon the South sea called Quito. This towne I will leaue any further to speake of till I come particularly to intreate of Peru. Onely I haue spoken of the two foresaid prouinces, to the intent you might know, that there is a passage by land from Cartagena to Peru, which is about fife hundred leagues through; so that besides the two hundred leagues which they goe by the riuer, the other three hundred leagues is a countrey well inhabited and without danger to trauell in, inasmuch that oftentimes postes are sent too and fro. But because it is so long a iourney, marchantes vse not to trauell that way, but when they are enforced so to doe. If any forren Nation should become Lordes of the South sea, the king of Spaine might haue his treasure conueyed vnto this towne of Cartagena from Peru, and so into Spaine. For in times past there being a rebellion in Peru made by the Spaniards against their king, he sent his power to suppress them through these prouinces. This I write onely for that I knowe some Englishmen haue thought, that in taking the South sea, or Panamá or Nombre de Dios from the king of Spaine, his treasure of Peru could not be conueyed vnto him, and that the king could not succour Peru, if it wanted helpe. Nowbeit I doe here most certainly assure you, that there be many wayes to Peru.

A passage ouer land from Cartagena to Peru.

Santa Martha.

But now I will returne to my former discourse. Upon the seacoast of Tierra firma Eastward from Cartagena standeth a little towne called Santa Martha, betweene which towne and Cartagena the mightie riuer of Magdalen before named fallerth into the sea with such a strong current, that by reason thereof it is knowne 20 leagues from the shore. Santa Martha is a very pooze towne, because it hath often bene robbed by the Frenchmen, and hath no trade but with a fewe Indians that dwell thereabout. Here beginneth that wonderfull long ridge of high mountaines couered with Snow, which streatching through many countreys, runneth along the kingdomes of Peru and Chili, and continueth to the very straights of Magellan. These mountaines are seene with snow vpon their tops aboue thirtie leagues into the sea. At the foote of these wilde mountaines there is a valley called Tagrona, which is the richest place that is knowne thereabout: but because the countrey adioyning is so mountainous, and the inhabitants so many and of so good a courage, shooting popsoned arrowes which are present death to such as are wounded with the same; therefore it lyeth as yet unconquered, notwithstanding it hath cost many Spanish captaines their liues.

A mightie ridge of mountaines.

The rich valley of Tagrona.

Rio de Hacha, Cabo de la Vela.

Passing along the coast of Tierra firma to the East of Santa Martha, there is an other small towne of about an hundred houses called Rio de Hacha. This towne is somewhat rich by reason of the pearles which they get there. Also they haue a trade with the Indians for some small quantitie of golde. From hence they goe along the coast to Cabo de la Vela, which because it is of the same propertie with Rio de Hacha before mentioned, I omit to speake of it. Upon this coast there is a lake or gulfe which openeth into the sea, at the mouth whereof they gather great store of pearles. Beyond this place there is another pooze towne, which hath bene of seuen times bene spoiled by the Frenchmen. From hence there lyeth an high way to the new kingdome of Granada, but it is about seuen hundred leagues in length, this way is trauelled very seldom, because the Indians will vsually set vpon the traouellers. More by into the land the countrey lyeth plaine, and there is some golde, and a fewe townes inhabited with Spaniards, whereof I haue had but small notice, and therefore I let them passe. The next place of any account is the Island of Margarita, where there are but fewe Spaniards inhabitant.

Great store of pearles.

The Ile of Margarita.

This Island of Margarita is very small, and lyeth foure leagues from the maine lande: it hath heretofore bene very rich of golde and pearles, and so would haue continued till this present day, had it not bene spoiled by men of warre, because it standeth so farre from the maine land, notwithstanding they yet gather good store of pearles. Upon this Island are bred better horses and mules then in any other part of the Indies, therefore they carry them from hence to Peru, albeit they haue great store of horses in Peru, but not so good. And because we haue begunne to speake of the Island of Margarita, you are to vnderstand, that to the North of the foresaid coast of Tierra firma lie aboue seuentie Islands being all very little, except Cuba, Hispaniola, and Boriquen, or Sant Iuan de Puerto rico, which Ile of Boriquen, although it bee not very great,

Excellent horses and mules.

More then 70. Islands.

yet

yet is it inhabited by the Spaniards. The other smaller Ilands haue bene inhabited by the Indians, and haue had good store of gold, pearles, and emeraldes; but the Spaniards haue destroyed most of those Indians from off the earth, and in many of those Ilands there is nothing of any value, wherefore I haue small cause to increase any further of them. But Hispaniola is an Iland of great bignesse, and hath bene very full of people, and abounded with mines of golde and with pearles, but now all is wasted away. It was at the Spaniards first coming thither, as full of inhabitants as any place of that bignesse in the whole world; yet now there are none left; for they were men of so hard a heart, that they murdered themselves rather then they would serue the Spaniards: for being men vnder so small ciuill gouernement as they were, neuer was there any people knowen of so resolute and desperate mindes: for oftentimes a great number of them being together ouer night, they should be found all dead before the morning: such extreme hate did this brutish people beare against the Spaniards, that they chose rather to die the death, then to indure their insolencies. It happened on a time, that a Spaniard calling certaine Indians to worke in the mines (which labour of all others did most grieue them) they, rather then they would goe, offered to lay violent hands on themselves: which the Spaniard perceiuing sayd vnto them: seeing you will hang your selues rather then goe and worke, I likewise will hang my selfe and will beare you company, because I will make you worke in an other world: but the Indians hearing this, replied, we will willingly worke with you here, to the intent you may not goe with vs into another world: so vniuersally were they of the Spaniards companie. So that of all the inhabitantes of this Iland there were none that escaped death, save onely these few, which came to passe by the meanes of this one Spaniarde, otherwise they would haue hanged themselves also. Some of these people are yet liuing, but very few. This Iland of Hispaniola is for the most part called The Ile of Sant Domingo, because the chiefe citie thereof is so called, which was the first citie in all the West Indies that was inhabited. There are in this citie aboue eight hundred fire-houles of good building inhabited by Gentlemen of great wealth. This Iland is vnehealthfull, for it raineth here the most part of the yeere. The riches that now this Iland affordeth are sugar (for here are many Ingenios or sugar-houles) and great store of hides by reason of the abundance of cattell; there are copper mines also, which is the cause that they haue such store of copper-money, for their gold mines be all exhausted, and the golde which they haue cometh from other places. This Iland being (as is beforelaide) destitute of the first inhabitants, and the Spaniards lacking men to worke in their Ingenios, and to looke vnto their cattell, they were forced to bring Negros thither out of Guinea, where they haue so increased, that the Iland is now as full of them, as it was of the naturall inhabitantes; so that the Spaniards carrie Negros from this Iland to the maine lande and there sell them. The chiefe victuall that they haue in this Iland, is a kinde of roote called Iuca, which being eatent as it cometh new out of the ground is present death: but first they boyle it and after presse it, and the liquoz that is strained therefrom is deadly poyson: howbeit this roote being pressed so dry, that there remaineth no moisture in it, they mingle and temper the same with water and so make cakes thereof, which are very sauory & good to eat, & this is all the bread which they haue in those Ilands. There go from hence yere into Spaine 7 or 8 ships at the least full freighted with sugar & hides.

Neere vnto Hispaniola lyeth another greater Iland called Cuba, it is like vnto Hispaniola, although there is not so much sugar. The principall towne of this Ilande is called Hauana, which hath an excellent harborough belonging therunto. The townesmen are very rich by reason of the fleetes that come from Nueva Espanna, and Tierra firma which touch there; for the safeguarde of which fleetes and of the towne it selfe there is a castle built neere the said harborough kept with Spanish souldiers; neither is there any castle or souldiers in all the Ilands but onely here. There is also another Iland inhabited with Spaniards called Boriquen or Sancto Iuan de Puerto rico. It is but little, yet euery way as plentifull as the other two are; and therefore I omit to speake thereof.

Hispaniola.

The Indians killed themselves, rather then they would serue the Spaniards.

A pretty sort.

Sugar, hides, copper-mines.

Negros might increase.

A roote called Iuca.

The Ile of Cuba.

S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

Fernambuck.

The great riuer of Marañon.

by it

Gonsalo Pizarro,
La Canela.

The great ri-
uer of Maran-
non of Orella-
na.

Orellana sent
downe the ri-
uer of Maran-
non with fiftie
men.

Lewis de Melo.

El Dorado.

Pedro de Orzua.

by it was long before the riches in and about this riuer were knowne, untill such time as the kingdome of Peru was conquered: at which time a Captaine called Gonsalo Pizarro passing thorough the countrey of Peru came at length into a lande which they named La Canela, because there groweth great store of Sinamome, but not altogether so good as that which cometh from the East Indies. The sayd Captaine proceeding farther into the countrey came at length to a mightie riuer, where he sawe the countrey people rowing in their Canoas, and bringing golde to buy and sell with the Spaniards. Captaine Pizarro seeing this, was desirous to finde out the ende of this riuer, but he could not trauell by lande because of the high mountaines: wherefore he made a small Barke of Pinnesse to goe and discover from whence the saide Indians brought their golde, and sent in the saide Pinnesse a Captaine vnder him called Orellana, who with fiftie men went downe the riuer, but could not returne to their Generall Pizarro, because of the great current which was very strong against them, forcing them to passe along the riuer, and to enter into the Sea, and so they sayled on forwarde to the foresaide Ile of Margarita: but as they passed downe this riuer they found it well inhabited with Indians, which were possessed of great store of golde. These men with their Pinnesse were passing downe this riuer eight monethes, for the riuer lyeth very crooked, which maketh a long way by water, neither durst the Spaniards euer lande, because they sawe the countrey so full of people, but they tooke many Canoas, wherein they had great store of victuals, and some golde.

Now this Orellana comming vnto Margarita with these good newes and riches, determined not to returne vnto his Captaine Pizarro which sent him, but tooke his way from thence to the king of Spaine, and presented him with the golde that he brought out of the riuer: whereupon the king sent him with a flecte of shippes and sixe hundred men to inhabite the sayd riuer: but because of the great current and sholles that are therein, hee left the most part of his men and shippes, and with those that remained he went vnto certaine Ilandes hard by the riuer, and built him Pinnesses; but the countrey being very vnhealthfull, himselfe and many of his men dyed, and the residue went euery man which way pleased him best. The fame of this riuer was straightway spread through Spaine and Portugal, insomuch that a Gentleman of Portugall called Lewis de Melo asked license of Don Iuan the third, then king of Portugall to goe and conquer the sayd riuer: for from the mouth of this riuer to the mouth of the riuer of Plate, is that part of America which the kings of Portugall (according to the partition made betweene them and the kings of Spaine) doe holde: so that the king of Portugall hauing this riuer in his part gaue it to the saide Lewis de Melo to conquer: who taking tenne shippes and eight hundred men (among which many were gentlemen) and comming to the mouth of this riuer, lost all the said shippes sauing two, in one of the which two was Lewis de Melo himselfe: also the most part of the men that were in the shippes cast away were saued and got to the shore, and so went by lande to the Island of Margarita; from whence they were disperfed throughout all the Indies.

Thus these two flectes of shippes being so vnfortunatly cast away, neuer durst any Captaine afterward attempt by sea to conquer the sayde riuer. Howbeit from the kingdome of Nueva Granada before mentioned there haue gone two or thre Captaines by land to discover it, for a rumour went ouer all the countrey of the great riches contained in this riuer; whereupon the Spaniards named it El Dorado, that is to say, The golden riuer. It is thought that God will not haue this riuer to be knowne, for that one Captaine by lande had most of his people slaine by those of the countrey, and others for want of victuals returned. So that none of all these came to any plaine discovery, till a few yeeres past a Captaine of the countrey of Nauarre called Pedro de Orzua, who went from Peru almost the same way that Gonsalo Pizarro had before discovered, and was accompanied with about some seuen hundred Spaniards, it being a great maruell how he could get so many, amongst whom were many Gentlemen and old souldiers of Peru, who caused diuers mutinies and insurrections, as hereafter I will more at large declare, which mutinous souldiers were the cause of their captaines death. Howbeit with all these men captaine Pedro de Orzua came vnto head of the said riuer: but you must vnderstand, that this riuer is nourished not onely with the waters and freshets that come from the mountaines of Peru, but also by all the riuers betweene the Equinoctiall and sixteene degrees of Southerly latitude, which fall thereinto and cause it to be so great. Nowe at the head of this riuer the sayde Captaine Pedro de Orzua made fiftene Pinnesses with many Canoas, wherein he carried aboue two thousand Indians to helpe him, with many hoxles and other prouision, as meaning to inhabite there: for it was not possible for him to carry all his prouision by lande, because the mountaines be very great, there being also betweene them many small riuers which fall into this

this great river aboute twentie leagues out of the land. So this captaine hauing all his things in good order went downe the river with his whole company, and at length came from among the mountaines to a plaine countrey where the Indians dwelt; and there he held a counsell, determining in the same place to build a towne and to fortifie it very strongly, to the end he might leaue all his stuffe there, and such men as were not souldiers. And so they began to build the said towne, and wrought vpon it all the winter: where because it raineeth much, and withall is very hot, sicknesses and want of victuals began to preuaile amongst them, wherupon the souldiers fell a murmuring among themselves. If of comming out of Peru, which is one of the fruitfullst & richest countries of the world, they were moze inclined to haue their fill of bread and meat then to apply their bodies to labour: which was the cause that albeit the countrey in which they now were, was exceeding fruitfull, and that they saw with their eyes most euident apparances of golde, & also that by into the countrey it seemed to be much better; yet for all this they murmured & would needes returne for Peru from whence they came. In the company of these men there was a souldier of Biskay called Lopez de Agira, a very little man of bodie & lame of one of his legs, but very valiant and of good experience in the warres. This man hauing bene one of the principall mutiners in Peru, could not here giue ouer his old wont, but asked his fellow-souldiers, what they went to seeke for in those wild deserts whither they were brought: For (said he) if you seeke riches, there are enough in Peru, and there is bread, wine, fleshy, and faire women also; so that it were better to conquer that, and to take it out of the handes of the Spaniards, and that it were no hard enterprize, because all the souldiers and poore men of Peru would turne vnto them, and that that were a better course, then to goe and conquere the sauage people in those mountaines: so that once hauing the gouernment of Peru, the king of Spaine should be inforced to agree with them: if not (sayd he) we shall not lacke them that will succour vs, to haue the riches of Peru. By these perswasions he brought many souldiers to be of his minde, and conspired also with a young gentleman of Siuill called Don Fernando de Gusman (who was in loue with a young woman to which the captaine Pedro de Orzua had, and therefore did the sooner agree vnto the wicked intent of Agira) to murder the captaine. Who on a night being asleepe in his bed, the said conspirators and their faction entered into his bed-chamber, and there stabbed him with their daggers; which being done, they slew also all the Captaines that were his friends, and therewithall made a great out-cry saying, God saue the king, God saue the king: whereupon all the campe was in an vprore. Then Lopez de Agira made vnto the souldiers a long oration, and got them all to consent vnto him, some by force, and some because they durst not say to the contrary, and others of their good will; and so in the end they all agreed vnto his determined purpose. Then made they Fernando de Gusman their head, & Agira was made a captaine. This done, because the people should the better hold their opinion, he did as great a villany as euer any Spaniard committed: for he made an altar, wheron he and all the souldiers renounced their seruice vnto the king of Spaine, & so as people without a king, chose the said Don Fernando to be their king, and did homage vnto him. These matters being thus finished they consulted among themselves which should be the best way for them to goe to Peru? For they could not goe by the river, by which they came downe, in regarde of the strong current, and going backe ouerland they should be very weake for want of horsemen: wherefore they determined to goe downe the river. Then saide Lopez de Agira, that they would carry nothing with them but the pinnelles & souldiers which should fight, and that it were best to leaue behind them all the Indians which they brought from Peru, with the women and the sicke men. Whereunto the Generall Don Ferdinando would not agree, because he knew that when they were gone the people of the countrey would kill them all. Lopez de Agira hearing this, and longing to be chiefe gouernour himselfe, tooke vnto him 30 of his owne countrey-men of his disposition, and on the sudden slew Don Fernando, whom not many dayes before he had sworne to obey: & now by his subtil practises, being withall eloquent in his talke, he caused the souldiers to appoint himselfe their gouernour, & made them beleue that all the cruelties committed were for their saueguard: neither did the tyrannie of this wretched man here end. He was borne in Biskay a countrey neere vnto France, wherefore I beleue him rather to haue bene a Frenchman then a Spaniard, for that in the heart of a Spaniard could not be so much crueltie as this man shewed. Now being readie to goe his way, he determined not to carry with him any gentlemen or persons of qualitie, and therefore he slew all such persons; and then departing onely with the common souldiers, he left behind him all the Spanish women and sicke men, with all other creatures. If I should rehearse all the cruell murders of this wicked man one by one, I should be ouer tedious vnto you. Onely in fewe words I say, that this man proceeded downe the river, hauing with him onely foure hundred men: but before he passed the river,

Lopez de Agira
his dangerous
conspiracie.

Pedro de Orzua
murdered.

Don Ferdinando
de Gusman
claimed king
of Peru.

Fernando de
Gusman slaine.

A new massacre.

and was come to Margarita, he had no more left but two hundred and thirty men, for the rest hee had put to death, and left on shore among the people of the countrey: all which tyranny he vsed, because he euer stood in feare of his life: for had he seene at any time but two souldiers talking together, he would straight suspect that they were conspiring of his death, and therefore he vsed the practises aboue saide. And he neuer went any way, but that hee had in his company thirtie Biscaines of his owne will and minde readie to execute his cruell purposes.

Great store of
gold in the ri-
uer of Maran-
non.

Amazones wo-
men which
helpe their hus-
bands in the
warres.

Good store of
golde.

Lopez de Agira
arriueth at
Margarita 1568.

As these souldiers with their Captaine came downe the riuer, they sawe many Canoas with golde in them passing too and fro, and people on both sides of the riuer, and in their passage many times they landed, and got good store of golde and victuals. Now also did they finde that to be true which Orellana had reported, namely that there were Amazones, that is to say, women that fight in the warres with bowes and arrowes: but these women fight to aide their husbands, and not by themselves alone without the companie of men, as Orellana reported. There were of these women vpon diuers partes of this riuer, who seeing the Spaniards fighting with their husbandes came in to succour them, and shewed themselves more valiant then their husbandes: for which cause it was named, The riuer of Amazones. The Spaniards intent was onely to passe downe the riuer, neither sought they at all to discover the Inland, and yet they tooke good store of golde, putting it into one of their Pinnelles, where Lopez de Agira himselfe was embarked, which Pinnelle at the mouth of the riuer was cast away, but he himselfe escaped, because he had not as yet fulfilled his bloodie minde. And when he was come to the Ilande of Margarita, the Gouvernour thereof supposing he had bene one of the kings loyall captaines, receiued him with pinnelles, and brought good store of victuals vnto him. But he putting the sayd Gouvernour immediately to death, landed on the Iland, and tooke it and two shippes that were there, and constrained likewise an hundred and fiftie men, which he there found, to goe with him, besides others that went voluntarily, carrying from thence good store of victuals, and many horses also. And then he returned to the maine land, saying, that with his small forces hee would subdue the whole Indias: imagining belike that all the olde souldiers and poore people, at the first sight of him, would turne to his side and take his part. Howbeit he was foulely deceived: for before he had marched two dayes iourney vp into the land, the Gouvernour of Nueva Granada came against him with a power of men: but Lopez de Agira hoping that other souldiers would haue iopned themselves vnto him, whereby his strength might haue bene the more, was quite frustrate of his expectation: for euen his owne men left him, and tooke part with the kings Captaine. Nowe seeing himselfe thus left destitute of his souldiers, and boide of all helpe, he committed a more vnnaturall bloodie act then euer Nero the tyrant did, for he murdered his owne daughter being but sixteen yeeres of age, which he had brought with him out of Peru: the cause why he killed her was, that she might not become a concubine to villaines, nor be called the daughter of a traitor: and these words he vsed vnto her, so soone as he had giuen her her deaths wound: but before he could finish this cruell act, the souldiers came vpon him, and cut him in pieces, also his daughter died of her wound in that place.

Great riches
hidden within
the riuer of Ma-
rannon.

The coast of
Brasil, whiche
was so called,
and by whom
it was at the
first discovered

Thus haue you heard the miserable ende of this bloodie caittife: in regarde of whose treacherous and mischieuous dealing the king would neuer since suffer this riuer to bee thoroughly discovered; so that the riches and treasure of the said riuer remaine vnknownen euen vntill this present day.

Now leauing to discourse any longer of this riuer of Marannon, all the coast betweene the saide riuer and the riuer of Plate, is called The coast of Brasill, taking that name from a kinde of wood in the same countrey, called Brasill-wood, whereof there is great store in those partes. This coast of Brasill was first discovered by Pedro Aluarez Cabral, in the second voyage which the king of Portugall caused to be made to the East Indies: and the foresayde Pedro Aluarez tooke possession of this land for the king of Portugall: whereupon the king Don Emanuel hearing newes thereof sent presently shippes to discover the whole countrey, and found it to be part of America otherwise called The West Indies: for which cause there grewe some controuersie betweene him and the king of Spaine: but being kinsmen and great friends one to another, they agreed in the end, that the king of Portugall shoulde holde all the countrey that he had discovered, the which was (as I haue said) from the riuer of Marannon to the riuer of Plate; albeit the Spaniards affirme, that it stretcheth no further then the Iland of Santa Catalina; whereupon there haue risen many controuersies betweene the Portugales and Spaniards, which haue cost many men their liues.

There came into the said riuer of Plate in the yeere 1587 two English shippes and a Pinnelle of the right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, which were bound for the freights of Magellan,

gellao, and anchored ten leagues within the said river before a little Island lying hard by another called Seal-Island. On which Island the Captaine of one of the ships called Christopher Lister, and his whole company landing, found the king of Portugales armes grauen on a rocke by the sea side; which are thought to haue bene there engrauen by one Martin Alonso de Souza, who was sent by the king Don Emanuel to discover this coast. Therefore I thinke the Portugales haue reason for that which they alleage concerning the extension of the said coast of Brasil. Wherefore the king of Portugall gaue this land to diuerse of his gentlemen to inhabite. Most of the naturall inhabitants of this countrey are very rude, and goe starke naked both men and women, and are man-eaters; for which cause they make warres one against another to get men to eat; they are stout and good bow-men. The first place inhabited on this coast beyond the river of Marannon is called Fernambuck so named by the Indians, but in Portugall it is called Villa de Olinda. Before you come to this place there is a port called Paraiua, vnto which port not many yeeres past the Frenchmen hearing of the troubles which were then in Portugall resorted, and built there a fort; whereunto certaine French ships made yeerely voyages to lade Brasil-wood. But they of Fernambuck, with the helpe of the Spaniards, went and burnt five french shippes within the port, and tooke the fort it selfe, and the Frenchmen that were there fled part into the mountaines, and part of them were slaine; so that since that time the Spaniards haue inhabited there till this present. Nowe to returne to Fernambuck inhabited by a Portugall Captaine called Duarte Coelio, it is the greatest towne in all that coast, and hath about three thousand houses in it, with seuenie Ingenios for sugar, and great store of Brasil-wood and abundance of cotton, yet are they in great want of victuals: for all their victuals come either from Portugall or from some places vpon the coast of Brasil. The harbour of this towne is a barred harbour, and fit onely for small barkes: this place belongeth as yet vnto the sonne of Duarte Coelio. Beyond this towne lyeth the Cape of Saint Augustin, and next thereunto is the river of Saint Francisco, which is a great river. Betweene this river and Bayha it is all a wilderness inhabited with cruell saluages, for whomsoever they take they kill and eat him. The towne of Bayha belongeth to the king, and therefore the gouernour of all the coast keepeth his residence in the same, as also the bishop. It containeth 1000 houses, & 40 Ingenios for sugar, and hath much cotton, but no Brasil-wood at all. The sea runneth by into the countrey here 14 or 15 leagues, where they get some yeres good store of Amber-grieke. Here is great plentie of victuals, and although the countrey be hot, yet is it healthfull, & the aire wholesome. The next towne vpon the coast called As Ilhas, or The Isles, is but a small towne, containing not about 150 houses, and but three Ingenios for sugar. Most of the inhabitants are labouring men, which vse to carry victuals in their small barkes vnto Fernambuck: their Lord is called Lucas Giraldo.

The next place vnto this is called Puerto Seguro: it consisteth of 4 small townes, which containe not fit all about 300 houses. The inhabitants of this towne also liue by carrying of victuals along the coast; and the towne it selfe belongeth to the Duke de Auerio. Hard by this port begin the sholdes which they call Abrolhos; and these sholdes lie about 25 leagues into the sea.

The next habitation of Christians beyond these sholdes is Espirito Santo which consisteth of two townes, both of them containing about 300 houses: and they belong to a gentleman called Vasques Fernandes de Coutinho.

From hence you passe along the coast to the river of Ienero, which hath about three hundred houses. In this place the Frenchmen first inhabited, whose Captaine was called Monsieur de Villegagnon. The said Captaine made here a fort, and planted good ordinance thereon, and laded euery yeere great store of Brasil-wood from hence, and had great friendship with the saluage people, who did him good seruice, by reason whereof the Frenchmen reaped much benefit out of this countrey. But the king of Portugall sent out a power against the Frenchmen, who first tooke the french shippes by sea, and then landed and besieged the fort, and at length tooke it, and the Captaine thereof: vnto whom, because he was a gentle person, and neuer hurt the Portugales, they gaue thirtie thousand ducats for his ordinance, and for all other things that were in the fort, and so sent him for France. Since which time the Portugales haue inhabited this river. There are at this present onely two Ingenios, but great store of Brasil-wood, with plentie of victuals.

From this river of Ienero they passe along the coast to Saint Vincente, which hath 4 townes, the greatest whereof is called Santos, and consisteth of foure hundred houses, there are also three Ingenios. A fewe yeeres past there came two English ships into this harbour which were going for the Streights of Magellan. Who being in this port, there came thither three of the king of Spaines ships, and fought with the Englishmen, but the Englishmen sunke one of their

Fernambuck.

A fort built by the Frenchmen at Paraiua.

Paraiua now inhabited by Spaniards. Fernambuck containeth 3000 houses.

Cape S. Augustin. Rio de Saint Francisco.

Bayha a towne of 1000 houses.

As Ilhas.

Puerto Seguro.

The sholdes called Abrolhos. Espirito Santo.

Rio de Ienero.

Foure townes standing vpon the river of S. Vincente. These English men were Capt. Penton and Luke Ward, ships,

A fort built at
the river of
Sant Vincente
against the
English.

The Island of
Santa Catalina.

Rio de la Plata

Sebastian Ca-
bota.

Buenos Ayres.

The wonder-
full increase of
a few hoxles
and mares.

La Ascension
300 leagues
by the river
of Plate.

Santa Fe.

ships, and therefore the king commanded a fort to be made, to the ende that no English shippers that were bound for the freights of Magellan should victuall there, the which fort standeth on the mouth of the harbour. This countrey belongeth to a Gentleman called Martin Alonso de Souza: this is the last inhabited place vpon all the coast of Brasil. This coast of Brasil is very full of mountaines, and hath much raine falling vpon it, for which cause they cannot goe from towne to towne by land: all the habitations of this countrey are by the sea side. From Sant Vincente the coast is all mountainous, till you come to the Ile of Santa Catalina, and from this Island till you come euen to the straights of Magellan, the coast is very plaine and without woods.

Having proceeded thus farre, it will not be amisse to speake somewhat of the riuer of Plate, which is one of the greatest riuers in all the worlde: for at the mouth it is aboue fūie and twentie leagues from land to land: and the Spaniards haue gone by in it aboue fūie hundred leagues, and could not attaine to the head thereof. The first Spaniard that entered this riuer, and inhabited the same was called Solis, who passed by 100 leagues into it, and called it by the name of Rio de la Plata, that is to say, The riuer of siluer, because of the fine and cleare water that is in it, for I haue not heard of any siluer that euer was found there. The saide Solis returned into Spaine,

without any further search into this riuer: howbeit another Captaine called Sebastian Cabota went by this riuer 150 leagues, and built a fort, which fort standeth vntill this present: where leauing his ships, he went higher by the riuer in smal Pinneses, and all along as he went he found many Indians: but finding neither gold nor siluer, nor oughe else of any great value, he returned to his ships, and sayled for Spaine. Not many yeeres after a certaine Gentleman called Don Pedro de Mendoga furnished forth a great flecte of ships, wherein were shipped a thousand men, forty mares, and twentie hoxles, with all other creatures to inhabite this riuer: and coming thither he went by into the countrey to see what riches he could there finde, leauing all his stuffe,

cattle, and prouision at a place called Buenos Ayres, so named in regard of the freshnesse of the ayre, and the healthfulnesse of his men, during their abode there: this place was eightie leagues within the riuer, and here he landed first: at this place the riuer is aboue seuen leagues broad, and very low land on both sides without trees. This riuer is very often subiect to great and sudden stormes, so that with a storme this Don Pedro lost eight of his ships, and in the rest he returned for Spaine, saying to his men, that he would goe seeke victuals, and so left the greater part of them behinde. In his way homeward he died, and the poore men which he left behind him, for the most part of them died for hunger also, because in that place there were very few Indians, and therefore but small store of victuals, onely they liued by hunting of Deere, and by fishing. Of all the men that Don Pedro left behind him there were but two hundred remaining aliuie, who in the

ship-boates went higher by the riuer, leauing in the place called Buenos Ayres their mares and hoxles: but it is a wonder to see, that of thirty mares and seuen hoxles which the Spaniards left there, the increase in forty yeeres was so great, that the countrey is 20 leagues by full of hoxses: whereby a man may coniecture the goodnesse of the pasture, and the fruitfulnessse of the soile.

The Spaniards that went by this riuer passed three hundred leagues, and found the countrey full of Indians: who had great plenty of victuals, among whom the Spaniards dwelt as their friends, and the Indians bestowed their daughters in marriage vpon them, and so they dwelt altogether in one towne, which the Spaniards called La Ascension, and it standeth on the North side of the riuer. The foresaid Spaniards were twentie yeeres in this place, before any newes of their inhabiting vpon this riuer was brought into Spaine: but waring olde, and fearing that when they were dead, their sons which they had begotten in this countrey being very many, should liue without the knowledge of any other Christians; they determined among themselves to build a ship, and to sende newes into Spaine with letters vnto the king of all things that had passed among them, vpon that riuer. These newes being brought to the king, he sent three ships, with a Bishop and certaine Priests, and friers, and more men and women to inhabite, with all kind of cattell. When this succour was come, they inhabited in two places more on the North side of the riuer, and trauelled three hundred leagues beyond the Ascension; but finding neither gold nor siluer, they returned backe againe vnto the Ascension. The people are so multiplied in this citie, that now it is one of the greatest in all the Indias, and containeth aboue two thousand houses. The countrey adioyning is exceeding fruitfull, abounding with all kinds of victuals, & with sugar and cotton. From this citie of Ascension 150 leagues towards the mouth of the riuer standeth another towne which they call Santa Fe, on the South side of the said riuer, from which towne there lyeth an open high way leading into the land of Peru, so that when I come to intreat of Peru I will speake of this way, and declare who first found it. Also fūie yeeres past they haue inhabited anew the towne of Buenos Ayres on the South side of the riuer, to the end they might haue trade from the

the coast of Brasill, but their fortune was such, that the very first time they went to Brasill, and would haue returned againe to the riuer of Plate, they were taken by two ships of England that were going for the streights of Magellan.

The coast along from this riuer to the streights of Magellan hath not bene perfectly discovered, either by sea or lande, saving onely certaine portes which they haue found, sayling to the streights. Wherefore passing them ouer, I will here intreat of the saide streights, and declare who was the first finder of them, as likewise what was the cause why they were sought for. The Portugales therefore hauing first found and conquered the East Indies, and discovered the coast of China, with the Ilands of the Malucos, (all which places abound with gold, precious stones, silkes, and other rich commodities) and bringing home the foresaide riches in their ships into Portugall: there grew by this meanes great enuie betweene the Portugales and their neighbours the Spaniards; insomuch that the Councell of Spaine saide vnto the Emperour Charles the first being then their king, that the Portugales would be Lordes of all the riches of the worlde. Upon which wordes begaine a controuersie betweene the Emperour and the king of Portugall: but they being great friends before, and also kinsmen, agreed immediately to part the whole worlde betweene them, in such wise as I for my part could neuer vnderstand the certainty thereof. The worlde being thus diuided, a Portugall-gentleman called Fernando Magellanes bozne in a place of Portugall called Punta de la barte, being of a good house, & very well scene in cosmographie, and an excellent Pilot, as also being offended with Don Emanuel his Soueraigne, departed out of Portugall into Spaine, and affirmed to the Councell of Spaine, that the Isles of the Malucos were in that part of the worlde which was allotted to the king of Spaine, and that he would finde a shorter way thither then the Portugales tooke, and layed before them such infallible reasons, that the Councell giuing credite vnto his wordes sent him to sea with five ships and 400 men all very well appointed. With these five ships setting saile from S. Lucar, he came to the coast of Brasill, where at that time two places were inhabited by Portugales, and so sayling on along that coast he passed by the riuer of Plate, which riuer was discovered a little before by Solis. And notwithstanding many stormes, and great mutinies among his companie, he came at length vnto 48 degrees, to the Southwards of the riuer of Plate: where he found an harbour, which he named Puerto de Sant Iulian, and wintered there: and there also he hanged 5 men, and put on shoue a Priest, because they would haue made the company to stand against their captaine, and so to haue returned backe againe. But in the end hauing pacified his men, he put to sea, and within 5 dayes after he found the streights, which by him were so much desired: but before he entered the said streights there befell such a mutinie in one of his ships, that the same ship returned backe againe. And so himselfe with the other foure ships entering the streights, one of the said foure with all the men therein was cast away at the very enterance: which losse notwithstanding he proceeded on with the other three ships, and passing many troubles and dangers in this long discovery, ceased not to prosecute his intended voyage. This discovery was at the first thought very profitable vnto the Spaniards, but of late it hath prooued very hurtfull vnto them by meanes of certaine coasters which haue sayled the selfe same course. These streights stand in 53 degrees and a halfe of Southerly latitude. Also here is to be noted, that it is colder to the Southward of the line then to the Northward: in such wise, that in forty degrees to the Southward the colde is more sharpe, then in fiftie degrees to the North: experience doth alwaies shew the same; for it is as colde euen in the streights of Magellan, as it is in sixty degrees of Northerly latitude. Howbeit the colde is not the cause why nauigatoys frequent not the same, but the Westerly and Southerly winde, which blowe most furiously on that coast, and that oftentimes out of the very mouth of the streights, and so continue for the most part of the yeere. Also there runneth sometimes such a strong current, that if the winde and it goe all one way, the cables cannot holde, neither can the ship withstand the force thereof. For which cause, and also for that there is no harbour, till you be passed 30 leagues into the said streights, most part of the ships that haue gone thither haue indured many troubles before they could come to the streights, and being come to the mouth thereof they haue bene hindered by the current and winde, and so haue bene put backe againe. And to the end you may vnderstand the truth, I will declare vnto you all the shippes that haue past through the said streights, since Magellan first found them, vnto this present yeere of 1586, when I haue once ended my discourse of Magellan his owne voyage. Nowe you are by the way to vnderstande, that the North side of the enterance of these streights is plaine lande without any wood or trees: here are likewise some Indians though not many, yet are they very mightie men of bodie of ten or eleuen foot high, and good bow-men, but no man-eaters, neither haue they any victuals, but such as they get by hunting and fishing: they

Two English
ships, whereof
J. Fenton was
General 1582,

Fernando Magellanes

Porte S. Iulian,

The discovery
of the streights
of Magellan.

The Southerly
latitude of
the streights
of Magellan.

Patagonia

The length of
the streights of
Magellan.

A mightie ridge
of mountaine.

Chili, Peru, and
Nueuo reino de
Granada.

* But of late
there are found
diuerse rich
mines.

The death of
Magellan.

Sebastian del Ca-
no the first ma-
that euer say-
led about the
world.

Two ships of
Genoa.

A third voyage
to the streights.

* Gonfalu de
Ouledo, parte 3.
lib. 30. calleth
this Captaine
Zamargo.
A fourth voy-
age to the
streights.
A fifth and last
voyage to the
streights of
Magellan.

they couer their bodies with the skinnes of beasts that they kill, to defend them from the colde: neither was there euer to this day any silver or golde found among them or in their countrey. These Streights (they say) extend in length from East to West about an hundred and twentie leagues. At the middle of these streights on the North side are many mountaines covered with snow, which mountaines stretch from thence along the frontiers of Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada, euen vnto the shore of the North sea at Santa Martha, as I haue before signified. It is a wonder to behold the exceeding height of these mountaines, and the way which they continue couered with snow, for euen vnder the Equinoctiall line they haue as much snowe vpon their tops as in 52 degrees. Also it is worthy the remembrance, that all this countrey towarde the South sea is very fruitfull, and the people very discrete and gentle: but all the coast towardes Brasill vpon the North sea is pooze, whereas neuer yet was found any commoditie of account, and the people themselves are very cruell and saluage; for the will of God is, that good and ciuill men should inhabite fruitfull countries. And for the better understanding hereof you must note, that all the land lying betweene the said ridge of mountaines and the South sea is called by the names of Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada, which are the best and richest countreys in all the world: and most part of the land from the said mountaines to the North sea is called Brasill, being a mountainous countrey, where as yet was neuer found either golde or silver. From the said mountaines in the middle of the streights the land riseth high, till you come to the end of the streights where you enter into the South sea, in which place next the South sea the streights are very dangerous, by reason of the sholdes & rocks that lie on the North side. Thus Magellan after he had entered the South sea, within 60 dayes came to the Isles of the Malucos, without touching at any land vntill he came thither: and so seeking there to lade his ships at an Island inhabited by Poozes, he was by them treacherously slaine. Now the Spaniards being too few for the managing of all three ships, because many of them were dead, partly with sickness, and partly with the hardnesse of the voyage, determined to abandon one of their said ships, and so manned the other two: which two being laden with spices and other riches knew not what course they were best to take: howbeit at length it was determined, that one of these two ships should go for Nueua Espanna, and the other for the cape of Buena Esperança, and so for Spaine. The ship that went for Spaine was called The Victorie, the Pilot whereof was a Biscain named Iuan Sebastian del Cano, to whom the king gaue great rewardes, and appointed him the globe for his armes, whereon was written: Primus omnium circumdedisti me: that is, thou art the first man that euer sayled about me.

And albeit this voyage was so long and troublesome as is before mentioned, yet many others haue attempted the same. And the next that sought to passe the said streights of Magellan were two ships of Genoa, which coming as farre as the mouth of the streights were by a mightie storme driuen backe againe, and one of them, whose master was called Pancaldo, put into the riuer of Plate, and was cast away about Buenos Acres, where to this day part of the said ship is to be seene, and some of the men are yet liuing in the riuer among the Spaniards: and the other ship returned to Genoa againe.

Also there was a bishop of Placencia in Spaine, who coueting riches, set forth a fleet of foure sailes, to passe the streights, and so to goe for the Malucos: and getting license of the Emperour he sent his said 4 ships toward the streights which had very faire windes till they came thither: but being entered 20 leagues within the streights, a storme of Westerly windes tooke them, & droue 3 of them on shore, & the fourth backe into the sea, which (the storme being past) returned into the streights to seeke for his consortes, & found many men going on the shores side, but the ships were beaten all to pieres. So they on land called vnto the ship; but the captaine thereof, considering that his ship was but little, & that he had but small store of victuals, would not go to them on shore, but proceeded on his voyage, & passed the streights. And because he was alone he would not saile to the Malucos, but went for the coast of Peru to the cite of Lima, where the ship remaineth vnto this day. The men of the other three ships, which were left in the streights being to the number of two hundred and fiftie (whose Captaine being kinsman to the bishop of Placencia was called Queros) were neuer heard of vntill this present day, it being fortie yeres since they were left there. A yere after this, certaine marchantes of the Groine in Galicia set forth other three ships, which ships also came to the streights mouth, where one of them was cast away with all the men, and the other two returned for Spaine.

Also I haue had intelligence of certaine Portugall ships, which being come to the mouth of the Streights lost two of their Pinnelles which they sent to discover the land, and then returned back. And after these, two French ships were sent from the riuer of Ienero by Monsieur de Villegagnon,

legagnon, but being come to the latitude of 45. degrees, they were driven backe by a storme of contrary winds. After all this the gouernour of Chili called Don Garcia de Mendoca sonne to the Marques of Cannette determining to discover the sayd Streights from the South sea, sent from Chili two ships vnder the conduct of a capitaine called Latherelio: but the danger to seeke these Streights by the South sea is more then by the North sea, because all the stormes of the North sea come from the land, but in the South sea all the windes and stormes come off the sea, and force the ships to run vpon the lee-shore, insomuch that the sayd two ships were cast away in fiftie degrees.

Two french ships sent for the Streights of Magellan.

The seeking of these Streights of Magellan is so dangerous, and the voyage so troublesome, that it seemeth a matter almost impossible to be performed, insomuch that for the space of thirty yeeres no man made account thereof; untill of late one Francis Drake an Englishman (of whom I haue before spoken) seeing hee could doe no good on the maine lande of the West Indies to benefit himselfe, because of the galleys of Cartagena that kept the coast, determined to seeke the Streights of Magellan, and to passe into the South sea. And so hauing provided two ships and thre pinnesses in England, he proceeded on his voyage, and comming to the Islands of Cape Verde tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine, the Pilot whereof being a Portugal called Nuno da Sylua, hee caried along with him, who was a great helpe and furtherance vnto him in his voyage. And this which I shall here say, I had in writing of the Portugal pilot himselfe.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage about this world.

From the Islands of Cape Verde the sayd Francis Drake sailed vnto Port Sant Iulian, where he wintered: and there also hee put to death a gentleman of his company, because hee would haue returned home. This port I take to bee accursed, for that Magellan likewise put some to death there for the like offence.

The cause why Sir Francis Drake was beheaded.

This Francis Drake putting out of the sayd port, entered the Streights, and within twelue dayes gotte into the South sea. And two dayes after there arose such a storme of Westerly windes (which are vsuall in those parts) that he lost his pinnesse, and his Viceadmirall master John Winter was driven backe againe into the Streights, who passing many dangers returned home into England. But Francis Drake himselfe ranne with this storme into seuen and fiftie degrees of Southerly latitude, where hee found an Island with a good harborough, and fresh water, and stayed at the same Island two moneths to repayre his ships: and then, the weather being faire, he proceeded on his voyage, and came to the coast of Chili to an Island called La Mocha; where hee went on shore, and talked with the Indians: but when hee would haue returned vnto his boate they shotte their arrowes at him, and killed two of his men, and hee himselfe was wounded in the face.

Sir Francis Drake driven into 57 degrees of Southerly latitude.

La Mocha in 38 deg. 30 min. or ner against the prouince of Arauco. The towne of Concepcion, Valparizo.

Going from thence hee passed by the towne of Concepcion not knowing the place, and so to Valparizo which is the port of Sant Iago, where hee found a ship laden with a kind of victuals and wine, and had in her besides threescore thousand pesos of gold, euery peso being worth eight shillings sterling: and taking this ship with him hee went from thence to another port called Coquimbo: where seeing many cattell on the land, he sent presently some of his men with calleniers to kill of the sayd cattell: but being espied of the Spaniards that dwelt in the towne, they sent twelue horsemen to see what they were that killed their cattell, for they knew them not: and comming neere vnto them, the Englishmen fled to their boates, but the horsemen overtooke one of them who had a halbard in his hand, whom the Spaniards thought to haue taken: but hee with his halbard killing one of their horses was himselfe runne through with a lance, and so the Spaniards carried him dead with them into the towne. The next day the newes came to Sant Iago, that they were Englishmen, and how they had taken the shippe out of the harbour of Valparizo: whereupon they of Sant Iago sent a Post by land to giue warning vnto them of Peru. Howbeit by reason that the countrey betwene this place and Peru is not inhabited for the space of two hundred leagues, and many huge and colde mountaines couered with snowe lie in the way, the Poste was so long in perfourmance of this iourney, that capitaine Drake was vpon the coast of Peru a moneth before the sayd Poste came thither: neither could they send any newes by sea, because they were destitute of shipping.

The port of Coquimbo in 39 deg. 30 min.

Captaine Drake departing from Coquimbo sayled to another porte not inhabited, where he set vp a pinnesse. And going from thence, the next place where he touched was a porte vpon the coast of Peru called los Pescadores: and there hee landed, and in one of the fishermens houses found of a Spaniards thre thousand pesos of siluer in little barres.

Los Pescadores.

From hence he went to another port called Arica, which being the next towne to Chili that the Spaniards haue in all Peru, containeth an hundred houses: and this is the porte where they discharge

Arica in 18 deg.

Chali.

El Callao de
Lima.Three ships
sent after cap-
taine Drake.A rich prize ta-
ken by Sir Fran-
cis Drake at
Cape S. Francisco
Attaine one de-
gree to the north
of the Equi-
noctial.

charge their merchandize that passe from Lima to Porosli, and to all other cities within the land, and likewise at this place they were wont to imbarke all the silver which they caried for Panamá. At this port of Arica he found a ship that had in her thirteene thousand pesos of silver, which having taken out, he burned the sayd ship, and after thought to have landed, but seeing both horsemen and footemen on shoze hee would not, but proceeded on his voyage. Since captaine Drake was at this porte they carie their silver by land to Lima, and lade no more treasure here, but onely discharge the merchants goods that come from Spaine hither. Also they have built a forte at this place for the better safety of the inhabitants, and have planted it with ten pieces of Ordnance, and every summer there lie in garison an hundred souldiers besides the townesmen. From hence he sayled to another porte called Chuli: in which porte was a ship that had three hundred thousand pesos of silver in barres: but they had sent horsemen from Arica to giue aduertizement of Drakes being on the coast, which newes came but two houres to the towne before his arriuall at the sayd porte: whereupon the Master of the shippe hauing no leisure to carie his silver on shoze, was forced to throwe it into the sea in fire sadome water, where his ship roade, and so to runne on shoze in the shippes boate. And captaine Drake comming aboard the ship was told by an Indian, that the Master had throwen the silver ouerboard. Wherefore seeing that newes began to run of him from towne to towne he stayed not here, but ran along the coast: and because he would haue no lets, he cast off the ship which he had taken at Sant Iago, with neuer a man in her, which ship was neuer heard of after. And so without staying any where he shaped his course for Lima, and comming to the harborough of Lima called El Callao, being two leagues distant from Lima it selfe, (for Lima standeth by into the land) hee arriued there one day, before the newes of him was brought to Lima, and found the men in the ships without suspicion. And as hee entered into the porte, there came in also a ship from Panamá laden with merchandize, and hee sent his pinnelle to take her: but the men forsaking the ship betooke them to their boate, and went on shoze: and as the Englishmen followed the boat, a Spaniard that was therein shot a piece, and slew one of captaine Drakes men in the pinnelle. Wherefore hee followed the boat no farther, but went with his pinnelle into the harbour among fouteene saile of ships that lay there, in all which ships there was not a man that had so much as a sword or a piece to molest him, wherefore hee did with lesse feare go from ship to ship, asking them if there were any ships gone for Panamá: for he knew wel, that the ships which goe for Panamá carie both silver & gold, neither sought he for any thing else, for there were marchandize enough for him in those ships, if hee had bene desirous to haue had the same. So they told him that three dayes past there was a ship gone for Panamá which caried all the merchants silver thither. Whereupon he presently set saile towards Panamá: for when hee came into this porte it was about midnight, so that the Spaniards could not see what ships he had. At last the newes came to Lima vnto the Viceroy of Peru, that there were enemies in the harbor, but they knew not what they were. Wherefore the Viceroy & all the people were in great feare, lest some Spaniards had made a mutinie, and put themselves in armes: and so the next morning himselfe accompanied with 2000 horsemen & footmen came from the citie down to the waters side, and finding some of the Englishmens arrowes that were shot at the boat, out of which their man was slain, they knew them to be Englishmen: and then they were all in quiet, seeing it was but one ship, for as yet the ship lay becalmed 3 dayes before the towne. Whereupon they forthwith provided 2 ships with 200 men in them, to boord captaine Drake or els to burne his ship; and after the ships went 2 small pinnelles, because that if any of the ships should be sunke, they might saue the men. But it was a day & a halfe before these things could be made ready, & in the end going forth they found 3 English ship still becalmed, & the calme was such, that the Spaniards could not come at them. The same night, the wind blowing afresh gale, the Spaniards returned into the harbour, and captaine Drake set forward to Panamá. The cause of the Spaniards returne was, for that they had no Ordnance, nor victuals to carry any longer out. Then the Viceroy caused fire pieces of Ordnance to be made, neither could hee make any more, in regard of the shortnesse of time: so with these pieces of Ordnance, and three shippes, and two hundred and fifty men in them hee sent after captaine Drake; who after hee had winde stayed no where, nor tooke any ships at all, nor withstanding hee met with many comming from Panamá laden with merchandize, but still hee inquired after the shippe that was gone to Panamá before him: of which ship he had sight about the cape of Sant Francisco, the Master wherof was a Biskaine, called Iuan de Anton: who seeing this ship of the Englishmens, thought that the Viceroy of Peru had sent him some message, and therefore strooke all his sailes: but so soone as hee might discerne the shippe somewhat better, hee would then saue haue gone his way, for hee knew that it was none of that coast, and then hee began to hoise his sailes, but could by no meanes get from Captaine Drake because

because hee was within the reach of his great Ordinance, for the Spaniards not hauing so much as a rapier to defend themselves, were soone constrained to yeelde. There were in this shippe a boue eight hundred and fifty thousand pesos of silver, and forty thousand pesos of gold, all which silver and golde was customed; but what store of treasure they had besides vncustomed I knowe not, for many times they cary almost as much more as they pay custome for; otherwise the king would take it from them, if they should be knowne to haue any great summe; wherefore every shippe carieth his bill of custome, that the king may see it. All this treasure that captaine Drake tooke was merchants and other mens goods, sauing one hundred and eighty thousand pesos of the kings. He had also out of this ship good store of victuals with other necessaries, which were to bee caried for Panamá, and was five dayes taking out of such things as hee needed. This done, he sayled from hence to the coast of Nueva Espanna without going to Panamá. Surely this was a great plague of God iustly inflicted vpon vs for our sinnes: for the taking of these ships is an especiall cause of all the dangerous warres that are likely to ensue betweene Spaine and England.

Read Nuno da Sylua concerning this treasure.

Now the ships that were sent by the Viceroy of Peru from Lima after Francis Drake, arrived at Cape Sant Francisco twenty dayes after hee had taken the foresayd shippe, and had intelligence by a ship comming from Panamá, which they met at the sayd cape, that Francis Drake had taken the ship with silver, and was not gone for Panamá. Whereupon the captaine of the three ships thinking that captaine Drake had bene gone for the Streights of Magellan, directed his course that way to seeke him.

Captaine Drake carried from the coast of Peru eight hundred sixty six thousand pesos of silver, which is as much as eight hundred sixty six quintals, at 100 pound weight the quintal, every quintal being worth one thousand and two hundred ducats of Spaine; all which summe amounteth to a million and thirtie nine thousand and two hundred ducats. Besides this silver hee caried away a hundred thousand pesos of gold, that is ten quintals, each quintal being valued at a thousand five hundred Spanish ducats, which last summe amounteth to an hundred and fifty thousand ducats: ouer and besides the treasure in the sayd ship which was vncustomed (the value whereof I cannot learne) consisting of pearles, precious stones, reals of plate, and other things of great worth.

With all this purchase he sayled toward Nueva Espanna; and at an Island lying before that coast called The Island of Cano hee discharged all things out of his shippe and graved her, and remained there ten dayes. From thence hee went along the coast of Nueva Espanna, where hee tooke certaine ships laden with spices, silkes, and veluets, but no golde nor silver, for there was none to bee had on this coast. And here at Guatulco he let on shore his Portugall pilot, which he tooke at one of the Islands of Cape Verde. But what course he kept from this coast till he came into England I know not of certainty, and therefore I will not meddle therewithall.

The Island of Cano.

The foresayd three ships which were sent in pursuit of captaine Drake, returned backe againe to Lima without doing of ought. All which notwithstanding, the Viceroy of Peru determined to send two ships to the Streights of Magellan, either to meete with captaine Drake there, or else to see if they could fortifie the sayd Streights against such ships as might afterward attempt to passe through the same. And albeit this was thought a most dangerous voyage, and impossible to be perfourmed, by reason of the shoals on that side of the Streights, yet sent he forth the two said ships. The Admirall being a ship of an hundred tunnes, and the other of eighty tunnes, & hauing one hundred and twenty men in them both, sayled from Lima vnder the conduct of Pedro Sarmiento, who was then accounted the best navigator in all Peru. These ships after their departure touching on the coast to take in victuals, were nine moneths before they came to the latitude of the Streights, and there were they encountered with a cruel storme: but Pedro Sarmiento being a man of good courage, bare in with the land in this storme, & in a night hee was put into the streits, not knowing how nor which way; and the other ship running farther into the sea, sayled to 58 degrees of Southerly latitude. The storme being past, this other shippe found many Islands neere vnto the main land, and so returned with faire weather all along the shore, neither could they find any other way to enter the Streights, but onely that which Magellan discovered: notwithstanding that others affirme the contrary, saying that the Streights be full of Islands to the Southwards: but they may be deceiued, for if there be any other Streight, it is beyond 58 degrees, and hath neuer bene seene of any man: for this ship was farthest to the Southwards of all that euer I heard of: for Francis Drake being driuen by tempest no farther then 57 degrees could not know so much as this other; which ship from hence returned backe to Lima. But Pedro Sarmiento entered the Streights, where his men falling into a mutinie would haue returned to Lima; where

Pedro Sarmiento sent from Lima to the Streights of Magellan.

58 degrees of Southerly latitude discovered to the South of the Streights.

Pedro Sarmiento
perswaded the
king of Spaine
to fortifie the
Streights of
Magellan.

whereupon hanging one of them he proceeded on his voyage for Spaine. Where being arrived, he told the king that there were two narrow places in the Streights where he might build a forte, and that there was a very good countrey abounding with great store of riches and other necessities, and very well inhabited with Indians. Upon whose wordes, and for that there were more ships making ready in England to passe the sayd Streights, the king sent Diego Flores de Valdez with 23 ships and 3500 men, and a new gouernour to Chili with five hundred old souldiers newly come out of Flanders. These ships had the hardest hap of any that euer went out of Spaine since the Indias were first discovered: for that before they could get cleere of the coast of Spaine, a stormeooke them, and cast away five of them, and about eight hundred men, and the residue of the flecte put into Cadiz. Notwithstanding which hard successe, the king sent them word that they should proceede: and so they did with sixteene sailles only, for two other of their ships were so shaken with the storme, that they could not goe forth. In these sixteene saile of ships Pedro Sarmiento was sent to be gouernour in the streights: he carted with him all kind of artificers, to build fortis, and other necessities, with great store of Ordnance and munition. This flecte because it set late forth, wintered on the coast of Brasil in the riuer of Ienero. Winter being past, they set sayle from hence, and about the height of 42 degrees they had such a storme, that Diego Flores was faine to beate it by and downe about 23 dayes; in which storme was sunke one of his best ships, and in her three hundred men and twenty women that went to inhabite the streights, and most part of the munition that should haue bene left in the streights were all cast away. In the ende the storme grew so intollerable, that the ships not being able to endure it any longer were constrained to put backe againe vnto an Island called Santa Catelina: and there he found a barkie wherein were certaine friers going for the riuer of Plate, which friers told him of two great English ships and a pinnelle that had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaines ships. Now Diego Flores supposing that these English ships would go to the streights, was himselfe determined to go to the streights also, though it was in the moneth of February: and choosing tenne shippes of the flecte that were left, he sent three of the residue that were old and shaken with the storme (wherein he put all the women and sicke men that were in the flecte) backe againe to the riuer of Ienero; leauing the other two shippes, which were not able to brooke the sea, at the foresayd Island; and so himselfe with the sayd ten ships returned againe for the streights.

Two English
ships vnder the
conduct of Mr.
Penton and Mr.
Luke Ward.

Espirito Santo.

John Drake.

Now the three ships wherein the sicke men and the women were embarked, came to the port of Sant Vincent: where finding the two foresayd English ships, and vrging them to auoide the harbour, the English entred combat with them: and by reason that these three ships were weakened with former tempests, and were manned with the refuse of all the Spanish flecte, the Englishmen easily put them to the worst, and sunke one of them, and might also haue sunke another, if they had bene so minded; but they desired not the destruction of any man: and doublesse it is the greatest valour that any man can shew, that when hee may doe hurte, he will not. Whereupon the Englishmen departed from this porte vnto Espirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandize: and so they returned home to England without doing any harme in the countrey. The cause why these English captaines went not to the streights I know not: some say, that they were put backe by foule weather, others suppose that it was for feare of the kings ships: but the pinnelle that belonged to these shippes wherein Iohn Drake went as captaine, departed from them: the cause why hee did so, is vnknewen: but this pinnelle entred the riuer of Plate, and within five leaguas of Seale-Island, not farre from the place where the Erle of Cumberland's ships tooke in fresh water, it was cast away vpon a ledge of rockes; but the men were all saued in the boate. Who being eightene in number went on shore vpon the Northside of the Island, and passing tenne dayes tourney vp into the lande, they met with certaine Saluage people, which are no man-eaters, but take all the Christians that they can get, and make them their slaues: howbeit the Englishmen fought with them, and being too fewe in number, five of them were slaine, and the other thirteene taken prisoners, who remained with the Saluages about fiftene moneths.

But the Master of the pinnelle called Richard Faireweather, being loth any longer to indure that miserie wherein hee was, and hauing knowledge of a towne of Christians on the other side of the riuer, called on a night Iohn Drake, and another poong man which was with them, and tooke a Canoa being very little, and hauing but two oares, and passed therewith on the other side of the riuer, which is full nine leagues broad; and being three dayes before they could get oner, they were much pined for lacke of meate. But comming to land, they hit vpon an high way that went to wards the Christians: and spying the footing of horses, they followed it, and at last came

to an house, neere vnto the which cozne was towed. And there they met with Indians that were seruants to the Spaniards, who gaue them foode, and clothes to couer them withall, for they were all naked. And one of the sayd Indians went to the towne, and caried newes of the Englishmen: whereupon the captaine of the towne sent out foure horsemen; which brought them to the towne behinde them, and the sayd captaine clothed them, and provided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake sate at the captaines owne table, and hee intreated them all very well, thinking to send them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hearing this newes sent for them, and they sent him Iohn Drake; but the other two they kept, because they were married in the countrey. Thus much concerning their affaires. Upon these newes also there were prepared fifty horsemen to goe ouer the riuer, both to seeke the rest of the Englishmen, and certaine Spaniards which were amongst those Saluage people; but I am not assured whether they went forward or no.

Nowe let vs returne to Diego Flores: who passing from the Island of Santa Catalina towards the streights of Magellan in the middle of February, and comming to the height of the riuer of Plate, sent the gouernour of Chili with three ships by the riuer to Buenos Ayres, that hee might from thence passe ouerland to Chili. Of these three ships two were lost, but the men and provisions were saued; and the third returned for Spaine. Then Diego Flores with the other seuen ships proceeded on to the latitude of 52. degrees, whereas the mouth of the Streights beginneth: but because it was the ende of March, which there is the latter ende of summer, the countrey was so full of snow, and withall there arose such a sudden storme, that he could not see Sarmiento and his men on shore, but was constrained the second time to returne vnto the riuer of Ienero vpon the coast of Brasil; where he heard newes of the English ships by the two Spanish ships that escaped from them. Upon which newes he left his lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento, that they might the next yeere returne for the streights. And so Diego Flores himselfe with foure ships which were yet remaining vnto him, and other foure which the king sent to succour him, set forth to seeke the Englishmen; but hauing runne along all the coast of Brasil hee could not finde them, because they were gone directly for England. Whereupon shaping his course vnto a port called Paraiua, and finding there five French ships, he burnt three and tooke two, and the fourth also which the Frenchmen had built, and put Spaniards therein, but the Frenchmen fledde into the mountaines to the Saluages. This done hee returned for Spaine.

The gouernour
of Chili passeth
thither by the
riuer of Plate.

Five ships
more sent to
Diego Flores.

Five French
ships taken at
Paraiua.

Pedro Sarmiento
left in 5 ships
of Magellan
with 400 men
& 30 women.

Nombre de Iesus
builded.

Ciudad del rey
Philippe builded.

At this point
the reader may
see the map

At this point
the reader may
see the map

In the meane season his Lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento had the next yeere so good fortune, that they arriued safely in the streights with all their ships, and set on shore foure hundred men: but because the ships boate could not land, being once laden, they ran that ship, which had all the victuals and munition in her, on shore in a bay, and as the water did ebbe they tooke all things out of her. This being done, Diego de Ribera left Sarmiento with foure hundred men, thirtie women, and a ship, with victuals for eight moneths: and with the other three shippes hee returned, hauing remained in the Streights but eight dayes. Nowe Pedro Sarmiento built a towne at the mouth of the Streights on the North side, placing therein an hundred and fiftie men: and from thence he went by land, and sent the ship further into the streights, and fiftie leagues within the Streights, at the narrowest place of all, where there is a very good porte, hee built another towne, which he named The towne of King Philip; and would also haue made a forte, and planted Ordnance for the defence of the Streights: but the snowe and Winter was so intollerable, that hee could not bring it to perfection. Whereupon taking about 25 mariners with him into the foresayd ship, hee sayd hee would goe see howe his other people did, and so hee sayled to the Streights mouth, vnto the towne which was first built; where hauing continued a day or two, he sayd that a storme put him from the Streights by force and brake his cables; but his men affirmed the contrary, that himselfe cut his cables (God knoweth the truth) and so he passed to the riuer of Ienero; and not finding there any succour come from the king, he sayled to Fernambuck, crauing ayde of the captaine to furnish him with victuals. And so the captaine presently freighted his ship with victuals and clothes for his people left in the Streights, and so sailed thitherward. But between Cape S. Augustin and Baya the wind came off the sea with such violence, that it forced the ship to run on shore; where Sarmiento had three of his men drowned, and he with the rest hardly escaped: and so this ship was lost with all the provision in her.

From thence hee passed by land to Baya where the gouernour of Brasil bought him a barke that lay in the harbour, lading the same with victuals and clothes for Sarmientos colonie. With this provision and diuers other necessities for his people hee tooke his voyage for the Streights, and comming to the height of foure and forty degrees, hee met on the sudden with such a furious storme

Pedro Sarmiento
was taken by
Sir Walter Ra-
leghs barques
1586.

Master Candish
found but 22
men living of
them.

Castro upon the
coast of Chili.

Baldia.
A description
of the province
Chili.

Rivers rich of
golde.

Copapo the
next towne of
Chili unto Peru.

Alfado de A-
rauco.

store, that he was forced to throw his freight overboard, and also to returne to the river of Iene-
ro. Where staying a whole yeere for succour from the king, there came not so much as a letter
from him. For the king was sore displeased at Pedro Sarmiento, because hee made him beleene
that the narrowest place of the Streights was but a mile over: and that it might bee fortified so
that a boate could not passe: whereas Diego de Ribera, and others certified the king, that it was
about a league broad, and that if a ship came with winde and current, all the Ordinance in the
world could not hurte it. Wherefore the king thought that Pedro Sarmiento had deceived him,
in making him to lose so many men, and so much charges to no effect. And the gouvernour of Baya
seeing that the king wrote not unto him, would giue him no more succour: so that Sarmiento
was constrained to make a voyage for Spaine in the same shippe, wherein hee last sayled toward
the Streights: and it is sayd that hee was taken in the way by Englishmen, and caried into
England. This Sarmiento hath caried the name to be the best Navigator in all Spaine, and that
hee hath sayled the furthest of all others. After all this the captaine of the river of Iene-ro sent a
small ship with victuals for the Streights, which was put backe also in fortie degrees. And
this is all the discovery of the Streights of Magellan, made as well by Spaniards as other na-
tions unto this present yeere 1586. It is foure yeeres since these poore and miserable Spani-
ards were left in the Streights, from which time there hath no succour gone unto them, so God
he knoweth whether they be dead or alive.

Thus according to my promise I haue declared unto you to the uttermost of my knowledge,
all things concerning the lodias, as farre as the very Streights of Magellan; thinking to haue
proceeded along the coast, as at the first; but that the doings of captaine Drake and other cap-
taines which attempted to passe the sayd Streights haue caused mee to bee the longer in this my
pretended worke. Howbeit now let vs proceede on forward from the Streights to the coast of
Chili: the distance betweene which two places no man hath trauelled by land, in regard of the
huge mountaines couered with snow that lie in the way: yea I may well say, that it hath not often
bene trauelled by sea; for that all the ships which haue passed that way haue at the least gone thirty
leagues off the shore, to auoide the shoals and many little Islands that lie neere the maine lands;
and therefore the inland of that coast remaineth as yet unknowne.

The first towne after you haue passed the Streights standeth on the coast of Chili, and is cal-
led Castro, being situate vpon the worst place of all the coast, for there is but small store of golde
with scarcitie of victuals, and a sharpe colde ayre. The harbour belonging to this towne is com-
passed about with so many sholdes, that it will serue but to receiue small barques onely. The next
towne to this is Baldia.

But before I passe any farther I will heere describe unto you the situation and quality of
Chili. This countrey stretcheth in length from North to South about two hundred leagues,
containing in breadth but five and twenty leagues at the most.

From the great ridge of mountaines lying to the East of Chili runne very many rivers into
the sea, which rivers are the cause of diuers valleys the fruitfulest in all the worlde, where
bread, wine, and other victuals mightily abound: and the sayd rivers also are very rich of golde.
But to declare in fewe wordes the excellencie of this prouince, I say that it might well bee cal-
led an earthly paradise, saue that it lacketh one onely commodity, and that is peace. It was first
discovered on this manner: the Spaniards hauing conquered the kingdome of Peru, (as I will
hereafter shewe unto you) found in the sayd kingdome great store of golde; and asking the In-
dians from whence it came, they answered, from Chili. Upon which newes Don Diego de
Almagro being one of the principall captaines that conquered Peru made a voyage with three
hundred horsemen toward Chili, being constrained in his way to goe ouer part of the snowy
mountaines, which way his Indian guides conducted him, to the ende that himselfe and all his
companie might die for colde. Howbeit the Spaniards, though they lost some of their horses,
came to the first towne of Chili called Copiapo being situate vpon the first plaine at the entrance
of the sayd prouince. But hauing newes that the Indians were risen against the Spaniards of
Peru and had inclosed them, hee returned backe without going any farther.

Nowe this captaine Don Diego de Almagro being slaine in the warres of Peru, another
called Don Pedro de Baldia marching into Chili with foure hundred horses, easily con-
quered that halfe of the countrey which was subiect to the kings of Peru. For knowing that
Peru, being the chiefe countrey of their Emperour, was overcome by the Spaniards, they al-
so immediately peeled their lande unto them. But the other halfe as it was the richest and
the fruitfulest part, so God had peopled it with the most valiant and furious people in all
America.

The

The prouince which they inhabite called El Estado de Arauco is but a small prouince about 20 leagues in length, and is gouerned by ten principall men of the countrey, out of which tenne they chuse the valiantest man for their generall in the warres. The kings of Peru in times past could neuer conquere this part of Chili, nor yet any other kings of the Indians. The weapons vsed by these people of Arauco are long pikes, halbarbs, bowes and arrowes: they also make them iacks of leale-skinnes, and head-pieces: in times past the heads of their halbarbs and pikes were of brasse, but now they haue gotten store of yron. They pitch their battels in maner like the Christians: for putting their pikemen in rankes, they place bowmen among them, and marshall their troups with discretion and great valour. Now the Spaniards comming vnto this prouince sent word vnto them by other Indians, saying that they were the children of God, and came to teach them the word of God, and that therefore they ought to yeelde themselves vnto them; if not, they would shoot fire among them and burne them. These people not fearing the great words of the Spaniards, but desiring to see that which they had heard reported, met them in the field, and fought a most cruell battell: but by reason of the Spaniards great ordinance and calluers, they were in the end put to flight. Now these Indians thinking verily that the Spaniards were the children of God, because of their great ordinance which made such a noise, and breathed out such flames of fire, yeilded themselves vnto them. So the Spaniards hauing diuided this prouince made the Indians to serue their turnes for getting of gold out of the mines, which they enioyed in such abundance, that hee which had least had 200000 pesos, but Captaine Baldiua himselfe had 300000 pesos by the yeere. The fame of these riches in the end was spread as farre as Spaine; from whence soone after resorted many Spaniards to the land of Chili, whom Captaine Baldiua caused to inhabite fire towne: to wit, Villa nueva de la Serena called in the Indian tongue Coquimbo; the second Sancto Iago which the Indians call Mapocha; the third La Concepcion called by the Indians Penco; the fourth La Imperial; the fift Baldiua; and the sixt La Villa Rica. Also he built a fort in the middle of all the land, wherein hee put ordinance and souldiers: howbeit all this their good successe continued not long: for the Indians in short time perceiuing that the Spaniards were but mortall men as well as they, determined to rebell against them: wherefore the first thing that they did, they carried grasse into the said fort for the Spaniards horses, and wood also for them to burne, among which grasse the Indians conueyed bowes and arrowes with great clubs. This done, fiftie of the Indians entered the fort, betooke themselves to their bowes, arrowes, and clubs, and stood in the gate of the said fort: from whence making a signe vnto other of their nation for helpe, they wanne the fort, and slewe all the Spaniards. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to the towne of Concepcion where Captaine Baldiua was, hee presently set forth with two hundred horsemen to seeke the Indians, taking no more men with him, because he was in haste. And in a plaine he met the Indians, who comming of purpose also to seeke him, and compassing him about, slew most part of his company, the rest escaping by the swiftnesse of their horses: but Baldiua hauing his horse slaine vnder him was taken aliue. Whom the Indians wished to be of a good courage, and to feare nothing; for the cause (said they) why we haue taken you, is to giue you gold ynough. And hauing made a great banquet for him, the last seruice of all was a cuppe full of melted gold, which the Indians forced him to drinke, saying, Now glut thy selfe with gold, and so they killed him. This Baldiua was a most valiant man, who had bene an olde souldier in the warres of Italy, and at the sacking of Rome.

El estado de Arauco.

Villa nueva de la Serena, La Concepcion, Sancto Iago, La Imperial, Baldiua, La Villa Rica, the first fire towne that were inhabited in Chili.

A stratagemme of the Indians of Chili against the Spaniards.

The death of Baldiua.

Upon this discomfiture the Spaniards choose for their Captaine one Pedro de Villa grande; who assembling all the Spaniards in Chili, and taking with him tenne peeces of ordinance, marched against those Indians; but with so badde successe, that he lost not onely the field and many of his men, but also those ten peeces of ordinance which hee brought. The Indians hauing thus gotten the victorie, went streight way against the towne of Concepcion, from whence the Spaniards fled for feare, and left the towne desolate. And in this maner were the Spaniards chased by the Indians out of the countrey of Arauco. But newes hereof being brought to the Marques of Cannete viceroy of Peru, hee sent his sonne Don Garcia de Mendoza against those Indians, with a great power of horsemen, and footmen, and store of Artillerie. This nobleman hauing subdued Chili againe, & slaine in diuers battels about 40000 Indians, and brought them the second time vnder the Spaniards subiection, newly erected the said fort that stood in the midst of the land, inhabited the towne of Concepcion againe, and built other towne for the Spaniards: and so leauing the land in peace, hee returned for Peru. But yet hee was cleane departed out of the land the Indians rebelled againe, but could not doe so much mischief as they did before, because the Spaniards tooke better heede vnto them. From that time vntill this present there hath

Pedro de villa grande.

Don Garcia de Mendoza.

Eleue towne,
and two bis-
hoppicks in
Chili.

A description
of the towne
of Chili,
Baldia.

The prouince
of Arauco ouer
against the
Island La Mo-
cha situate in
38 deg. and a
halfe.
La Concepcion.

Valparizo
which is the
port of S. Iago
standeth in 33
deg. 40 min.

Coquimbo
standeth in 29
deg. 30. min.
Copiapo.

A description
of Peru.

Isla del Gallo.

bene no peace at all: for notwithstanding many Captaines and souldiers haue done their vitermost, yet can they not bring that people wholly in subiection. And although the Spaniards haue in this prouince eleuen towne and two bishopricks, yet haue they little ynough to maintaine themselves, by reason of the warres; for they spend all the golde that the land yeeldeth in the maintenance of their souldiers: which would not bee so, if they had peace, for then they might worke in all their mines.

Thus hauing spoken somewhat of the situation of Chili, and of the troublesome conquest thereof, I will retorne to my former discourse where I left. Baldia therefore being of 150 houses hath twice bene burnt and spoiled by the Indians; so that now it is waken poore, but before the Indians sacked it, it was very rich: and it standeth by a riuer foure leagues from the sea. Passing from hence you come to the plaine countrey of Arauco being situate ouer against the Island La Mocha, on which Island the Indians that inhabite belong to the maine land.

Hauing passed this plaine of Arauco, the next towne of the Spaniards that you come vnto is La Concepcion which hath bene the greatest and the richest towne in all Chili; but by reason that the Indians haue burned the same foure times, it is now growen very poore, and hath small store of people: it containeth about some two hundred houses. And because it adioyneth vpon the plaine of Arauco, where these valiant Indians bee, therefore this towne is environed about with a strong wall, and hath a fort built hard by it: and here are 500 souldiers continually in garrison. Betweene this place and Valparizo, the Indians call the coast by the name of Mapocha. Sant Iago it selfe standing 25 leagues by into the countrey, is the principall towne of all Chili, and the seate of the gouernour; it consisteth of about 800 houses. The port of Valparizo whither the goods come from Lima by shipping, hath about twentie houses standing by it. The next towne neere the sea side beyond this is Coquimbo, which standeth two leagues by into the land, and containeth about 200 houses. Next vnto Coquimbo standeth a port-towne called Copiapo inhabited altogether by Indians which serue the Spaniards: and here a gentleman which is gouernour of the towne hath an Ingenio for sugar: at this place endeth the whole prouince of Chili. Here also the mountaines ioynting hard vpon the sea are the cause why all the land betweene Copiapo and Peru, containing 160 leagues, lyeth desolate.

The first towne on the coast of Peru called Atacama is inhabited by Indians which are slaues vnto the Spaniards. But before I passe any farther I will here also declare vnto you the first discoverie of Peru with other matters thereto belonging, and then will I retorne to the sea-coast againe: and to the ende you may vnderstand mee the better, I will begin with Panama. After that the Spaniards had inhabited the North side of this maine land, passing ouer the mountaines they discovered the South sea: where because they found Indian people with gold and pearles, they built a towne eightene leagues to the West of Nombre de Dios hard vpon the sea-side, and called it Panama. From hence they discovered along the coast of Nueva Espanna: and for that Nueva Espanna was at the same time inhabited by Spaniards, there beganne a trade from thence to Panama: but from Panama by sea to the coast of Peru they could not trade in a long time, because of the Southerly winds blowing on this coast almost all the yeere long, which are a hinderance to shippes sayling that way: and by land the passage was impossible, in regard of mountaines and riuers: yea it was fifteene yeeres before they passed the Island of Pearles, which is but twentie leagues from Panama. There were at this time in Panama two men, the one called Francisco Pizarro borne in the citie of Truxillo in Spaine, a valiant man, but withall poore: the other called Diego de Almagro was very rich. These men got a company vnto them, and prouided two Carauels to discover the coast of Peru: and hauing obtained licence of the gouernour of that place, Francisco Pizarro set forth with the two foresayd Carauels and 100 men, and Diego de Almagro stayed in Panama to send him victuals and other necessities. Now Francisco Pizarro sayling along the coast met with much contrary winds and raine, which put him to great trouble; and he began also after a while to lacke victuals, for hee was sailing of that in eight moneths which they now passe in fifteene dayes, and not knowing the right course hee ranne into euery riuer and bay that hee saw along the coast; which was the chiefe cause that hee stayed so long on his voyage: also thirtie of his company dyed by reason of the vnehealthfulnesse of the coast. At last hee came to an Island called by him Isla del Gallo, being situate from the maine land sixe leagues. From hence he sent one of his ships to Panama for a new supply of victuals & of men: which ship being departed, 40 of his men that remained behind made a mutiny, and passed by into the countrey, meaning to retorne by land to Panama, but in the way they all perished, for they were neuer heard of vntill this day. So that Francisco Pizarro was left vpon the said Island onely with thirtie men: who although he had his ship there in which he might haue returned,

returned, yet would he rather die then goe backe; and his 13 men also were of his opinion, notwithstanding that they had no other victuals, but such as they had from the maine land in the night season. Thus he continued nine moneths, before any succour was brought him from Panama: but in the end his ship returned with 40 men onely and victuals: whereupon hee prosecuted his voyage till he came to the first plaine countrey of Peru called Tumbes, where he found a fort made by the king of Peru against the Indians of the mountaines. Wherefore Picarro and his men were very glad in that they had found a people of so good understanding and discretion, being rich also in gold and silver and well apparelled. At this port of Tumbes hee tooke 30000 pesos of gold in trucke of marchandize: and hauing too few men to proceede any further hee carried two Indians with him to learne the language and returned backe for Panama. Upon this discouery Francisco Picarro thought it expedient to trauell into Spaine to craue of the king the conquest of this land. Whither being come, the king granted his request. And with the money which he carried ouer with him he hired a great number of men with a fleet of ships, and brought also along with him foure of his brethren very valiant and hardy men. And being come to Panama he straightway went on his voyage for Peru, being accompanied with his partner Diego de Almagro. They sailed first to the Island called Isla del Gallo; where Francisco Picarro and his brethren went on land, and left Diego de Almagro in the ships. And the whole number which afterward landed on the maine land were 60 horsemen and 120 footemen, with two great field-peeeces.

But before we proceede any farther, we thinke it not amisse to describe vnto you the situation of Peru, and the naturall disposition of the inhabitants: This countrey was called Peru by the Spaniards, of a riuer so named by the Indians, where they first came to the sight of gold. From which riuer standing vnder the line, till you come to Copiapo the first towne on the coast of Chili, stretcheth the land of Peru, for the space of eight hundred leagues: vpon five hundred whereof from Atacama to Tumbes did neuer drop of raine fall, since the flood of Noah: and yet is it the fruitfulllest land for all kind of victuals and other necessaries for the sustentation of mans life that is to be found in all the world besides. The reason why it raineth not in this land is because it being a plaine countrey and very narrow and low, situate betweene the Equinoctiall and the tropique of Capricorne, there runneth on the West frontier not aboute twentie leagues from the sea called Mar del Sur Eastward thereof, a mighty ridge of high mountaines covered with snow, the height of which mountaines so draweth the moisture of the cloudes vnto it selfe, that no raine falleth vpon the vallies of Peru. From these mountaines issue great store of riuers into the South sea, with the waters wherof drawen by certaine sluices and chanelles they moisten their vineyardes and corne-fields, and by this meanes the land is so exceeding fruitfull. Betweene these mountaines and the mountaines of Chili that stretch vnto the Streits of Magellan, lyeth a plaine of 60 leagues ouer, being so cold that it yeeldeth no Wheat, but good store of other victuals. This countrey of Peru is full of people well apparelled and of ciuill behauiour. It hath many mines of gold and moze of silver, as also great store of copper, and tinne-mines, with abundance of saltpeter, and of bymistone to make gun-powder. There are likewise cattell of all sorts, among which there is a beast in shape somewhat resembling a camel, but no bigger then a steere of a yeere olde; they serue to carry burthens, their flesh being good to eat, and their wooll apt for many purposes. This beast is accounted the most profitable of al others for the vse of man: howbeit the Spaniards since their first comming haue replenished this countrey with horses, kine, sheepe, and goates, and likewise with plentie of wheas. So that in fewe words this land hath abundance of riches and victuals, and is the healthfulllest place in the world. There were in times past kings of this land which were mightie Monarchs, whose dominions stretched 1200. leagues, and their lawes were very ciuill, saue that they were worshippers of the Sunne. At what time the Spaniards first entered this land there were two brethren of the blood royall which stroue who should haue the kingdome, the one called Guascar, and the other Atabalipa. Nowe Guascar had possession of all the mountaines and the lands within them: and Atabalipa was lord of all the sea coast, and of the valleys situate betweene the said mountaines and the sea. The Indians seeing the Spaniards at the first arrive vpon their shore called them Vera coche, which in their language signifieth, The some of the sea. Also Atabalipa the Indian prince sent vnto them to know what they did in his land, and what they sought for: the Spaniards made answer that they were the messengers of a great lord, and that they came to speake with the prince himselfe: who sent them word that they should come with a very good will; and so Atabalipa stayed for them at a citie called Caxamalca, being thirtie leagues distant from the sea side. Whither being come, they found the Indian prince sitting in a chariot of gold, carried vpon mens shoulders,

Tumbes.

The river of Peru.

The cause why it raineth not in Peru.

Gold, silver, copper, tinne, salt-peter and bymistone. The sheepe of Peru called Llamas.

Atabalipa and Guascar two brethren contending for the empire of Peru.

and accompanied with about 60000 Indians all ready armed for the warres. Then the Spaniards tolde them that they were sent from an Emperour (vnto whom the Pope had giuen all that land) to conuert them vnto the Christian faith. Whereunto Atabalipa answered, that hee would gladly be friends with the Emperour, because he was so great a Monarch, but in no case with the Pope, because he gaue to another that which was none of his owne.

Now while they were thus in talke, the Spaniards discharging their two field-peeces, and their caluiers, set vpon the Indians, crying *Sant Iago*. The Indians hearing the noise of the ordinance and small shot, and seeing the fire, thought that flames of fire had bene come downe from heauen vpon them; whereupon they fledde, and left their prince as a bootie for the Spaniards. Whom they at the first intreated very gently, wishing him not to feare, for that their coming was onely to seeke for golde and siluer. During the time of Atabalipas imprisonment, his Captaines had slaine his brother Guascar, and had subdued all the mountaines and plaine countreys. Vpon which newes Atabalipa tolde the Spaniards, that if they would releafe him, he would giue them all that they should demanda. This communication hauing continued a whole day, at length a souldier named Soto sayd vnto Atabalipa; what wilt thou giue vs to set thee free? The prince answered, I will giue what soeuer you will demand. Whereunto the souldier replied, thou shalt giue vs this house full of gold and siluer thus high, lifting vp his sword, and making a stroke vpon the wall. And Atabalipa sayde, that if they would grant him respite to send into his kingdome, he would fulfill their demand. Whereat the Spaniards much maruelling, gaue him thre moneths time, but he had filled the house in two moneths and an halfe, a matter scarce credible, yet most true: for I know about twentie men that were there at that time, who all asseme, that it was about tenne millions of gold and siluer. Howbeit for all this they let not the prince goe, but thought that in killing of him they should become lords of the whole land, and so the Spaniards on a night strangled him. But God the righteous iudge seeing this villanous act, suffered none of those Spaniards to dye by the course of nature, but brought them to euill and shamefull ends.

Vpon the newes of these great riches there came store of people out of Spaine, and inhabited many places in this countrey. The king in recompence of the good seruices of the two foysayd partners, appoynted Diego de Almagro gouernour of halfe the land, and Francisco Pizarro of the other halfe, whom also hee made a Marques. But these two consorts in parting of a land belonging vnto other men, fell at variance and sharpe warre betweene themselves: and at length Pizarro hauing slaine Almagro got all the land into his owne hands. Howbeit this prosperitie of Pizarro continued not long: for a bastard-sonne of Diego de Almagro, to bee reuenged of his fathers death, slew Pizarro, for which acte he lost his head. In this controuersie betweene these two partners were slaine also two brothers of Pizarro, and the third was carried prisoner into Spaine and there dyed in prison: but the fourth called Goncaluo Pizarro rebelled with the whole countrey and became a cruell tyrant, vanquishing many of the Emperours Captaines in battell, and possessing the countrey in peace for two yeeres: howbeit being in the ende overcome hee lost his head like a traitour. And thus dyed they all an euill death that were causes of the death of that innocent king Atabalipa. And yet there are mutinies raised oftentimes by the Spaniards, but the Indians neuer rebelled, after they had once peace granted vnto them. The Indian people of this land are parted among the Spaniards, some being slaues vnto the gentlemen that conquered their land, other some to others, and the residue to the king: and these Indians pay eche man for his tribute seuen pezos of fine golde, which is about tenne ducats and a halfe. There are in this countrey about forty cities and townes inhabited by the Spaniards: also they haue here erected nine bishopps and one archbishopps.

Now after this countrey was fully conquered and brought in good order, certaine Spaniards being desirous to discouer the land on the other side of the snowy mountaines, found a very wholesome countrey and there inhabited. The sayd prouince situate behinde the mountaines is called The prouince of Tucuman, wherein are fise townes inhabited by the Spaniards, the last of them called Cordoua, from which towne vnto Santa Fee situate vpon the riuer of Plate it is seuentie leagues. This towne of Santa Fee was built in that place, to seeke a way to Peru by the riuer of Plate. And from hence downe the sayde riuer to Buenos Ayres are 120 leagues, and from Buenos Ayres vnto Seal-land you haue 40 leagues.

Now hauing put downe all that I know concerning the countrey of Peru, and of the way from the riuer of Plate vnto Tucuman, I will returne vnto Atacama the Southermost towne vpon the coast of Peru, where I left. From this towne of Atacama till you come to Arica, all the coast is inhabited by Indians subiect vnto the Spaniards. But since Captaine Drake was here they

Nine bishop-
ricks, and one
archbishopps
in Peru.

The prouince of
Tucuman.
Cordoua.

Atacama.

they haue built towers by the sea side, whereon, seeing any saile that they doe mistrust, they presently make smokes, and so from tower to tower they warne all the countrey. Hauing before spoken of Arica all that I can, I will now proceed to the next port called Camana being a towne of Spaniards and containing about two hundred houses. Here they make store of wine, and haue abundance of figges and reilins. The next towne called Acari containeth about three hundred houses, and here is made the best and greatest store of wine in all Peru. From hence passing along the coast you come to El Calao the port of Lima consisting of about two hundred houses: and here was a strong fort built since Captaine Drake was vpon the coast. The citie of Lima standing two leagues within the land, and containing two thousand houses, is very rich, and of more trade then all the cities of Peru besides: and this citie is the seat of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the inquisition.

Next vnto this standeth a small towne of the Spaniards by the sea side called Santa: and next vnto Santa is another small towne of Christians called Cannete. From hence they saile vnto a rich citie called Truxillo, being one of the principall townes of Peru, and containing about five hundred houses. Then followeth Paica which hath to the number of two hundred houses. Leaving this towne they passe to Guaiacuil which standeth forty leagues by into a great bay or river, at the entrance of which river standeth Tumbes a towne of the Indians. All this coast along from Atacama to Tumbes it neuer raineth, as I haue before said: so that all the houses in their townes are not tyled, but couered with boudes to keepe off the heate of the Sunne, for they feare no raine at all. Guaiacuil is the first place where it raineth, and here they gather Salsaperilla. Here is also great store of timber, and at this place they build many shippes. Hence they saile along the coast to a small and poore towne called Puerto Viejo, which in times past hath bene rich with emeralds: but now since these stones in regard of their plenty are growen nothing worth, this towne likewise is waken very poore. Below this village standeth another called La Buena Ventura: but whosoever go thither must needs meet with euill fortune, the place it selfe is so waterish and vnhole some. Here abide not about 20 men, who serue onely to transport goods vnto a citie standing fiftie leagues within the maine, in a prouince called La gouernacion de Popaia. From Buena ventura and Popaia till you come to Panama there is no other towne, by reason of the high mountaines, the manifold rivers, and the vnhole somenelle of the countrey. In this place doe inhabite the Negros that runne from their masters, and vpon these mountaines was Oxnam the English Captaine and his men taken, as is before mentioned. Beyond these mountaines standeth the citie of Panama, being a rich place, by reason that all the treasure which cometh from Peru is brought thither, and it consisteth of about foure hundred houses. The coast running along betweene this city and Nueva Espanna is called Costarica.

Next vnto Costa rica, which is a mountainous and desolate place, lieth the coast of Nicaragua, being inhabited by the Spaniards, and hauing many good ports belonging to it, and is frequented with trade of merchandize: but hauing no knowledge of the situation thereof, nor of the townes therein contained, I surcease to speake any more of it.

A certaine viceroy of Nueva Espanna called Don Luis de Velasco caused certaine shippes to be built for the discovery of the Malucos and of the coast of China: which shippes in sayling thitherward found certaine Islands 80 leagues distant from the maine land, which the Spaniards, according to the name of their king, called The Philippinas: and hauing conquered one of these Islands called Manilla, inhabited with a barbarous kind of people, they built a fort and a towne thereupon, from whence they haue trade with the people of China. Vnto these Islands they haue foure great shippes that vsually trade, two of them continually going, and two comming: so that such spices and silkes as the Portugals bring home out of the East Indies, the very same doe the Spaniards bring from these Islands and from China, for Mexico the chiefe citie of Nueva Espanna. The principall port-townes of the coast of Nueva Espanna are Guatulco, and Acapulco.

All the viceroys and gouernours that the king of Spaine sendeth for Peru and Nueva Espanna haue a custome, for the obtaining of his fauour, to seeke and discover new countreys. But the greatest and most notable discoverie that hath bene from those parts now of late, was that of the Isles of Salomon, which were found in manner following. The Licenciado Castro being gouernour of Peru sent forth a flecte of shippes to discover certaine Islands in the South sea vpon the coast of Peru, appointing as Generall of the same flecte a kinsman of his called Aluares de Mendanio, and Pedro Sarmiento as lieutenant, and in the Viceadmirall went Pedro de Ortega. This flecte departing forth of the haven of Lima, and sayling 800 leagues Westward off the

Camana.

Acari.

El Calao.

Lima.

Santa.

Cannete.

Truxillo.

Paica.

Guaiacuil.

Tumbes.

Salsaperilla.

Shippes built at

Guaiacuil.

Puerto Viejo a

place where

Emeralds a-

bound.

La Buena ven-

tura.

La gouernacion

de Popaia.

Negros fled

from their

masters.

Panama.

Costarica.

The prouince

of Nicaragua.

The discovery

of the Philippi-

nas.

The Isle of

Manilla.

The discovery

of the Isles of

Salomon.

Cloues, ginger, and sinamon.

The Ile of Guadalcanal,

A towne burnt.

Abundance of good victuals vpon the Isles of Salomon.

A new rich trade for gold, cloues, ginger, and sinamon.

Why these Isles were called The Isles of Salomon.

the coast of Peru, found certaine Islands in eleuen degrees to the South of the Equinoctial inhabited with a kind of people of a yellow complexion, and all naked, whose weapons are bowes and arrowes, and darts. The beasts that they saw here were hogges and little dogges, and they found some hennies. Here also they found a muster of cloues, ginger, and sinamon, although the sinamon were not of the best; and here appeared vnto them likewise some shewe of golde. The first Island that the Spaniards discovered, they named Santa Izabella; and here they built a small pinnesse, with the which and with their ships boate they found out betwene nine and fiftene degrees of Southerly latitude eleuen great Islands being one with another of 80 leagues in compass. The greatest Island that they discovered was according vnto the first finder called Guadalcanal, on the coast whereof they sayled 150 leagues, before they could knowe whether it were an Island or part of the maine land: and yet they know not perfectly what to make of it, but thinke that it may be part of that continient which stretcheth to the Streights of Magellan; for they coasted it to eightene degrees and could not find the ende thereof. The gold that they found was vpon this Island or maine land of Guadalcanal, whereas they landed and tooke a towne, finding small graines of golde hanged by in the houses thereof. But because the Spaniards vnderstood not the language of the countrey, and also for that the Indians were very stout men, and fought continually against them, they could neuer learne from whence that gold came, nor yet what store was in the land.

These Indians vse to goe to sea in great Canoas that will carrie 100 men a piece, wherein they haue many conflicts one against another: howbeit vnto the Christians they could doe no great hurt; for that with a small pinnesse and two falcons a fewe may overcome 100 of them. At this place fouretee men mistrusting nothing, rowed to land, to take in fresh water, whome on the sudden certaine Indians in foure Canoas set vpon, tooke the ships boate, and slew all the men therein: wherefore a man cannot goe on shore too strong, nor yet be too wary in a strange land. Hereupon the Spaniards went on shore in their pinnesse, and burnt the towne, and in this towne they found the small graines of gold before mentioned. They were discovering of these Islands from one to another about fouretee moneths, at the ende of which time (because that vpon the coast where they were, the wind continuing still in one place; might bee an occasion of longer tarrying) they consulted which way to returne. Southward they durst not goe for feare of great tempests which are that way vsuall: wherefore sayling to the North of the line, they fell with the coast of Nueva Espanna; on which coast they met with such terrible stormes, that they were forced to cut their maine masts ouer-board, and to lye nine moneths beating it up and downe in the sea, before they could get into any harborow of the Christians. In which time by reason of euill gouernement, and for lacke of victuals and fresh water, most of the men in their Admirall dyed; for five whole dayes together they had neither water nor meate: but in the other ships they behaued themselves so well, that the greater part of them came safe vnto the land. He that passeth the Streights of Magellan, or saileth from the coast of Chili directly for the Malucos must needs runne in sight of some of these Islands before spoken of. At which Islands lying

so conveniently in the way to the Malucos you may furnish your selfe with plenty of victuals, as hogges, hennies, excellent almonds, potatos, sugar-canes, with diuers other sortes fit for the sustenance of man in great abundance. Also among these Islands you shall haue some quantity of gold, which the Indians will giue you in truck for other commodities. For the Spaniards in their discovery of these Islands not seeking nor being desirous of gold, brought home notwithstanding 40000 pezos with them, besides great store of cloues and ginger, and some sinamon also which is not so good as in other places. The discoverer of these Islands named them the Isles of Salomon, to the ende that the Spaniards supposing them to bee those Isles from whence Salomon fetched gold to adorne the temple at Ierusalem, might bee the more desirous to goe and inhabite the same. Now the same time when they thought to haue sent colonies vnto these Islands, Captaine Drake entered the South sea; whereupon commandement was giuen, that they should not be inhabited, to the ende that such Englishmen, and of other nations as passed the Streights of Magellan to goe to the Malucos might haue no succour there, but such as they got of the Indian people.

The

The admirable and prosperous Voyage of the worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, into the South sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1586, and finished 1588. Written by Master Francis Pretty lately of Ey in Suffolke, a Gentleman employed in the same action.



He departed out of Plimmouth on Thursday the 21. of July 1586. with 3. sayles, to wit, The Desire a ship of 120. tunnes, The Content of 60 tunns, and the Hugh gallant a barke of 40. tunnes: in which small flecte were 123. persons of all sortes with all kinde of furniture and victuals sufficient for the space of two yeeres, at the charges of the worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, being our Generall.

On Tuesday the 26. of the same moneth, we were 45. leagues from Cape Finis terra, where wee mette with 5. sayles of Diskaynes coming from the Grande Bay in Newfound-land, as we supposed, which our Admirall shot at, and fought with them 3. houres, but wee tooke none of them by reason the night grew on.

5. Great Brit-
taine ships
fought withal.

The first of August wee came in sight of Forteventura, one of the Isles of the Canaries, about August ten of the clocke in the morning.

On Sunday being the 7. of August, we were gotten as high as Rio del oro on the coast of Bar- Rio del oro.
barie.

On Monday the 19. we fell with cape Blanco: but the winde blew so much at the North, that we could not get by where the Canters doe vse to ride and fish; therefore wee lay off 6. houres West South west, because of the land which lieth off the cape South west and by South.

Cape Blanco.

A dangerous
land.

The 15. day of the same moneth we were in the height of cape Verde by estimation 50. leagues off the same.

The 18. Sierra leona did beare East off vs, being 45. leagues from vs: and the same day the winde shifted to the North west, so that by the 20. day of the sayd moneth we were in 6. degrees to the Northward, from the Equinoctiall line.

The 23. we put roome for Sierra leona, and the 25. day wee fell with the point on the South side of Sierra leona, which Master Brewer knew very well, and went in before with the Content which was Vice-admirall: and we had no lesse then 5. fathoms water when we had least, and had for 14. leagues in South west all the way running into the harbour of Sierra leona 16. 14. 12. 10 and 8. fathoms of water.

Sierra leona.

The 26. of the said moneth we put into the harbour, and in going in we had by the Southermost point when we had least 5. fathoms water faire by the rocke as it lieth at the said point: and after we came, 2 or 3. cables length within the said rocke, we neuer had lesse then 10. fathoms, untill wee came by to the roade, which is about a league from the point, borrowing alwayes on the South side untill you come by to the watering place, in which Baye is the best roade: but you must ride farre into the Baye, because there run marvellous great tydes in the offin, and it floweth into the road next of any thing at a Southeast and by East moone.

It is out of England to this place 930. leagues: which wee ranne from the 21. of July to the 26. of this moneth of August.

On Saturday being the 27. day there came 2. Negros aboard our Admirall from the shore, and made signes unto our Generall that there was a Portugall ship by within the harbour: so the Hugh Gallant being the Rere-admirall went by 3 or 4. leagues, but for want of a Pilot they sought no farther: for the harbour runneth 3. or 4. leagues by more, and is of a marvellous breedth and very dangerous, as we learned after ward by a Portugall.

On Sunday the 28. the Generall sent some of his company on shore, and there as they played and daunced all the forenoone among the Negros, to the end to haue heard some good newes of the Portugall ship, toward their coming aboard they espied a Portugall which lay hid among the bushes, whom we tooke and brought away with vs the same night: and he tolde vs it was very dangerous going by with our haates for to seeke the ship that was at the towne. Whereupon wee went not to seeke her, because we knew he tolde vs the truth: for we bound him and made him fast, and so examined him. Also he tolde vs that his ship was there cast away, and that there were two more of his company among the Negros: the Portugalls name was Emmanuel, and was by his occupation a Calter, belonging to the Port of Portugall.

A Portugall
taken.

On Monday morning being the 29. day, our Generall landed with 70. men or thereabout, and went

Poysoned arrows.
The description of their towne.

went by to their towne, where we burnt 2. or 3. houses, and tooke what spoyle wee would, which was but litle, but al the people fled: and in our retiring aboord in a very litle plaine at their townes ende they shot their arrowes at vs out of the woodds, and hurt 3. or 4. of our men; their arrowes were poysoned, but yet none of our men miscarped at that time, thanked be God. Their towne is marvellous artificially builded with mudde walles, and built round, with their yards paled in and kept very cleane as well in their streetes as in their houses. These Negroes vse good obedience to their king, as one of our men sayd, which was with them in pawne for the Negroes which came first. There were in their towne by estimation about one hundred houses.

September.

The first of September there went many of our men on shore at the watering place, and did wash shirts very quietly all the day: and the second day they went againe, and the Negroes were in ambush round about the place: and the carpenter of the Admirall going into the wood to doe some speciall businesse, espied them by good fortune. But the Negroes rushed out vpon our men so suddenly, that in retiring to our boates, many of them were hurt: among whom one William Pickman a souldier was shot into the thigh, who plucking the arrow out, broke it, and left the head behinde; and he told the Chirurgions that he plucked out all the arrow, because he would not haue them lance his thigh: whereupon the poyson wrought so that night, that hee was marvellously swollen, and all his belly and priuie parts were as blacke as ynke, and the next morning he died, the peece of the arrow with the poyson being plucked out of his thigh.

Shamp of our men hurt by Negroes.

William Pickman death of a poysoned arrow.

This poyson is the mope of an herbe.
2. Buffes.
Their departure from Sierra leona.

The third day of the sayd moneth, diuers of our fleete went by 4. myles within the harbour with our boate, and caught great store of fish, and went on shore and tooke Limmons from the trees, and comming aboord againe, saw two Buffes.

The 6. day we departed from Sierra leona, and went out of the harbourough, and stayed one tide 3. leagues from the point of the mouth of the Harbourough in 6. fathoms, and it bloweth South South west.

The Isles of Madrabumba inhabited by Negroes.

On wednesday being the 7. of the same moneth wee departed from one of the Isles of Cape Verde, alias the Isles of Madrabumba, which is 10. leagues distant from the poynt of Sierra leona: and about five of the clocke the same night we anchored 2. miles off the Island in 6. fathoms water, and landed the same night, and found Plantans only vpon the Islande.

A towne.

The 8. day one of our boats went out & sounded round about the Island, & they passed through a sound at the west end of the Island, where they found 5. fathoms round about the Island, until they came vnto the very gutte of the sound, and then for a cast or two they had but 2. fathoms, and presently after, 6. fathoms, and so deeper and deeper. And at the East ende of the Island there was a towne, where Negroes doe vse at sometimes, as we perceiued by their prouision.

Fresh water.

There is no fresh water on all the South side, as we could perceiue, but on the North side three or foure very good places of fresh water: and all the whole Island is a wood, saue certaine litle places where their houses stand, which are inutrone round about with Plantan-trees, whereof the fruit is excellent meat. This place is subiect marvellous much to thunder, raine, and lightning in this moneth. I thinke the reason is, because the sunne is so neere the line Equinoctiall.

October.
Cape Frio in Brasile.

On saturday the tenth wee departed from the sayde Island about 3. of the clocke in the afternoon, the winde being at the South west.

November.
S. Sebastian's Island.

The last of October running West South west about 24. leagues from Cape Frio in Brasile, we fell with a great mountaine which had an high round knoppe on the top of it standing from it like a towne, with two litle Islands from it.

The river of Ienero.

The first of November wee went in betweene the Island of Saint Sebastian and the mayne land, and had our things on shore, and set by a Forge, and had our caske on shore: our coopers made hoopes, and so we remayned there until the 23. day of the same moneth: in which time we fitted our things, built our Winnesse, and filled our fresh water. And while our Winnesse was in building, there came a Canoa from the riuer of Ienero, meaning to goe to S. Vincent, wherein were five naked slaues of the Countrey people, which did rowe the Canoa, and one Portugal. And the Portugal knewe Christopher Hare Master of the Admirall, for that Master Hare had bene at Saint Vincent in the Minion of London in the peere 1581. And thinking to haue Iohn Whitchal the Englishman which dwelleth at Saint Vincent come vnto vs, which is twentie leagues from this Harbourough with some other, thereby to haue had some fresh victuals, we suffered the Portugal to goe with a letter vnto him, who promised to returne or send some answere within ten dayes, for that we told him we were Merchants, and would traffique with them: but we neuer receiued answere from him any more; and seeing that he came not according to appoyntment, our businesse being dispatched, wee weyed anchor, and set sayle from S. Sebastian on the 23. of November.

The 16. day of December we fell with the coast of America in 47. degrees; the land bearing West from vs about 6. leagues off: from which place we ran along the shore, untill we came into 48. degrees. It is a steepe beach all along.

The 17. day of December in the afternoone we entred into an Harbourogh, where our Admirall went in first: wherefoze our Generall named the said Harbourogh Port Desire: in which Harbourogh is an Island of two, where there is wonderful great store of Seales, and another Island of birds which are grey gulls. These Seales are of a wonderful great bignesse, huge, and monstrous of shape, and for the fore-part of their bodies cannot be compared to any thing better then to a lion: their head, and necke, and fore-parts of their bodies are full of rough haire: their feete are in manner of a finne, and in forme like unto a mans hand: they breed and cast euery moneth, giuing their yong milke, yet continually get they their liuing in the sea, and line altogether upon fish: their yong are marueilous good meate, and being boyled or roasted, are hardly to be knownen from lambe or mutton. The olde ones be of such bignesse and force, that it is as much as 4. men are able to doe to kill one of them with great cowle-staues: and hee must be beaten downe with striking on the head of him: for his body is of that bignesse that foure men could neuer kill him, but only on the head. For being shotte through the body with an Harquebuzze or a Musket, yet he will goe his way into the sea, and neuer care for it at the present. Also the fowles that were there, were very good meate, and great store of them: they haue burrowes in the ground like conies, for they cannot flie. They haue nothing but downe upon their pinions: they also fish and feede in the sea for their liuing, and breed on shore.

This Harbourogh is a very good place to trimme ships in, and to bring them on ground, and graue them in: for there ebberth and floweth much water: therfore wee graued and trimmed all our ships there.

The 24. of December being Christmas Euen, a man and a boy of the Rere-admirall went some foztie scoze from our ships unto a very faire greene valley at the foote of the mountaines, where was a litle pitte or well which our men had digged and made some 2. or 3. dayes before to get fresh water: for there was none in all the Harbourogh; and this was but backish: therfore this man and boy came thither to wash their linnen: and being in washing at the sayde Well, there were great store of Indians which were come downe, and found the sayd man and boy in washing. These Indians being diuided on eche side of the rockes, shotte at them with their arrowes and hurt them both, but they fledde presently, being about fiftie or threescoze, though our Generall followed them but with 16. or 20. men. The mans name which was hurt was Iohn Garge, the boyes name was Lutch: the man was shot cleane through the knee, the boy into the shoulder: either of them hauing very sore wounds. Their arrowes are made of litle canes, and their heads are of a flint stone, set into the cane very artificially: they sel dome or neuer see any Christians: they are as wilde as euer was a bucke or any other wilde beast: for wee followed them, and they ranne from vs as it had bene the wildest thing in the worlde. Wee tooke the measure of one of their feete, and it was 18. inches long. Their vse is when any of them dye, to bring him or them to the cliffes by the sea-side, and upon the toppe of them they burie them, and in their graues are buried with them their bowes and arrowes, and all their iewels which they haue in their life time, which are fine shelles which they finde by the sea side, which they cut and square after an artificiall manner; and all is layd vnder their heads. The graue is made all with great stones of great length and bignesse, being set all along full of the dead mans darts which he used when he was liuing. And they colour both their darts and their graues with a red colour which they vse in colotiring of themselves.

The 28. of December we departed out of the Port of Desire, and went to an Island which lieth 3. leagues to the Southward of it; where we trimmed our saued pengwins with salt for victual all that and the next day, and departed along the coast Southwest and by South.

The 30. day we fell with a rocke which lieth about 5. leagues from the land, much like unto Euellstone, which lieth off the sound of Plimouth, and we sounded, and had 8. fathoms rockie ground, within a mile thereof: the rocke bearing West Southwest. Wee went coasting along South Southwest, and found great store of Seales all along the coast. This rocke standeth in 48. degrees: to the Southward of the line.

The 2. day of Januarie wee fell with a very faire white Cape, which standeth in 51. degrees, Januare 1587 and had 7. fathoms water a league off the land.

The third day of the foresayd moneth we fell with another great white cape, which standeth in 52. degrees and 45. minutes: from which Cape there runneth a lowe beach about a league to the Southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Streight of Magellan,

December.

48. Degrees.

Port Desire.

Seales strange
in shape and
bignesse.Yong Seales
are very good
meate.Fowles breed
in bur-
rowes like co-
nies.
Wee call these
fowles Pen-
gwins.They graue
and trimme
their ships.A man and a
boy hurt by
negligence.A kinde of ge-
ants.Their depart-
ure from port
Desire.

which

which is in diuers places 5, or 6. leagues wide, and in two severall places moze narrow. Under this Cape wee anchored and lost an anchor, for it was a great storme of foule weather, and lasted three dayes very dangerous.

They enter the
Streights the
6. of Januarie.
A Spaniard
taken in the
Streights of
Magellan.

The Barke
John Thomas,
one of Sir Fran-
cis Drakes com-
plices.

King Philips
citie left desol-
ate in the
Streights of
Magellan, which
our Generall
called Port fa-
mine.

God enemye to
the Spani-
ards.

Port famine in
53. degrees.

Cape Froward in
54. degrees.

Huskie Cone.

Elizabeth Bay.

The 6. day we put in for the Streights.

The 7. day betweene the mouth of the Streights and the narrowest place thereof, wee tooke a Spaniard whose name was Hernando, who was there with 23. Spaniards moze, which were all that remayned of foure hundred, which were left there three yeeres before in these streights of Magellan, all the rest being dead with famine. And the same day wee passed through the narrowest of the Streights, where the aforesayd Spaniard shewed vs the hull of a small Barke, which we iudged to be a Barke called The John Thomas. It is from the mouth of the streights unto the narrowest of the Streights 14. leagues, and the course lieth West and by North. The mouth of the streights standeth in 52. degrees.

From the narrowest of the Streights unto Pengwin Island is 10. leagues, and lyeth West South-west somewhat to the Southward, where wee anchored the 8. day, and killed and salted great store of Pengwins for victuals.

The ninth day wee departed from Pengwin Island, and ranne South South-west to King Philips citie which the Spaniards had built: which Towne or citie had foure Fortes, and euery Fort had in it one cast peece, which peeces were burped in the ground, the cariages were standing in their places vnburied: wee digged for them and had them all. They had contriued their Citie very well, and seated it in the best place of the Streights for wood and water: they had builded vp their Churches by themselves: they had Lawes very seuer among themselves, for they had erected a Gibet, whereon they had done execution vpon some of their company. It seemed vnto vs that their whole liuing for a great space was altogether vpon muskles and limps: for there was not any thing else to bee had, except some Deere which came out of the mountaines downe to the fresh riuers to drinke. These Spaniards which were there, were onely come to fortifie the Streights, to the ende that no other nation should haue passage through into the South sea sauing onely their owne: but as it appeared, it was not Gods will so to haue it. For during the time that they were there, which was two yeeres at the least, they could neuer haue any thing to growe or in any wise prosper. And on the other side the Indians oftentimes preyed vpon them, vntill their victuals grewe so short, (their store being spent which they had brought with them out of Spaine, and hauing no meanes to renew the same) that they dyed like dogges in their houses, and in their clothes, wherein we found them still at our comming, vntill that in the ende the towne being wonderfully tainted with the smell and the sauour of the dead people, the rest which remayned alieue were driuen to burie such things as they had there in their towne either for prouision or for furniture, and so to forsake the towne, and to goe along the sea-side, and seeke their victuals to preserue them from steruing, taking nothing with them, but euery man his harquebuz and his furniture that was able to cary it (for some were not able to cary them for weakenesse) and so liued for the space of a yeere and moze with rootes, leaues, and sometimes a foule which they might kill with their peece. To conclude, they were determined to haue traualled towards the riuer of Plate, only being left alieue 23. persons, whereof two were women, which were the remainder of 4. hundred. In this place we watered and woodded well and quietly. Our Generall named this towne Port famine: it standeth in 53. degrees by obseruation to the Southward.

The 14. day we departed from this place, and ran South South-west, and from thence South-west vnto Cape Froward 5. leagues West South-west, which Cape is the Southermost part of all the streights, and standeth in the latitude of 54. degrees. From which Cape we ran West and by North 5. leagues, and put into a bay or Coue on the South side, which we called Huskie-Coue, because there were great store of them: we ridde therein 6. dayes, the wind being still Westerly.

The 21. day of Januarie we departed from Huskie-coue, and went North-west and by West 10. leagues to a very faire landie Baye on the North side, which our Generall called Elizabeth Baye, and as wee ridde there that night, one of our men dyed which went in the Hugh Gallant, whose name was Grey, a Carpenter by his occupation, and was burped there in that Baye.

The 22. wee departed from Elizabeth Bay in the afternoone, and went about 2. leagues from that place, where there was a fresh water riuer, where our Generall went by with the ship-boate about three myles, which riuer hath very good and pleasant ground about it, and it is lowe and champion soyle, and so we saw none other ground els in all the Streights but that was craggie rocks and monstrous high hilles and mountaines. In this riuer are great store of Sauages which

which wee sawe, and had conference with them: They were men-eaters, and fedde altogether upon rawe flesh, and other filthie foode: which people had preyed upon some of the Spaniards before spoken of. For they had gotten knives and peeces of Rapiers to make darts of. They used all the meanes they could possibly to haue allured vs by farther into the riuer, of purpose to haue betrayed vs, which being espyed by our Generall, hee caused vs to shoote at them with our harquebuzes, whereby we killed many of them. So wee sayled from this riuer to the Channell of Saint Ierome, which is 2. leagues off.

The most horrible
with Sanages
that ever were
seen.

The Channell of
Saint Ierome.

From the riuer of Saint Ierome about thre or foure leagues, wee ranne West vnto a Cape which is on the North side: and from that Cape vnto the mouth of the Streights the course lyeth North-west and by West, and North-west. Betweene which place and the mouth of the Streights to the Southward we lay in Harbrough vntill the three and twentieth of February, by reason of contrary windes and most vile and filthie fowle weather, with such rayne and vehement stormie windes which came downe from the mountaines and high hilles, that they hazarded the best cables and anchors that we had for to holde, which if they had sayled, wee had bene in great danger to haue bene cast away, or at the least famished. For during this time, which was a full moneth, we fedde almost altogether vpon mussels, and limpets, and birds, or such as we could get on shore, seeking euery day for them, as the fowles of the ayre doe, where they can finde foode, in continuall raynie weather.

February
1587.

There is at euery myle or two myles ende an Harbrough on both sides of the land. And there are betweene the riuer of Saint Ierome and the mouth of the Streights going into the South sea about 34. leagues by estimation. So that the length of the whole Streights is about 90. leagues. And the said mouth of the Streights standeth in the same height that the entrance standeth in when we passe out of the North sea, which is about 52. degrees and 2. to the Southward of the line.

The Streights
of Magellan are
about 90.
leagues long.
The Western
mouth of the
Streights is
in 52. degrees
and 2. terces.
Their entrance
into the South
sea the 24. of
February.
Ilands in the
South sea cal-
led Las Anega-
das.

March 1.
Extreme dan-
ger of the Hugh
Gallant by a
great leake.

The 24. day of February wee entered into the South sea: and on the South side of the going out of the Streights is a faire high Cape with a lowe point adioyning vnto it: and on the North side are 4. or 5. Ilands, which lye 6. leagues off the mayne, and much broken and sunken ground about them: by noone the same day wee had brought these Ilands East of vs 5. leagues off; the winde being Southerly.

The first of March a storme tooke vs at North, which night the ships lost the company of the Hugh Gallant, being in 49. and 45. leagues from the land. This storme continued 3. or 4. dayes, and for that time we in the Hugh Gallant being separated from the other 2. ships, looked euery houre to sinke, our barke was so leake, and our selues so disordered and weakened with freeing it of water, that we slept not in three dayes and three nights.

The 15. of March in the morning the Hugh Gallant came in betweene the Iland of S. Mary and the mayne, where she met with the Admiral and the Content, which had rid at the Iland called La Mocha 2. dayes, which standeth in the Southerly latitude of 38. degrees: at which place some of our men went on shore with the Vice-admirals boate, where the Indians fought with them with their bowes and arrowes, and were marueilous warie of their Caliuers. These Indians were enemies to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called Arauco, and tooke vs for Spaniards, as afterward we learned.

The Ile of Mo-
cha in 38. de-
grees not sub-
iect to the
Spaniards.

This place which is called Arauco is wonderfull rich, and full of golde mynes, and yet could it not be subdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they alwayes returned with the greatest losse of men. For these Indians are marueilous desperate and carelesse of their liues to liue at their owne libertie and freedome.

Arauco is the
richest place in
the South sea
for golde, and
is not subdued
by the Spaniards
as yet.

The 15. day after sayde in the afternoone wee weighed anchor, and ranne vnder the West side of Saint Marie Iland, where we ridde very well in 6. fathoms water, and very faire ground all that night.

Saint Marie I-
land in 37. de-
grees and 1.
terce, which
is subdued
to the Spaniards.

The 16. day our General went on shore himselfe with 70. or 80. men euery one with his furniture: there came downe to vs certaine Indians with two which were the principals of the Iland to welcome vs on shore, thinking we had bin Spaniards, for it is subdued by them: who brought vs vnto a place where the Spaniards had erected a Church with crosses & altars in it. And there were about this Church 2. or 3. store houses, which were full of wheate and barley ready threshed and made vp in cades of strawe to the quantitie of a bushel of cozne in euery cade. The wheate and barley was as faire, as cleane, and euery way as good as any we haue in England. There were also the like cades full of potato rootes, which were very good to eate, ready made by in the store houses for the Spaniards against they should come for their tribute. This Iland also yeeldeth many sorts of fruits, hogs, and hens. These Indians are held in such slavery by them, that they dare not

A Church
with crosses
and altars.

eate

The Indians
of S. Mary I.
land made all
Christians.

eat a hen or an hogge themselves. But the Spaniards haue made them all in that Island Christians. Thus we fitted our selues here with corne as much as we would haue, and as many hogges as we had salt to powder them withall, and great store of hennies, with a number of bags of Potato rootes, and about 500. dyed dogge-fishes, and Guinie wheate, which is called Maiz. And hauing taken as much as we would haue, yet we left marueilous great store behind vs. Our General had the two principals of the Island aboord our shippe, and prouided great cheere for them, and made them merie with wine: and they in the ende perceiuing vs to bee no Spaniards, made signes, as neere as our Generall could perceiue, that if wee would goe ouer vnto the mayne land vnto Arauco, that there was much Golde, making vs signes, that we should haue great store of riches. But because we could not vnderstand them, our Generall made some haste, and within 2. or three dayes we furnished our selues.

Arauco rich in
golde.

The 18. day in the morning we departed from this place, and ran all that day Northnortheast about 10. leagues, and at night lay with a short sayle off and on the coast.

The Concep-
tion.

The 19. wee ranne in East Northeast with the land, and bare in with a place called The Conception, where wee anchored vnder an Island, and departed the next morning without going on land.

The 20. wee departed from The Conception, and went into a litle Baye which was sandie, where we saw fresh water and cattell, but we stayed not there.

Quintero standeth
in 33. de-
grees 50. mi-
nutes.

The 30. day we came into the Bay of Quintero, which standeth in 33. degrees & 50 minutes.

The said day presently after we were come vnto an afaire in the Bay, there was a Jeteherd or one that kept cattle which lay vpon the point of the hill asleepe, which when he awaked and had espied three shippes which were come into the Bay, befoze wee could get on shoze, he had caught an horse which was feeding by, and rode his way as fast as euer hee might: and our Generall with 30. shot with him went on shoze. He had not bene on land one houre, but there came 3. horsemen with bright swords to wards vs so hard as they might ride, vntill they came within some twentie or thirtie score of vs, and so stayed, and would come no neerer vnto vs: so our Generall sent vnto them a couple of our men with their shotte, and one Fernando, which was the Spaniard that wee had taken vp at the mouth of the Streights, which was one of the 400. that were sterued there. But the Spaniards would not suffer our men to come neere with their shot, but made signes that one of our men should come alone vnto them: so the said Fernando the Spaniard went vnto them, and our two men stood not farre from them. They had great conference, and in the end Fernando came backe from them, and told our Generall that he had parled with them for some victuals, who had promised as much as we would haue. Our General sent him backe againe with another message and another shotte with him: and being come neere vnto them, they would not suffer any more then one to approach them, whereupon our men let the Spaniard goe vnto them alone himselfe: who being some good distance from them, they stayed but a small time together, but that the said Fernando leaped vp behind one of them and rid away with them, for all his deepe and damnable othes which he had made continually to our general and all his company neuer to forsake him, but to die on his side befoze he would be false. Our Generall seeing how he was dealt withall, filled water all that day with good watch, and caried it aboord: and night being come, he determined the next day to send into the countrey to find their towne, and to haue taken the spoyle of it, and to haue fired it if they could haue found it.

The periurie
of a Spaniard.

Our men
march 7. or
8. miles into
their enemies
land.

The last of March Captaine Hauers went vp into the Countrey with 50. or 60. men with their shot and furniture with them, and we traualled 7. or 8. miles into the land: and as we were marching along, we espied a number of herdes of cattell, of kine and bullockes which were wonderfull wilde: we saw also great store of horses, mares, and coltes which were very wilde and vnhandled: there is also great store of hares and conies, and plenty of partridges and other wildfowles. The countrey is very fruitful with faire fresh riuers all along full of wilde foule of all sorts. Hauiing traualled so farre that we could goe no further for the monstrous high mountaines, we rested our selues at a very fayre fresh Riuer running in and alongst faire lowe medowes at the foote of the mountaines, where every man drunke of the Riuer, and refreshed themselves. Hauiing so done, we returned to our Ships the likest way that we thought their Towne should bee: so wee traualled all the day long, not seeing any man, but we mette with many wilde dogges: yet there were two hundred horsemen abroad that same day by meanes of the Spaniard which they had taken the day befoze from vs, who had tolde them that our force was but small, and that wee were wonderfull weake: who though they did espie vs that day, yet durst they not giue the on-sette vpon vs. For wee marched along in array, and obserued good order, whereby wee seemed a great number more then we were, vntill we came vnto our Ships that night againe.

The

The next day being the first of Aprill 1587, our men went on shoare to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the waters side : and being earely hard at their businesse were in no readinesse. In which meane while there came pouring downe from the hilles almost 200 horsemen, and before our people could returne to the rockes from the watering place, twelue of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken prisoners, the rest were rescued by our souldiers which came from the rockes to meete with them, who being but fiftene of vs that had any weapons on shoare, yet we made the enimie retire in the end with losse of some foure and twentie of their men, after we had skirmished with them an houre.

24 Spaniards
slaine.

The names of our men that were slaine were these.

Thomas Lucas of London, souldier,
Richard Wheeler of London.
Robert Pitcher of Norfolke, souldier.
John Langston of Gloucestershire.
William Kingman of Dorsetshire, souldier.
William Hilles of Cornwall.

} Out of the
Admirall.

1 William Byet of Weymouth.
2 Laurence Gamesby, of Newcastle,

} Killed out of
the viceadm.

1 Henry Blackenals of Weymouth,
2 Williams Steuens of Plymmouth, gunner.
3 William Pitte, of Shereborne in Dorsetshire,
4 Humphrey Derricke of London.

} Killed out of
the Hugh
Gallant.

After the losse of these men, wee rid in the roade, and watered in despite of them with good watch and ward, untill the fift of the sayd moneth.

The fift day wee departed out of this bay of Quintero: and off from the bay there lyeth a little Island about a league distant, whereon there are great store of penguins and other fowles; whereof we tooke to serue our turnes, and sailed away North, and North and by West: for so lyeth the coast along in this place.

A little Island
full of penguins

The fiftenth wee came thwart of a place which is called Morro moreno, which standeth in 23 degrees; and is an excellent good harborough: and there is an Island which maketh it an harborough: and a ship may go in at either end of the Island: here we went with our Generall on shore to the number of 30 men: and at our going on shore vpon our landing, the Indians of the place came downe from the rockes to meete with vs, with fresh water and wood on their backs. They are in marvellous awe of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and liue marvellous sauagely: For they brought vs to their bidings about two miles from the harborough, where wee saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skin of some beast layd vpon the ground: and ouer them in stead of houses, is nothing but fure or sixe sticks layd across, which stand vpon two forkes with stickes on the ground and a fewe boughes layd on it. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely. And when any of them die, they burie their bowes and arrowes with them, with their canoa and all that they haue: for wee opened one of their graues, and saw the order of them. Their canoas or boates are marvellous artificially made of two skinnes like vnto bladders, and are blown full at one ende with quilles: they haue two of these bladders blown full, which are sewen together and made fast with a sinew of some wild beast; which when they are in the water swell, so that they are as tight as may bee. They goe to sea in these boates, and catch very much fish with them, and pay much of it for tribute vnto the Spaniards: but they vse it marvellous heauily.

Morro moreno
in 23 degrees
and a halfe.

Spott Artificial
all boates.

Tribute payd
in fish.

The 23 in the morning we tooke a small barke which came out of Arica road, which wee kept and called The George: the men forooke it, and went away with their boate. Our admirals pinnesse followed the boate, the Hugh Gallants boate tooke the barke: our admirals pinnesse could not recover the boat before it got on shoare, but went along into the road of Arica, and layd aboard a great shippe of an hundredth tonnes riding in the road right afore the towne, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, onely the bare ship was left alone. They made three or foure very faire shots at the pinnesse as shee was comming in, but missed her very narrowly with a Division shot which they had in the fort. Whereupon wee came into the road with the admirall and the Hugh Gallant: but the Content which was viceadmirall was behinde out of sight: by meanes where-

A barke ta-
ken, which
they called
The George.
Arica standeth
in 18 degrees
21 minutes.
A ship taken.

Great store of
wine found.

Another barke
taken in the
road.

The fourth
barke taken.
A watchhouse.

The first barke
of aduise taken

A good mind
if he had bene
in a good
cause.

The bay of
Pisca in 13 deg.
2°

An Island of
Seales.

The Hugh Gal-
lant lost with
partie of the
fleet, and met
not until the
eleuenth.

of, and for want of her boate to land men withall wee landed not: other wise it wee had bene together, our Generall with the companie would resolutely haue landed to take the towne, whatsoeuer had come of it. The cause why the Content stayed behind was, that shee had found about 14 leagues to the Southward of Arica, in a place where the Spaniards had landed, a whole ships lading of botijas of wine of Castillia, whereof the sayd Content tooke into her as many as shee could conueniently carrie, and came after vs into the road of Arica the same day. By this time wee perceived that the towne had gathered all their power together, and also conueyed all their treasure away, and buried it before wee were come neere the towne: for they had heard of vs. Nowe because it was very populous with the ayde of one or two places by in the land, our Generall sawe there was no landing without losse of many men: wherefore hee gaue ouer that enterprise. While wee rid in the road they shot at vs, and our ships shot at them againe for euery shot two. Moreouer, our pinnesse went in hard almost to the shoare, and fetched out another barke which rid there in despyght of all their forces though they shot still at the pinnesse, which they could neuer hit. After these things our Generall sent a boate on shoare with a flag of truce to knowe if they would redeeme their great shippe or no; but they would not: for they had receiued speciall commandement from the viceroy from Lima, not to buy any shippe, nor to ransom any man by on paine of death. Our Generall did this in hope to haue redeemed some of our men, which were taken prisoners on shoare by the horsemen at Quintero, other wise hee would haue made them no offer of parley.

The 25 riding still in the said road, we spied a saile comming from the Southward, and our Generall sent out his pinnesse to meete her, with all our boates; but the towne made such signes from the hill with fires and tokens out of the watch-house, that before our pinnesse could get to them, they ran the barke on shoare two miles to the Southward of the towne; but they had small leasure to carrie any thing with them; but all the men skaped, among whom there were certaine friers: for wee sawe them in their friers weedes as they ran on shoare: many horsemen came from the towne to rescue them, and to carrie them away, other wise wee had landed and taken or killed them. So wee went aboard the barke as she lay sinke, and fetched out the pillage: but there was nothing in it of any value, and came aboard our shippes againe the same night: and the next morning wee set the great shippe on fire in the road, and sinke one of the barkes, and carried the other along with vs, and so departed from thence, and went away Northwest.

The 27 day wee tooke a small barke, which came from S. Iago neere vnto Quintero, where wee lost our men first. In this barke was one George a Greeke, a reasonable pilot for all the coast of Chili. They were sent to the citie of Lima with letters of aduise of vs, and of the losse of our men. There were also in the sayde barke one Flemming and three Spaniards: and they were all swayne and receiued the Sacrament before they came to sea by three or foure friers, that if wee should chance to meete them, they should throw those letters ouer boord: which, (as wee were giuing them chase with our pinnesse) before wee could fetch them by, they had accordingly thrown away. Yet our Generall wrought so with them, that they did confesse it: but hee was faine to cause them to bee tormented with their thumbes in a winch, and to continue them at seuerall times with extreme paine. Also hee made the old Flemming beleue that hee would hang him; and the rope being about his necke hee was pulled by a little from the hatches, and yet hee would not confesse, chusing rather to die, then hee would bee periured. In the end it was confessed by one of the Spaniards, whereupon wee burnt the barke, and carried the men with vs.

The third of May wee came into a bay where are three little townes, which are called Paracca, Chincha, and Pisca, where some of vs landed and tooke certaine houses, wherein was bread, wine, figs and hennies: but the sea went so high, that wee could not land at the best of the townes without sinking of our boats, and great hazard of vs all. This place standeth in thirteene degrees and to the Southward of the line.

The fift of May wee departed from this harbour, leaving the Content our viceadmirall within at an Island of seales, by which meanes at that time wee lost her companie.

The ninth wee gaue chase to a saile, namely, Our admirall, The Hugh Gallant, and The George which wee had taken before comming out of the roade of Arica; The Content which was our viceadmirall being still lost: but wee could not fetch it. The George made after it, but lost it that night.

The tenth day the Hugh Gallant (in which barke I Francis Pretie was) lost companie of our admirall.

The eleuenth we which were in the Hugh Gallant put into a bay which standeth in 12 degrees; in which bay wee found a riuer of fresh water about eight of the clocke at night, and though we were

were but of small force, and no more but one barke and 18 men in it, yet wee went on shoare to fill water; where hauing filled one boates lading, while our boate was in going aboord, two or three of our companie which were on shoare, as they were going a little from the watering place with their furniture about them, espied where there were foure or five hundred bagges of meale on an heape couered with a fewe reedes. So that night we filled water and tooke as much meale as wee thought good: which fell but well for vs that were then lost and stood in neede of victu-
als: and by breake of day in the morning wee came aboord, and there stayed and rode vntill the afternoone. In which meane time the towne seeing vs ride there still, brought downe much cat- tell to the sea side to haue intised vs to come on shoare: but wee sawe their intent, and weyed an- ker and departed the twelfth day.

400 bagges of
meale found.

The 13 day at night wee put into a bay which standeth in 9 degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, where wee sawe hoysmen: and that night wee landed, namely, M. Bruer Captaine, my selfe Francis Perrie, Ar- thur Warford, Iohn Way Preacher, Iohn Newman, Andrew Wyght, William Gargefield, and Henry Hilliard. And we 8 onely, hauing euery man his harquebuse and his furniture about him, marched three quarters of a mile along the sea side, where wee found a boate of five or sixe tummes halde by drie on the shoare about a cables length from the water: and with extreme labour wee lanchd the barke; when it was on flote, Captaine Bruer and I went in, while the rest of our companie were fetching their things: but suddenly it was readie to sinke: And the Captaine and I stood by to the knees lading out water with our targets: but it sinke downe faster then wee were able to free it, insomuch as in the end wee had much adoe to saue our selues from drow- ning. When wee were out, wee stood in great feare that our owne boate wherein wee came on shoare was sinke: for wee could no where see it. Howbeit the Captaine commanded them to keepe it off, for feare of the great surge that went by the shoare. Yet in the end wee spied it, and went aboord by two and two, and were driuen to wade by to the arme-holes 60 paces into the sea before wee could get into the boate, by reason of the shoalnesse: and then departed the four-
teenth day in the morning.

the bay in 9.
degrees and
 $\frac{1}{2}$
Iohn Way a
preacher.

The 16 wee tooke with the Hugh Gallant, being but sixtene men of vs in it, a great shippe which came from Guaianil, which was called The Lewis, and was of the burthen of three hun- dred tunns, hauing foure and twentie men in it, wherein was pilot one Goncaluo de Ribas, whom wee carried along with vs, and a Negro called Emmanuel. The shippe was laden with nothing but timber and victuals: wherefore wee left her seuen leagues from the land very leake and ready to sinke in 7 degrees to the Southward of the line: wee sinke her boate and tooke away her fore-
saile and certaine victuals.

the ship of 300
tunnies taken
after halfe an
houres fight.

Seven degrees
of Southerly
latitude.
They met
their fleet a-
gaine.
Two rich
ships taken.
One shippe
worth 20000
pounds

The 17 of May wee met with our admirall againe, and all the rest of our fleet. They had ta- ken two ships, the one laden with sugar, molosses, maiz, Cordouan-skinnes, monte go de Por- co, many packes of pinrados, many Indian coates, and some marmalade, and 1000 heimes: and the other ship was laden with wheate-meale, and boxes of marmalade. One of these ships which had the chiefe marchandise in it, was worth twentie thousand pounds, if it had bene in England or in any other place of Christendome where wee might haue solde it. Wee filled all our ships with as much as wee could bestow of these goods: the rest wee burnt and the ships also; and set the men and women that were not killed on shoare.

The bay of
Paica in 5 de-
grees 4 min.

The 20 day in the morning wee came into the road of Paica, and being at an anker, our Gene- rall landed with sixtie or seuentie men, skirmished with them of the towne, and draue them all to flight to the top of the hill which is ouer the towne, except a few slaues and some other which were of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the gouernours to stay below in the towne, at a place which is in building for a fort, hauing with them a bloodie ensigne, being in number about one hundred men. Nowe as wee were rowing betweene the ships and the shoare, our gunner shot off a great peece out of one of the barkes, and the shot fel among them, and draue them to flie from the fort as fast as they might runne, who got them by vpon an hill, and from thence shot among vs with their small shot. After wee were landed and had taken the towne, wee ran vpon them, and chased them so fiercely vpon the hill, the space of an houre, that wee draue them in the ende away perforce, and being got vpon the hill, wee found where they had layd all their stiffe which they had brought out of the towne, and had hidden it there vpon the mountaines. We also found the quan-
tity of 25 pounds weight in siluer in pieces of eight rials, and abundance of household stiffe and
storehouses full of all kinde of wares: but our Generall would not suffer any man to carrie much cloth or apparell away, because they should not cloy themselves with burthens: for hee knew not whether our enemies were prouided with furniture according to the number of their men: for they were five men to one of vs: and wee had an English mile and an halfe to our ships. Thus
wee

the new fort in
building.

The towne of
Paica taken and
burnt.

25 pounds
weight in sil-
uer.

The towne of
Paica had 200
houses in it.
A barke set on
fire.

The Island of
Puna with in
1 degree the E.
quinoctial to
the South.
A great ship
burnt.

Great store of
cables made
in Puna.

wee came downe in safetie to the towne, which was very well builded, and marvellous cleane kept in every streefe, with a towne-house or Guild hall in the middelt, and had to the number of two hundred houses at the least in it. Wee set it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of five or six thousand pounds: there was also a barke riding in the roade which wee set on fire, and departed directing our course to the Island of Puna.

The 25 day of May wee arrived at the Island of Puna, where is a very good harbour, where wee found a great shippe of the burthen of 250 tunnes riding at an anker with all her furniture, which was readie to bee haled on ground: for there is a speciall good place for that purpose. Wee sunke it, and went on shoare where the lord of the Island dwelt, which was by the waters side, who had a sumptuous house marvellous well contrived with very many singular good roomes and chambers in it: and out of every chamber was framed a gallerie with a stately prospect into the sea on the one side, and into the Island on the other side, with a marvellous great hall below, and a very great storehouse at the one ende of the hall, which was filled with botijas of pitch and balse to make cables withall: for the most part of the cables in the South sea are made upon that Island. This great Cacique doth make all the Indians upon the Island to worke and to drudge for him: and hee himselfe is an Indian borne, but is married to a marvellous faire woman which is a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation and of his great wealth.

This Spanisch woman his wife is honoured as a Queene in the Island, and neuer goeth on the ground upon her feete: but holdeth it too base a thing for her: But when her pleasure is to take the ayre, or to goe abroad, shee is alwayes carried in a shadowe like unto an horse-litter upon foure mens shoulders, with a velle or canopie ouer her for the sunne or the winde, hauing her gentlewomen still attending about her with a great troope of the best men of the Island with her. But both shee and the lord of the Island with all the Indians in the towne were newly fled out of the Island before wee could get to an anker, by reason wee were becalmed before wee could get in, and were gone ouer unto the maine lande, hauing carried away with them to the summe of 100000 crownes, which wee knew by a captaine of the Island an Indian, which was left there with some other upon the Island under him, whom wee had taken at sea as wee were comming into the roade, being in a balsa or canoa for a spie to see what wee were.

The 27 our General himselfe with certaine shot and some targettiers went ouer into the maine into the place where this foresayde Indian captaine which wee had taken had tolde vs that the Cacique, which was the lord of all the Island, was gone vnto, and had caried all his treasure with him: but at our comming to the place which wee went to lande at, wee found newly arrived there foure or five great balsas, which were laden with plantans, bags of meale, and many other kinds of victuals. Our Generall marvelled what they were and what they meant, asking the Indian guide and commanding him to speake the truth vpon his life: being then bound fast, hee answered being very much abashed, as well as our companie were, that hee neither knewe from whence they should come, nor who they should bee: for there was neuer a man in any one of the balsas: and because hee had tolde our Generall before, that it was an easie matter to take the sayd Cacique and all his treasure, and that there were but three or foure houses standing in a desert place and no resistance, and that if hee found it not so, hee should hang him. Again being demaunded to speake vpon his life what hee thought these Balsas should bee, hee answered that hee coulde not say from whence they should come, except it were to bring 60 souldiers, which hee did heare were to go to a place called Guaiquil, which was about 6 leagues from the saide yland, where two or three of the kings shippes were on the stocks in building, where are continually an hundred souldiers in garrisons who had heard of vs, and had sent for sixtie more for feare of burning of the shippes and towne. Our Generall not any whit discouraged either at the sight of the balsas vnlooke for, or for hearing of the threescore souldiers not vntill then spoken of, with a braue courage animating his companie in the exployte, went presently forward, being in the night in a most desert path in the woods, vntill such time as hee came to the place, where as it seemed, they had kept watch either at the waters side, or at the houses, or else at both, and were newly gone out of the houses, hauing so short warning, that they left the meate both biling and roasting at the fire and were fledde with their treasure with them, or else buried it vntill it could not bee found, being also in the night. Our companie tooke heines and such things as wee thought good, and came away.

The towne of
Guaiquil.

A little Island
neere vnto
Puna.

The 29 day of May our Generall went in the ship-boate into a little Island there by, whereas the sayd Cacique which was the lord of Puna had caused all the hangings of his chambers, which were of cordouan leather all guilded ouer, and painted very faire and rich, with all his household stuffe, and all the ships tackling which was riding in the roade at our comming in, with great store

of nailes, spikes of yron, and very many other things to be conueyed : all which wee found, and brought away what our Generall thought requisite for the ships businesse.

This Iland is very pleasant for all things requisite, and fruitful: but there are no mines of gold nor silver in it. There are at the least 200 houses in the towne about the Caciques pallace, and as many in one or two townes more vpon the Iland, which is almost as bigge as the Ile of Wight in England. There is planted on the one side of the Caciques house a faire garden, with all herbes growing in it, and at the lower end a well of fresh water, and round about it are trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this maner: The tops of the trees grow full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seede of the bignesse of a pease, and in euery codde there are seuen or eight of these seedes: and if the cotton bee not gathered when it is ripe, then these seedes fall from it, and spring againe.

The Ile of Puna is almost as big as the Ile of Wight. Cotton trees.

There are also in this garden fig-trees which beare continually, also poppions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, rosemarie and thyme, with many other herbes and fruits. At the other end of the house there is also another orchard, where grow oranges sweete and sower, limmons, pomegranates and lynes, with diuers other fruits.

An excellent orchard.

There is very good pasture ground in this Iland; and withall many horses, oxen, bullockes, sheepe very fat and faire, great store of goates which be very tame, and are vled continually to bee milked. They haue moreover abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a marvellous bignesse.

There was also a very large and great church hard by the Caciques house, whither hee caused all the Indians in the Iland to come and heare masse: for he himselfe was made a Christian when he was married to the Spanissh woman before spoken of, and vpon his conuersion he caused the rest of his subiects to be Christened. In this church was an high altar with a crucifixe, and sixe belles hanging in the nether end thereof. We burnt the church and brought the belles away.

By this time wee had haled on ground our admirall, and had made her cleane, burnt her keele, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on stote againe. And in the meane while continually kept watch and ward in the great house both night and day.

The second graving of their ships.

The second day of June in the morning, by and by after breake of day, euery one of the watch being gone abroad to seeke to fetch in victuals, some one way, some another, some for hennes, some for sheepe, some for goates, vpon the sudden there came down vpon vs an hundred Spanissh souldiers with muskets and an ensigne, which were landed on the other side of the Iland that night, and all the Indians of the Iland with them, euery one with weapons and their baggage after them: which was by meanes of a Negro, whose name was Emmanuel, which fled from vs at our first landing there. Thus being taken at aduantage we had the worst: for our companie was not past fiftene or twentie; whereof they had slaine one or two before they were come to the houses: yet we skirmished with them an houre and an halfe: at the last being sore ouercharged with multitudes, we were driuen down from the hill to the waters side, and there kept them play a while, until in the end Zacharie Saxie, who with his halberd had kept the way of the hill, and slaine a couple of them, as hee breathed himselfe being somewhat tired, had an honourable death and a short: for a shot strooke him to the heart: who feeling himselfe mortally wounded cryed to God for mercie, and fell downe presently dead. But soone after the enemye was driuen somewhat to retire from the bankes side to the greene: and in the ende our boate came and carried as many of our men away as could goe in her, which was in hazard of sinking while they hastened into it: And one of our men whose name was Robert Maddocke was shot through the head with his owne peece, being a snap-hance, as hee was hastning into the boate. But foure of vs were left behinde which the boate could not carrie: to wit, my selfe Francis Pretie, Thomas Andrewes, Steuen Gunner, and Richard Rose: which had our shot readie and retired our selues vnto a cliffe, untill the boate came againe, which was presently after they had carried the rest aboard. There were sixe and fortie of the enemies slaine by vs, whereof they had dragged some into bushes, and some into olde houses, which wee found afterward. Wee lost twelue men in maner following.

The first skie-mith with the Spaniards.

Zacharie Saxie slaine honorably.

Robert Maddocke slaine with his owne peece.

46 Spaniards and Indians slaine.

Slaine by the enemye.	1 Zacharie Saxie,	1 Henry Mawdley,	}
	2 Neales Johnson,	burnt.	
	3 William Geirgiffeld,	1 Edward the gunners man,	}
	4 Nicolas Hendie,	2 Ambrose the musician,	
	5 Henry Cooper,	1 Walter Tilliard,	}
}	1 Robert Maddocke,	2 Edward Smith,	
	killed with his peece,	3 Henry Aselye,	
			taken prisoners.

The second
skirmish with
the Spaniards.
The chiefe
towne in Pu-
na burnt.

They arrived
at Puna the 25
of May.
The Hugh Gal-
lant a barke of
40 tunns sunk.

Rio dolce.

Michael Sancius
a Spaniard.

A great new
ship burnt.

The second
barke of aduise
taken.
Sonsonate in
the prouince of
Guatemala.
A barke burnt.

The river of
Copalica.

Aguatulco sit
15 degrees and
40 minutes
Northward.
A barke burnt.
Anile.
Cacaos
Aguatulco a
towne of 100
houses burnt.

Cacaos goe for
money in Nue-
ua Espanna.

Our Generall
entered two
miles into the
maine land
with 30 men.

The selfe same day being the second of June, we went on shoare againe with sixtie men, and had a fresh skirmish with the enemies, and draue them to retire, being an hundred Spaniards ser- uing with muskets, and two hundred Indians with bowes, arrowes and darts. This done, wee set fire on the towne and burnt it to the ground, hauing in it to the number of three hundred houses: and shortly after made hauocke of their fieldes, orchards and gardens, and burnt foure great ships moze which were in building on the stocks.

The third of June the Conent which was our viceadmirall was haled on ground, to graue at the same place in despyght of the Spaniards: and also our pinnesse which the Spaniards had bur- ned, was new trimmed.

The fift day of June wee departed out of the roade of Puna, where wee had remained eleuen dayes, and turned by for a place which is called Rio dolce, where wee watered: at which place also wee sunke our reereadmirall called The Hugh Gallant for want of men, being a barke of for- tie tunnes.

The tenth day of the same moneth wee set the Indians on shoare, which we had taken before in a balla as we were comming into the road of Puna.

The eleuenth day wee departed from the sayd Rio dolce.

The twelfth of June wee doubled the Equinoctial line, and continued our course Northward all that moneth.

The first of Iulie wee had sight of the coast of Nueva Espanna, being foure leagues distant from land in the latitude of ten degrees to the Northward of the line.

The ninth of Iulie wee tooke a new ship of the burthen of 120 tunnes, wherein was one Mi- chael Sancius, whom our Generall tooke to serue his turne to water along the coast: for hee was one of the best coasters in the South sea. This Michael Sancius was a Breuchsal, borne in Mar- seils, and was the first man that tolde vs newes of the great ship called The Santa Anna, which wee afterward tooke comming from the Philippinas.

There were sixe men moze in this new shippe: we tooke her sailes, her ropes, and fire-wood, to serue our turnes, set her on fire, and kept the men.

The tenth we tooke another barke which was going with aduise of vs and our ships all along the coast, as Michael Sancius tolde vs: but all the companie that were in the barke were fledde on shoare. None of both these ships had any goods in them. For they came both from Sonsonate in the prouince of Guatemala; the new shippe, for feare we should haue taken her in the road, and the barke, to carrie newes of vs along the coast; which barke also wee set on fire.

The 26 day of Iulie wee came to an anker at 10 fathoms in the riuer of Copalica, where wee made account to water. And the same night wee departed with 30 men in the pinnesse, and reuerd to Aguatulco, which is but two leagues from the aforesayd riuer; and standeth in 15 degrees 40 minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctial line.

The 27 in the morning by the breake of day wee came into the roade of Aguatulco, where wee found a barke of 50 tunnes, which was come from Sonsonate laden with cacaos and anile which they had there landed: and the men were all fled on shoare. Wee landed there, and burnt their towne, with the church and custome house which was very faire and large: in which house were 600 bags of anile to dye cloth; euery bag whereof was worth 40 crownes, and 400 bags of ca- caos; euery bag whereof is worth ten crownes. These cacaos goe among them for meate and money. For 150 of them are in value one rial of plate in ready payment. They are very like unto an almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste: they eat them, and make drinke of them. This the owner of the shippe tolde vs. I found in this towne before wee burnt it, a flasket full of boxes of balme. After we had spoyled and burnt the towne, wherein there were some hundred houses, the owner of the shippe came downe out of the hilles with a flag of truce vnto vs, which before with the rest of all the townesmen was run away at our first comming; and at length came aboard our pinnesse vpon Captaine Hauers worde of safe returne. Wee carried him to the riuer of Copalica where our shippes rode: and when hee came to our Generall, hee caused him to bee set on shoare in safetie the same night, because hee came vpon the captaines word.

The 28 day we set saile from Copalica, because the sea was so great there, that wee could not fill water, and ran the same night into the roade of Aguatulco.

The 29 our Generall landed and went on shoare with thirtie men two miles into the woods, where wee tooke a Mestizo, whose name was Michael de Truxillo, who was customer of that towne, and wee found with him two chambers full of his stuffe: wee brought him and his stuffe aboard. And whereas I say he was a Mestizo, it is to be understood that a Mestizo is one which hath a Spaniard to his father and an Indian to his mother.

The

The second day of August, we had watered, and examined the said Mestizo, and set him on shore againe and departed from the port of Aguatulco the same night, which standeth as I sayd before in 15 degrees and 40 minutes to the Northward of the lyne.

Our departure from Aguatulco.

Here wee ouerslipped the haven of Acapulco, from whence the Shippes are set forth for the Philippinas.

The foure and twentieth day of August, our Generall with 30 of vs went with the pinnesse into an haven called Puerto de Natiuidad, where wee had intelligence by Michael Sancius that there should bee a pinnesse, but before wee could get thither the sayde pinnesse was gone to fish for pearles 12 leagues farther, as we were informed by certaine Indians which we found there. We tooke a mullato in this place, in his bedde, which was sent with letters of aduise concerning vs along the coast, of Nueva Galicia, whose horse wee killed, tooke his letters, left him behinde, set fire on the houses, and burnt two of our shippes of 200 tonnes the piece, which were in building there on the stocks, and came about of our shippes againe.

Puerto de Natiuidad in 19 degrees.

The third poste of aduise taken.

Puerto de Natiuidad burnt. Two new shippes burnt.

The five and twentieth day of August, wee came into the bay of S. Iago, where wee watered at a fresh Riuer, along which riuer many plantans are growing: here is great abundance of fresh fish. Weere also certaine of our companie dragged for pearles and caught some quantitie.

The riuer of S. Iago. Pearles taken.

The second of September wee departed from S. Iago at foure of the clocke in the evening. This bay of S. Iago standeth in nineteene degrees and eightene minutes to the Northward of the lyne.

The 3 of September wee arrived in a little bay a league to the Westwarde off Port de Natiuidad called Malacca, which is a very good place to ride in: and the same day about twelue of the clocke our Generall landed with thirtie men or there about, and went by to a towne of Indians which was two leagues from the road, which towne is called Acatlan: there were in it about 20 or 30 houses and a Church, which we defaced and came about againe the same night. All the people were fled out of the towne at the sight of vs.

The bay of Malacca. The towne of Acatlan burnt.

The fourth of September, wee departed from the roade of Malacca, and sailed along the coast.

The roade of Chacalla.

The 8 we came to the roade of Chacalla, in which bay there are two little houses by the waters side. This bay is 18 leagues from the Cape de los Corrientes.

The 9 in the morning our Generall sent by Captaine Hauers with fortie men of vs before day, and Michael Sancius being our guide, wee went into a place about two leagues by into the countrey in a most villanous desert path through the woods and wilderness; and in the ende we came to a place where wee tooke three householders with their wiues and children and some Indians, one carpenter which was a Spaniard, and a Portugall, wee bound them all and made them to come to the sea side with vs.

Our Generall made their wiues to fetch vs Plantans, Lymmonds, and Oranges, Pineapples and other fruites whereof they had abundance, and so let their husbandes depart, except Sembrano the Spanish Carpenter, and Diego the Portugall; and the tenth day wee departed the roade.

The twelfth day wee arrived at a little Island called the Isle of S. Andrewe, on which there is great store of fowle and wood: where wee dyed and salted as many of the fowles as we thought good: wee also killed there abundance of seales, and Iguanos which are a kinde of Serpents, with foure feete, and a long sharpe tayle, strange to them which haue not seene them; but they are very good meate. Wee ridde here untill the seuenteenth day, at which time wee departed.

The isle of S. Andrewe.

Iguanos good meate.

The 24 day wee arrived in the roade of Massatlan, which standeth in 23 degrees; just under the Tropicke of Cancer: It is a very great riuer within, but is barred at the mouth: and vpon the North side of the barre without, is good fresh water: but there is very euill filling of it; because at a lowe water it is shoald halfe a mile off the shoare. There is great store of fresh fish in that bay: and good fruites by into the countrey, whereof wee had some, though not without danger.

Massatlan in 23 degrees, and an halfe.

The seven and twentieth day of September, wee departed from the roade of Massatlan and ran to an island which is a league to the Northward the sayd Massatlan; where wee trimmed our ships and new built our pinnesse: and there is a little island a quarter of a league from it, on which are seales; where a Spanish prisoner, whose name was Domingo, being sent to wash shirtes with one of our me to keep him, made a scape, & swam to the maine, which was an English mile distant: at which place we had seen 30 or 40 Spaniards & Indians, which were horsemen, and kept watch there,

An island a league Northwards of Massatlan.

The escape of one Domingo, a Spaniard.

Chiamerla,

there, which came from a towne called Chiamerla, which was 11 leagues vp into the countrey, as Michael Sanius told vs. We found vpon the island where we trimmed our pinnelle, fresh water by the assistance of God in that our great neede by digging two or three foote deepe in the sande, where no water nor signe of water was before to be perceiued. Otherwise we had gon backe 20 or 30 leagues to water: which might haue bene occasion that we might haue missed our prey wee had long wayted for. But God raysed one Flores a Spaniard, which was also a prisoner with vs, to make a motion to digge in the sands. Now our Generall hauing had experience ones before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practise, and in digging three foote deepe wee found very good and fresh water. So we watered our ships, and might haue filled a thousand tunnes more, if we had would.

Fresh water
at 2 or 3 foote
deepe in the
sand.

We stayed in this island untill the 9 day of October, at which time we departed at night for the cape of S. Lucar, which is on the West side of the point of California.

The cape of S.
Lucar on the
point of Cali-
fornia.
Aguada Segura.

The 14 of October we fell with the cape of S. Lucar, which cape is very like the Needles at the isle of Wight; and within the said cape is a great bay called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura: into which bay falleth a faire fresh riuer, about which many Indians vse to keepe: wee watered in the riuer and lay off and on from the saide cape of S. Lucar untill the fourth of Nouember, and had the windes hanging still Westerly.

California in 23
degrees and
two thirds.

The 4 of Nouember the Desire and the Content, wherein were the number of Eng-
lishmen onely lining, beating vp and downe vpon the headland of California, which standeth in 23 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the Northward, betwene seuen and 8 of the clocke in the morning one of the company of our Admirall which was the trumpeter of the ship going vp into the top espied a sayle bearing in from the sea with the cape; whereupon hee cryed out with no small ioy to himselfe and the whole company. A sayle, A sayle, with which cheerefull word the master of the ship and diuers others of the company went also vp into the maine top, who perceiuing the speech to be very true gaue information vnto our Generall of these happy newes, who was no lesse glad then the cause required: whereupon he gaue in charge presently vnto the whole company to put all things in readines, which being performed we gaue the chase some 3 or 4 houres, standing with our best aduantage and working for the winde. In the afternoone we gat vp vnto them, giuing them the broad side with our great ordinance and a vollee of small shot, and presently layed the ship aboard, whereof the king of Spaine was owner, which was Admiral of the south sea, called the S. Anna, & thought to be 700 tunnes in burthen. Now as we were ready on their ships side to enter her, being not past 50 or 60 men at the vttermost in our ship, we perceiued that the Captaine of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and layd their sailes close on their poope, their mid ship, with their fore castle, and hauing not one man to be seene, stood close vnder their fights, with lances, iauelings, rapiers, & targets, & an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw ouerboord vpon our heads and into our ship so fast and being so many of them, that they put vs off the shippe againe, with the losse of 2 of our men which were slaine, & with the hurting of 4 or 5. But for al this we new trimmed our sailes, and fitted euery man his furniture, and gaue them a fresh encounter with our great ordinance and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their Captaine still like a valiant man with his company stood very stoutely vnto his close fights, not yeelding as yet: Our General encouraging his men a fresh with the whole noyse of trumpets gaue them the third encounter with our great ordinance and all our small shot to the great discomforting of our enemies raking them through in diuers places, killing and spoiling many of their men. They being thus discomforted and spoiled, and their shippe being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, wherof some were vnder water, within 5 or 6 houres fight set out a flagge of truce and parled for mercy, desiring our Generall to saue their liues and to take their goods, and that they would presently yeeld. Our Generall of his goodnes promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sayles, and to hoyle out their boate and to come aboard: which newes they were ful glad to heare of, and presently strooke their sailes, hoysed their boat out, and one of their cheife marchants came aboard vnto our Generall: and falling downe vpon his knees, offered to haue kissed our Generals feete, and craued mercie: our General most graciously pardoned both him and the rest vpon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the shippe: and sent for the Captaine and their Pilote, who at their comming vsed the like due tie and reuerence as the former did. The General of his great mercy & humanitie, promised their liues and good vsage. The sayd Captaine and Pilote presently certified the Generall what goods they had within boord, to wit, an hundred and 22 thousand pezos of golde: and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with, was in silkes, sattens, damasks, with muske & diuers other marchandise, and great store of al manner of victuals

The fight be-
tweene the
great S. Anna
and vs.

The second en-
counter.

The third en-
counter.

The great S.
Anna yeeldeth.

One hundred
and two and
twenty thou-
sand pezos of
gold.
36 pezo is 8 s.

with

with the choyse of many conserues of all sortes for to eate, and of sundry sorts of very good wines. These things being made knowne to the Generall by the aforesaide Captaine and Pilote, they were commanded to stay aboord the Desire, and on the 6 day of November following wee went into an harbour which is called by the Spaniards, Aguada Segura, or Puerto Seguro.

The marchant
dile in the
great ship.

Here the whole company of the Spaniards, both of men and women to the number of 190 persons were set on shore: where they had a fayre river of fresh water, with great store of fresh fish, foule, and wood, and also many hares and conies vpon the maine land. Our generall also gaue them great store of victuals, of garuanos, peason, and some wine. Also they had all the sailes of their shippe to make them tents on shore, with licence to take such store of planks as should bee sufficient to make them a barge. Then we fell to hysling in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and allotting to euery man his portion. In deuision whereof the eight of this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie against our Generall, especially those which were in the Content, which neuerthelesse were after a sort pacified for the time.

The Spania
ards set on
shore to the nu
ber of 190.

Puttine a
gainst the Ge
nerall.

On the 17 day of November, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Maiestie, our Generall commanded all his ordinance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his owne shippe where himselfe went, and also in the Content, which was our Vice-admirall. This being done, the same night we had many fireworkes and more ordinance discharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there: for the most part of them had neuer seene the like before.

This ended, our Generall discharged the Captaine, gaue him a royall reward, with prouision for his defence against the Indians and his company, both of swords, targets, pieces, shot, and powder to his great contentment: but before his departure, he tooke out of this great shippe two yong lads borne in Iapon, which could both wright and reade their owne language, the eldest being about 20 yeeres olde was named Christopher, the other was called Cosmus, about 17 yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke also with him out of their ship, 3 boyes borne in the illes of Manilla, the one about 15, the other about 13, and the yongest about 9 yeeres old. The name of the eldest was Alphonso, the second Anthony de Dasi, the third remaineth with the right honourable the Countesse of Essex. He also tooke from them, one Nicholas Roderigo a Portugall, who hath not onely bene in Canton and other parts of China, but also in the islands of Iapon being a countrey most rich in siluer mynes, and hath also bene in the Philippinas.

Two boyes
of Iapon.

Three boyes
of Manilla.

Nicholas Roderi
go, a Portugall

Wee tooke also from them a Spaniard whose name was Thomas de Ersola, which was a very good Pilote from Acapulco and the coast of Nueva Espanna vnto the islands of Ladrones, where the Spaniards doe put in to water, sayling betweene Acapulco and the Philippinas: in which illes of Ladrones, they finde fresh water, plantans, and potato rootes: howbeit the people be very rude and heathens. The 19 day of November aforesaid, about 3 of the clock in the afternoone, our Generall caused the kings shippe to be set on fire, which hauing to the quantitie of 500 tunnes of goods in her we saw burnt vnto the water, and then gaue them a piece of ordinance and set sayle ioyally homewardest towards England with a fayre winde, which by this time was come about to Eastnortheast: and night growing neere, we left the Content a sterne of vs, which was not as yet come out of the road. And here thinking he would haue ouertaken vs, we lost her companie and neuer saw her after. Wee were sayling from this haven of Aguada Segura in California vnto the illes of Ladrones the rest of November, and all December, and so forth vntil the 3 of Januarie 1588, with a faire winde for the space 45 dayes: and we esteemed it to be between 17 and 18 hundred leagues. The 3 day of January by five of the clocke in the morning wee had sight of one of the islands of Ladrones called the island of Guana, standing in 13 degrees: toward the North, and sayling with a gentle gale before the winde, by 1 or 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, wee were come by within 2 leagues of the island, where we met with 60 or 70 sailes of canoas full of Sauages, who came off to sea vnto vs, and brought with them in their boates plantans, cocos, potato rootes, and fresh fish, which they had caught at sea, and helde them by vnto vs for to truck or exchange with vs, which when we perceiued, we made fast little pieces of old iron vpon small cords and fishing lines, and so bered the iron vnto their canoas, and they caught hold of them and tooke off the iron, and in exchange of it they would make fast vnto the same line either a potato roote, or a bundle of plantans, which we haled in: and thus our company exchanged with them vntil they had satisfied themselves with as much as did content them: yet we could not be rid of them. For afterward they were so thicke about the ship, that it stemmed & brake 1 or 2 of their canoas: but the men saued themselves being in euery canoa 4, 6, or 8 persons all naked & excellent swimmers and diuers. They are of a tawny colour & marvellous fat, & bigger ordinarily of stature the most part of our men in England, wearing their haire marvellous long: yet some of them haue it made vp and tyed with a knot on the crowne, & some with 2 knots, much like vnto their

A Spaniard
Pilote.

Acapulco is the
hauen whence
they set forth
to the Philip
pinas.

Good water
ing at the La
drones.

The winde at
Eastnortheast.

The Content,
whereof Steven
Hare was mas
ter, left behind
in the road.

The island of
Guana one of
the Ladrones in
13 degrees and
two thirds.
Commodities
of the illes of
Ladrones.

The colour
and stature of
of the people
of the illes of
Ladrones.

Their images.
Artificial
canoas.

Canoas sayling
right against
the winde.

The nimble-
nes of the peo-
ple of the La-
drones.

Cabo del Spirito
Santo, one of
the illes of the
Philippinas in 13
degrees,
from Guana
an ille of The
Ladrones to Ca-
bo del Spirito
Santo is 310
leagues.

The descripti-
on of the towne
of Manilla.
Trade from
Acapulco to Ma-
nilla, Spanish
merchants of China.
Spanish
merchants
called Sangueles
Silver exchan-
ged waight
for waight for
golde.

The island of
Capul at which
our men stayed
9 dayes.

Use you know

One of the
chiefe gover-
nours of the
island came
aboord vs.

Hennes and
hogges.

their images which wee saw them haue carued in wood, and standing in the head of their boates like vnto the images of the deuill. Their canoas were as artificially made as any that euer wee had seene: considering they were made and contriued without any edge-toole. They are not a boue haife a yard in bredth and in length some leuen or eight paces, and their heades and sternes are both alike: they are made out with raftes of canes and reedes on the starreboord side, with maste and sayle: their sayle is made of mattes of sedges, square or triangle wise: and they saile as well right against the winde, as before the winde: These Sauages followed vs so long, that we could not be ridde of them: vntill in the end our General commanded some halfe dozen harquebuzes to be made ready, and himselfe strooke one of them and the rest shot at them: but they were so parr and nimble, that we could not discern whether they were killed or no, because they could fall backward into the sea, and preuent vs by diuing.

The 14 day of January lying at hull with our ship all the middle watch, from 12 at night vntill foure in the morning, by the breake of day wee fell with an headland of the illes of the Philippinas, which is called Cabo del Spirito Santo which is of very great bignes and length, high land in the midst of it, and very low land as the Cape lyeth East and West, trending farre into the sea to the westward. This cape or island is distant from the ile of Guana, one of the Ladrones, 310 leagues. We were in sayling of this course eleuen dayes with skant windes and some foule weather, bearing no sayle two or thre nights. This island standeth in 13 degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woodie through the whole land: and it is short of the chiefeest island of the Philippinas called Manilla about 60 leagues. Manilla is well planted and inhabited with Spaniards to the number of fixe or seuen hundred persons: which dwell in a towne walled, which hath 3 or 4 small blocke houses, part made of wood, and part of stone beeing in deede of no great strength: they haue one or two small Gallies belong to the towne. It is a very rich place of golde and many other commodities; and they haue peereless trafficke from Acapulco in Nueva Espanna, and also 20 or 30 shippes from China and from the Sangueles, which bring them many sorts of marchandise. The merchants of China and the Sangueles are part Moores and part heathen people. They bring great store of gold with them, which they trafficke and exchange for silver, and giue waight for waight. These Sangueles are men of marueilous capacite in deuising and making all maner of things, especially in all handie craftes and sciences: and euery one is so expert, perfect, and skillfull in his facultie, as fewe or no Christians are able to goe beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing & imbroidering vpon latten, silke, or lawne, either beaste, fowle, fish or worime, for liuelines and perfectnes, both in silke, silver, gold, & pearle, they excell. Also the 14 day at night wee entred the streights betweene the island of Luçon, & the island of Camlaia.

The fifteenth of January wee fell with an island called Capul, and had betwixt the sayd island and another island but an narrow passage, and a marueilous rippling of a very great tyde with a ledge of rockes lying off the poynt of the island of Capul: and no danger but water ynough a fayre bredth off: and within the point a fayre bay and a very good harborough in foure fathomes water hard aboord the shore within a cables length. About 10 of the clocke in the morning wee came to an anker.

Our shippe was no sooner come to an anker, but presently there came a canoa rowling aboord vs; wherein was one of the chief Caciques of the island, whereof there be seuen, who supposing that we were Spaniards, brought vs potato rootes, which they call camotas, and greene cocos, in exchange whereof we gaue his company pieces of linnen to the quantitie of a yard for foure Cocos, and as much linnen for a basket of potato rootes of a quart in quantitie; which rootes are very good meat, and excellent sweete either roasted or boyled.

This Caciques skinn was carued and cut with sundry and many strakes and deuises all ouer his body. We kept him still aboord and caused him to send those men which brought him aboord backe to the island to cause the rest of the principals to come aboord: who were no sooner gone on shore, but presently the people of the island came downe with their cocos and potato rootes, and the rest of the principals likewise came aboord and brought with them hennes and hogges: and they used the same order with vs which they doe with the Spaniards. For they tooke for euery hog (which they call Balboye) eight rials of plate, and for euery henne or cocke one riall of plate. Thus we rode at anker all that day, doing nothing but buying rootes, cocos, hennes, hogges, and such things as they brought, refreshing our selues marueilously well.

The same day at night beeing the fifteenth of January 1588, Nicolas Roderigo the Portugall, whom wee tooke out of the great Sanea Anna at the Cape of California, desired to speake with our General in secret: which when our General vnderstood, he sent for him, & asked him what he had to say vnto him. The Portugall made him this answer, that although he had offered his wor-
ship

ship heretofore, yet now hee had vowed his faith and true seruice vnto him, and in respect thereof he neither could nor would conceale such treason as was in working against him and his company: and that was this. That the Spaniard which was taken out of the great lane Anne for a Pilote, whole name was Thomas de Ersola, had written a letter, and secretly sealed it and locked it by in his chest, meaning to conuey it by the inhabitants of this island to Manilla, the contents whereof were: That there had bene two English ships along the coast of *Chili*, *Pern*, *Nueva Espana*, and *Nueva Galicia*, and that they had taken many shippes and marchandize in them, and burnt diuers townes, and spoiled all that ever they could come vnto, and that they had taken the kings ship which came from Manilla and all his treasure, with all the marchandize that was therein; and had set all the people on shore, taking himselfe away perforce. Therefore he willed them that they should make strong their bulwarks with their two Gallies, and all such provision as they could possibly make. He farther signified, that wee were riding at an island called *Capul*, which was at the end of the island of *Manilla*, being but one shippe with small force in it, and that the other ship, as he supposed, was gone for the North-west passage, standing in 55 degrees: and that if they could vse any meanes to surprize vs being there at an anchor, they should dispatch it: for our force was but small, and our men but weake, and that the place where we roade was but 50 leagues from them. Otherwise if they let vs escape, within fewe yeeres they must make account to haue their towne besieged and sacked with an armie of English. This information being giuen, our Generall called for him, and charged him with these things, which at the first he utterly denyed: but in the ende, the matter being made manifest and knowne of certaintie by especiall tryall and proofes, the next morning our General willed that he should be hanged: which was accordingly performed the 16 of January.

The treason of the Spaniard Pilote revealed.

The copy of the Spaniard Pilotes letter to the gouernour of Manilla, which was found in his chest, and translated by Timothy Shotton

Capul adioyning vpon the South side of Manilla. The shortest west passage, 50 leagues from Manilla.

The Spaniard Pilote hanged for his treachery.

The manner of the people of Capul.

We roade for the space of nine dayes about this island of *Capul*, where we had diuerse kindes of fresh victuals, with excellent fresh water in euery bay, and great store of wood. The people of this island go almost all naked and are tawny of colour. The men weare onely a stroope about their waistes, of some kinde of linnen of their owne weauing, which is made of plantain leaues, and another stroope comming from their backe vnder their twistes, which couereth their priuie parts, and is made fast to their girdles at their nauels.

These people vse a strange kinde of order among them, which is this. Euery man and man-child among them hath a nayle of Tyne thrust quite through the head of his priuie part, being split in the lower ende and riuerted, and on the head of the nayle is as it were a crowne: which is driuen through their priuities when they be yong, and the place groweth vp againe, without any great paine to the child: and they take this nayle out and in, as occasion serueth: and for the truth thereof we our selues haue taken one of these nailles from a soone of one of the kings which was of the age of 10 yeeres, who did weare the same in his priuie member.

A strange thing.

This custome was granted at the request of the women of the countrey, who finding their men to be giuen to the foule sinne of Sodomie, desired some remedie against that mischiefe, and obtained this before named of the magistrates. Whereouer all the males are circumcised, hauing the foreskinne of their flesh cut away. These people wholly worship the deuill, and often times haue conference with him, which appeareth vnto them in most ugly and monstrous shape.

Circumcision.

On the 23 day of January, our Generall M. Thomas Candish caused al the principals of this island, and of an hundred islands more, which he had made to pay tribute vnto him (which tribute was in hogges, hennes, potatoes and cocos), to appeare before him, and made himselfe and his company knowne vnto them, that they were English men, and enemies to the Spaniardes: and thereupon spreade his Ensigne and sounded by the drummes, which they much maruelled at: to conclude, they promised both themselves and all the islands thereabout to ayde him, whensoever hee should come againe to overcome the Spaniardes. Also our Generall gaue them, in token that wee were enemies to the Spaniardes, money backe againe for all their tribute which they had payed: which they tooke marvellous friendly, and rowed about our shippe to shewe vs pleasure marvellous swiftly: at the last our generall caused a saker to be shot off, whereat they wondered, and with great contentment tooke their leaues of vs.

The inhabitants of Capul with all the islands adioyning, promise to ayde the English against the Spaniardes

The next day being the twentieth foure of Januarie, wee sette sayle aboute fixe of the clock in the morning, and ran along the coast of the island of *Manilla*, shaping our course North-west betweene the isle of *Manilla*, and the isle of *Masbat*.

Our departure from the island of Capul. The isle of Masbat.

The 28 day in the morning about 7 of the clocke, riding at an anchor betwixt 2 islands, wee spied a Frigate vnder her two coarles, comming out betweene 2 other islands, which as we imagined came fro *Manilla*, sayling close aboord the shore along the maine island of *Panama*: we chased this Frigate along the shore, & gat very fast vpon it, until in the end we came so neere that it stood in to the shore

The island of Panama.

Sparkes of
shallow water.

A Balsa is a
great canoa.

A Spaniard
of Manilla
taken,
50 or 60 Spa-
niards shew
themselves.

A newe shippe
of the kings in
building.

They manned
out a frigate
after vs.

An hospitall
in Manilla.

Spynes of very
fine gold in
the Island of
Panama.

The island of
Negros in 9
degrees.
Their depar-
ture from the
Philippinas.

Batochina.

11 or 12. small
plants in 3. de-
grees 10 min.
to the South-
ward.

Islands in 4.
degrees south-
ward of the
line.
The death of
captaine Hau-
ers.

shore close by a winde, vntill shee was becalmed and was driuen to stricke her sayle, and banked by with her oares: wherevpon we came vnto an anker with our ship, a league and an halfe from the place where the frigate rowed in; and manned our boat with halfe a dozen shot and as many men with swords, which did row the boat: thus we made after the frigate which had hoysed saile and ran into a riuer, which we could not find. But as we rowed along the shore, our boate came in to very shallow water, where many weares and sticks were set by in diuers places in the sea, from whence 2 or 3 canoas came forth, whereof one made somewhat neere vnto vs, with 3 or 4 Indians in it: we called vnto them; but they would not come neerer vnto vs, but rowed from vs: whom wee durst not followe too farre for feare of bringing our selues too much to the leeward of our ship. Here, as we looked about vs, we espied another Balsa or canoa of a great bignes which they which were in her, did set along as we do usually set a barge with long stanes or poles, which was builded by with great canes, and below hard by the water made to row with oares; wherein were about 5 or 6 Indians and one Spaniard: nowe as wee were come almost at the Balsa, wee ran a ground with our boate; but one or two of our men leaped ouer-boord and freed it againe presently, and keeping thwarte her head, we layed her aboord and tooke in to vs the Spaniard, but the Indians leaped into the sea and diued and rofe farre off againe from vs. Presently vpon the taking of this canoa, there shewed vpon the sand a band of souldiers marching with an ensigne hauing a red Crosse like the flagge of England, which were about 50 or 60 Spaniardes, which were lately come from Manilla to that towne which is called Ragaun in a Barke to fetch a new shippe of the kings, which was building in a riuer within the bay, and stayed there but for certain yrons that did serue for the rudder of the said ship, which they looked for euery day.

This band of men shot at vs from the shore with their muskets, but byt none of vs, and wee shot at them againe: they also manned a frigate and sent it out after our boat to haue taken vs, but we with saile and oares went from them: and when they perceiued that they could not fetch vs, but that they must come within danger of the ordinance of our ship, they stood in with the shore againe and landed their men, and presently sent their frigate about the point, but whether we knew not. So we came aboard with this one Spaniard, which was neither souldier nor sayler, but one that was come among the rest from Manilla, and had bene in the hospitall there a long time before, and was a very simple soule, and such a one as could and were to very little that hee was asked, concerning the state of the countrey. Here wee roade at anker all that night, and perceiued that the Spaniards had disperfed their band into 2 or 3 parts, and kept great watch in seueral steedes with fires and shooting off their pieces. This island hath much plaine ground in it in many places, and many fayre and straight trees do grow vpon it, fit for to make excellent good mastes for all sorts of ships. There are also mynes of very fine gold in it which are in the custodie of the Indians. And to the South-ward of this place, there is another very great island, which is not subdued by the Spaniards, nor any other nation. The people which inhabite it are all Negros; and the island is called the island of Negros: and is almost as bigge as England, standing in 9 degrees: the most part of it seemeth to be very lowe land, and by all likelihood is very fruitfull.

The 29 day of Ianuary aboute fixe of the clocke is the morning we set saile, sending our boate before vntill it was two of the clock in the afternoone, passing all this time as it were through a straight betwixt the said 2 islands of Panama, and the island of Negros, and about 16 leagues off we espied a fayre opening, trending South-west and by South, at which time our boate came aboard, and our Generall sent commendations to the Spanish captaine which wee came from the euening before by the Spaniard which we tooke, and willed him to prouide good store of gold: for he meant for to see him with his company at Manilla within fewe yeeres, and that he did but want a bigger boate to haue landed his men, or else hee would haue seene him then: and so caused him to be set on shore.

The 8 day of February by 8 of the clocke in the morning we espied an island neere Gilolo, called Batochina, which standeth in one degree from the Equinoctial line Northward.

The 14 day of February we fell with 11 or 12 very small islands, lying very low and flat, full of trees, and passed by some islands which be simcke and haue the dry sands lying in the maine sea. These islands neere the Malucoes, stand in 3 degrees and 10 min. to the South-ward of the lyne.

On the 17 day, one Iohn Gameford a Cooper dyed, which had bene sicke of an olde disease a long time. The 20 day wee fell with certaine other islands which had many small islands among them, standing 4 degrees to the South-ward of the lyne. On the 21 day of February, being Ashwednesday Captaine Hauers dyed of a most feruent and pestilent ague, which held him furiously some 7 or 8 dayes, to the no small grieve of our Generall and of all the rest of the company, who caused two Falcons and one Sacre to be shot off, with all the small shotte in the ship, who

who after he was shrowded in a sheete and a prayer sayd, was heued ouer boord with great lamentation of vs all. Whereafter, presently after his death my selfe with diuers others in the ship fell marueilously sicke, and so continued in very great paine for the space of three weekes or a moneth by reason of the extreeme heat and vntemperatnesse of the Climate.

The first day of March hauing passed through the Straights of Iaua minor and Iaua maior, March 1588. we came to an anker under the Southwest parts of Iaua maior: where wee espied certaine of the people which were fishing by the sea side in a bay which was vnder the pland. Then our Generall taking into the ship-boate certaine of his company, and a Negro which could speake the Morisco tongue, which hee had taken out of the great S. Anna, made toward those fishers, which hauing espied our boat ranne on shoare into the wood for feare of our men: but our Generall caused his Negro to call vnto them: who no sooner heard him call, but presently one of them came out to the shoare side and made answere. Our Generall by the Negro enquired of him for fresh water, which they found, and caused the fisher to goe to the King and to certifie him of a shippe that was come to haue trafique for victuals, and for diamants, pearles, or any other riche iewels that hee had: for which hee should haue either golde or other marchandise in exchange. The fisher answered that we should haue all maner of victuals that wee would request. Thus the boat came aboard againe. Within a while after wee went about to furnish our shippe thoroughly with wood and water.

Our arrival at Iaua maior.

The Morisco or Arabian tongue common in Iaua.

Postscript

A King of Iaua his Secretary.

Niper wine.

Cloues, pepper, sugar, and many other commodities in Iaua maior.

A fine of 10. of the Kings canoes.

Two Portuguese in Iaua.

About the eighth of March two or three Canoas came from the towne vnto vs with egges, hennes, fresh fish, oranges, and lymes, and brought worde wee should haue had victuals more plentifully, but that they were so farre to bee brought to vs where wee ridde. Which when our Generall heard hee weighed anker and stood in neerer for the towne: and as wee were vnder saile wee mette with one of the kings canoas comming towarde vs: whereupon wee shoke the shippe in the winde and stayed for the canoa vntill it came aboard of vs, and stood into the bay which was hard by and came to an anker. In this canoa was the Kings Secretarie, who had on his head a piece of died linen cloth folded by like vnto a Turkes Tuliban: he was all naked saying about his waste, his breast was carued with the broade arrowe vpon it; hee went barefooted: he had an interpretour with him, which was a Mestizo, that is, halfe an Indian and halfe a Portugall, who could speake very good Portugale. This Secretarie signified vnto our Generall that he had brought him an hogge, hennes, egges, fresh fish, sugar-canes and wine: (which wine was as strong as any aquavita, and as cleare as any rocke water:) he tolde him farther that hee would bring victuals so sufficiently for him, as hee and his company would request, and that within the space of foure dayes. Our Generall vsed him singularly well, banquetted him most royally with the choyce of many and sundry conserues, wines both sweete and other, and caused his Musicians to make him musicke. This done our Generall tolde him that hee and his company were Englishmen; and that wee had bene at China and had had trafique there with them, and that wee were come thither to discover, and purposed to goe to Malaca. The people of Iaua tolde our Generall that there were certaine Portugals in the pland which lay there as Factors continually to trafique with them, to buy Negros, cloues, pepper, sugar, and many other commodities. This Secretarie of the King with his interpretour lay one night aboard our shippe. The same night, because they lay aboard, in the euening at the setting of the watch, our Generall commanded euery man in the shippe to prouide his harquebuz and his shotte, and so with shooting off 40. or 50. small shot and one Sacre, himselfe set the watch with them. This was no small maruelle vnto these heathen people, who had not commonly seene any shippe so furnished with men and Ordnance. The next morning wee dismissed the Secretarie and his interpretour with all humilitie.

The fourth day after, which was the 12. of March, according to their appointment came the Kings canoas; but the winde being somewhat skant they could not get aboard that night, but put into a bay vnder the pland vntill the next day, and presently after the breake of day there came to the number of 9. or 10. of the Kings canoas so deeply laden with victuals as they could swim, with two great liue oxen, halfe a skoe of wonderfull great and fat hogges, a number of hennes which were aliue, drakes, geese, egges, plantans, sugar canes, sugar in plates, cocos, sweet oranges and lowze, lymes, great store of wine and aquavita, salt to season victuals withall, and almost all maner of victuals else, with diuers of the Kings officers which were there. Among all the rest of the people in one of these canoas came two Portugales, which were of middle stature, and men of marueilous proper personage; they were each of them in a loose tarkin, and hose, which came downe from the waste to the ancle, because of the vse of the Countrey, and partly because it was Lent, and a time for doing of their penance, (for they accompt it as a thing

Enquire of
Don Antonio.

The state of
Iaua.

Raia Bolambo-
am.

The wiues kill
themselues af-
ter their hus-
bands deaths.

A strange or-
der.

Faire women
in Iaua.

Don Antonio
might be re-
ceived as King
in the East In-
dies.

They depart
from Iaua the
16. of March
1588.

of great dislike among these heathens to weare either hose or shoes on their feete:) they had on each of them a very faire and a white lawne shirt, with falling bands on the same, very decently, onely their bare legs excepted. These Portugales were no small ioy vnto our Generall and all the rest of our company: For we had not seene any Christian that was our friend of a yeere and an halfe before. Our Generall vsed and increated them singularly well, with banquetts and musicke: They told vs that they were no lesse glad to see vs, then wee to see them, and enquired of the estate of their countrey, and what was become of Don Antonio their King, and whether hee were liuing or no: for that they had not of long time bene in Portugall, and that the Spaniards had alwayes brought them worde that hee was dead. Then our Generall satisfied them in euery demaund; Assuring them, that their King was aliue, and in England, and had honourable allowance of our Queene, and that there was warre betweene Spaine and England, and that we were come vnder the King of Portugall into the South sea, and had warred vpon the Spaniards there, and had fired, spoiled and sunke all the ships along the coast that we could meete withall, to the number of eightheene or twentie sailes. With this report they were sufficiently satisfied.

On the other side they declared vnto vs the state of the pland of Iaua. First the plentifulnes and great choise and store of victuals of all sorts, & of all maner of fruits as before is set downe: Then the great and rich marchandize which are there to be had. Then they described the properties and nature of the people as followeth. The name of the King of that part of the pland was Raia Bolamboam, who was a man had in great maiestie and feare among them. The common people may not bargain, sell, or exchange any thing with any other nation, without speciall licence from their king: and if any so doe, it is present death for him. The King himselfe is a man of great peeres, and hath an hundred wiues, his sonne hath fiftie. The custome of the countrey is, that whensoever the king doeth die, they take the body so dead and burne it and prelerue the ashes of him, and within fide dayes next after, the wiues of the said king so dead, according to the custome and vse of their countrey, euery one of them goe together to a place appointed, and the chiefe of the women, which was neereft vnto him in accompt, hath a ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the ball resteth, thither they goe all, and turne their faces to the Eastward, and euery one with a dagger in their hand, (which dagger they call a Crise, and is as sharpe as a rasor) stab themselues to the heart, and with their hands all to bee-bath themselues in their owne blood, and falling groueling on their faces so ende their dayes. This thing is as true as it seemeth to any hearer to be strang.

The men of themselues be very politique and subtile, and singularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they vnder take, and wonderfully at commandement and feare of their king. For example: if their king command them to vnder take any exploit, be it neuer so dangerous or desperate, they dare not nor will not refuse it, though they die euery man in the execution of the same. For hee will cut off the heads of euery one of them which retorne aliue without bringing of their purpose to passe: which is such a thing among them, as it maketh them the most valiant people in all the Southeast parts of the world: for they neuer feare any death. For being in fight with any nation, if any of them feeleth himselfe hurt with launce or sword, he will willingly runne himselfe vpon the weapon quite through his body to procure his death the more speedily, and in this desperate sort ende his dayes, or ouercome his enemy. Moreover, although the men be tawny of colour and go continually naked, yet their women be faire of complexion and go more apparelled.

After they had thus described the state of the pland, and the orders and facions of the people; they tolde vs farther, that if their king Don Antonio would come vnto them, they would warrant him to haue all the Malucos at commandement, besides China, Sangles, and the ples of the Philippinas, and that hee might be assured to haue all the Indians on his side that are in the countrey. After we had fully contented these Portugals, and the people of Iaua which brought vs victuals in their Canoas, they tooke their leaues of vs with promise of all good entertainment at our returnes, and our Generall gaue them three great pieces of Ordnance at their departing. Thus the next day being the 16. of March we set saile towards the Cape of good hope, called by the Portugals Cabo de buena Esperança on the Southermost coast of Africa.

The rest of March and all the moneth of April wee spent in traueling that mightie and vaste Sea, betweene the yle of Iaua and the maine of Africa, obseruing the heauens, the Crofiers or South-pole, the other starres, the fowles, which are markes vnto the Sea men of faire weather, foule weather, approaching of lands or ylands, the winds, the tempests, the raines & thunders, with the alterations of tides and currents.

The 10. day of May we had a storme at the West, and it blew so hard that it was as much as the ship could stirre close by vnder the wind: and the storme continued all that day and all that night.

The

The next day being the 11. of May in the morning one of the company went into the top, and espied land bearing North, and North and by West off vs, & about noone wee espied land to beate West off vs, which as we did imagine was the cape of Buena Esperança, whereof indeed we were short some 40. or 50. leagues: and by reason of the skantnesse of the winde we stood along to the Southeast untill midnight, at which time the winde came faire, and we haled along Westward.

The 12. and 13. dayes we were becalmed, and the sky was very hazie and thicke until the 14. day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the sky cleared, and we espied the land againe which was the cape called Cabo Falso, which is short of the Cape de Buena Esperança 40 or 50 leagues. This Cape is very easie to be knowne. For there are right ouer it three very high hills standing but a smal way one off another, and the hiest standeth in the middle, and the ground is much lower by the seaside. The Cape of Good hope beareth West and by South from the said Cabo Falso.

Cabo Falso.

The 16. day of May about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came by at East a very stiffe gale, which helde until it was Saturday with as much winde as euer the ship could goe before: at which time by sixe of the clocke in the morning wee espied the promontorie or headland, called the Cape de Buena Esperança, which is a reasonable hie land, & at the Westermost point a litle off the maine do shew two hammocks, the one vpon the other, and three other hammocks lying further off into the sea, yet so low land betweene and adioyning vnto the sea.

They double the Cape de Buena Speranza

This cape of Buena Esperança is set down and accompted for two thousand leagues from the pland of Iaua in the Portugall sea carts: but it is not so much almost by an hundred and fiftie leagues, as we found by the running of our ship. We were in running of these eightene hundred and fiftie leagues iust nine weekes.

From Iaua to the Cape of Buena Speranza is but 1850. leagues. June 1588.

The eighth day of June by breake of day we fel in sight of the pland of S. Helena, seven or eight leagues short of it, hauing but a small gale of winde, or almost none at all: inso much as we could not get vnto it that day, but stood off and on all that night.

The next day being the 9. of June hauing a pretie easie gale of wind we stood in with the shore, our boat being sent away before to make the harborough; and about one of the clocke in the afternoon we came vnto an anker in 12. fathoms water two or three cables length from the shore, in a very faire and smooth bay vnder the North west side of the pland.

They anker at the pland of S. Helena the 9. of June.

This pland is very high land, and lieth in the maine sea standing as it were in the middle of the sea betweene the maine land of Africa, and the maine of Brasilia and the coast of Guinea: And is in 15. degrees and 48. minutes to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line, and is distant from the Cape of Buena Esperança betweene 5. and 6. hundred leagues.

S. Helena is in the latitude of 15. degrees 48. min. to the Southward.

The same day about two or three of the clocke in the afternoone wee went on shore, where wee found a marueilous faire & pleasant valley, wherein diuers handsome buildings and houses were set vp, and especially one which was a Church, which was tyled & whited on the outside very faire, and made with a porch, and within the Church at the vypper end was set an altar, whereon stood a very large table set in a frame hauing in it the picture of our Sauour CHRIST vpon the Crosse and the image of our Lady playing, with diuers other histories curiously painted in the same. The sides of the Church were all hanged with stained clothes hauing many deuises drawn in them.

There are two houses adioyning to the Church, on each side one, which serue for kitchins to dresse meate in, with necessary roomes and houses of office: the coverings of the saide houses are made flat, whereon is planted a very faire vine, and through both the saide houses runneth a very good and holsome streame of fresh water.

There is also right ouer against the saide Church a faire causey made by with stones reaching vnto a valley by the seaside, in which valley is planted a garden, wherein grow great store of pompons and melons: And vpon the saide causey is a frame erected whereon hange two bells where with they ring to Masse; and hard vnto it is a Crosse set by, which is squared, framed and made very artificially of free stone, whereon is carued in cyphers what time it was builded, which was in the yere of our Lord 1571.

This valley is the fairest and largest lowe plot in all the pland, and it is marueilous sweete and pleasant, and planted in euery place either with fruite trees, or with herbes. There are fig trees, which beate fruit continually, & marueilous plentifully: for ou euery tree you shal haue blossoms, greene figs, and ripe figs, all at ones: and it is so all the yere long: the reason is that the pland standeth so neere the Sunne. There be also great store of lymon trees, orange trees, pomegranate trees, pomecitron trees, date trees, which beate fruite as the fig trees do, and are planted carefully and very artificially with very pleasant walkes vnder and betweene them, and the saide walkes bee ouershadowed with the leaues of the trees: and in euery voyde place is planted parceleys,

The great store of diuers excellent fruits in S. Helena.

sozell, basil, fenell, annis seede, mustard seede, radishes, and many speciall good hearbes: and the fresh water brooke runneth through diuers places of this orchard, and may with very small paines be made to water any one tree in the valley.

This fresh water streame commeth from the tops of the mountaines, and falleth from the cliffe into the valley the height of a cable, and hath many armes out of it, which refresh the whole pland, and almost euery tree in it. The pland is altogether high mountaines and steepe valleis, except it be in the tops of some hilles, and downe below in some of the valleis, where marueilous store of all these kinds of fruits before spoken of do grow: there is greater store growing in the tops of the mountaines then below in the valleis: but it is wonderfull laboursome and also dangerous traueiling by vnto them and downe againe, by reason of the height and steepe nesse of the hilles.

Abundance of
partridges in
S. Helena,

There is also vpon this pland great store of partridges, which are very tame, not making any great hast to flie away though one come very neere them, but onely to runne away, and get by into the steepe cliffes: we killed some of them with a fowling piece. They differ very much from our partridges which are in England both in bignesse and also in colour. For they be within a litle as bigge as an henne, and are of an ashe colour, and liue in couies twelue, sirteene, and twentie together: you cannot go ten or twelue score but you shall see or spring one or two coues at the least.

Great store of
felants,

There are likewise no lesse store of felants in the pland, which are also marueilous bigge and fat, surpassing those which are in our countrey in bignesse and in numbers of a company. They differ not very much in colour from the partridges before spoken of.

Turkies in
great quan-
tities,

We found inozerouer in this place great store of Guinie cocks, which we call Turkies, of colour blacke and white, with red heads: they are much about the same bignesse which ours be of in England: their egges be white, and as bigge as a Turkies egge.

Exceeding
numbers of
goats,

There are in this pland thousands of goates, which the Spaniards call Cabricos, which are very wilde: you shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes you may beholde them going in a flocke almost a mile long. Some of them, (whether it be the nature of the breed of them, or of the country I wot not) are as big as an asse, with a maine like an horse and a beard hanging downe to the very ground: they wil cline by the cliffes which are so steepe that a man would thinke it a thing impossible for any liuing thing to goe there. We tooke and killed many of them for all their swiftnesse: for there be thousands of them vpon the mountaines.

Plentie of
swine,

Here are in like maner great store of swine which be very wilde and very fat, and of a marueilous bignes: they keepe altogether vpon the mountaines, and will very seldeome abide any man to come neere them, except it be by meere chance when they be found asleepe, or otherwise, according to their kinde, be taken laped in the mire.

We found in the houses at our comming 3. slaues which were Negros, & one which was bozne in the pland of Iaua, which tolde vs that the East Indian fleete, which were in number 5. sailes, the least whereof were in burchen 8. or 900. tunnes, all laden with spices and Calicut cloth, with store of treasure and very rich stones and pearles, were gone from the saide pland of S. Helena but 20. dayes before we came thither.

This pland hath bene found of long time by the Portugals, and hath bene altogether planted by them, for their refreshing as they come from the East Indies. And when they come they haue all things plentiful for their reliefe, by reason that they suffer none to inhabit there that might spend by the fruit of the pland, except some very few sicke persons in their company, which they stand in doubt will not liue vntill they come home, whom they leaue there to refresh themselves, and take away the peere following with the other fleete if they liue so long. They touch here rather in their comming home from the East Indies, then at their going thither, because they are thoroughly furnished with corne when they set out of Portugal, but are but meanelly victualled at their comming from the Indies, where there groweth little corne.

Our departure
from S. Helena,

The 20. day of Iune hauing taken in wood & water and refreshed our selues with such things as we found there, and made cleane our ship, we set saile about 8. of the clocke in the night toward England. At our setting saile wee had the winde at Southeast, and we haled away North west and by West. The winde is commonly off the shore at this pland of S. Helena.

July 1588.

On wednesday being the thirde day of July we went away North west the winde being still at Southeast: at which time we were in 1. degree and 48. minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctial line.

The twelfth day of the said moneth of July it was very little winde, and toward night it was calme and blew no winde at all, and so continued vntill it was monday being the 15. day of July.

On Wednesday the 17. day of the abousaid moneth wee had the winde skant at West north west. Wee found the wind continually to blow at East, and North east, and East north east after we

we were in 3. or 4. degrees to the Northward; and it altered not untill we came betweene 30. and 40. degrees to the Northward of the Equinodial Line.

On Wednesday the 21. day of August the wind came by at Southwest a faire gale: by which day at noone we were in 38. degrees of Northerly latitude.

On Friday in the morning being the 23. day of August, at foure of the clocke we haled East, and East and by South for the Northermost ylands of the Acores.

On Saturday the 24. day of the said moneth by 5. of the clocke in the morning we fel in sight of the two ylands of Flores and Coruo standing in 39. degrees and 1. and sailed away Northeast.

Coruo and Flores, two ylands of the Azores.

The third of September we met with a Flemish hulke which came from Lisbon, & declared vnto vs the ouerthrowing of the Spanish fleet, to the singular reioycing and comfort of vs all.

The 9. of September, after a terrible tempest which caried away most part of our sailes, by the mercifull fauour of the Almighty we recouered our long wished port of Plimmouth in England, from whence we set forth at the beginning of our voyage.

CERTEINE RARE AND SPECIAL NOTES

most properly belonging to the voyage of M. Thomas Candish next before described; concerning the heights, soundings, lyings of lands, distances of places, the variation of the Compasse, the iust length of time spent in sayling betweene diuers places, and their abode in them, as also the places of their harbour and anckering, and the depths of the same, with the obseruation of the windes on seuerall coastes:

Written by M. Thomas Fuller of Ipswich, who was Master in *The desire* of M. Thomas Candish in his foresaid prosperous voyage about the world.

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coast of Barbarie.



Inprimis Cape Cantin standeth in the latitude of	32. degr. 4. min.
Item the yland of Mogador standeth in	31. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape d'oro standeth in	30. degr. 20. min.
Item the ylands of the Canaries about	28. degr.
Item Cape Bojador standeth in	27. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape Verde standeth in	14. degr. 30. min.
Item the Cape of Sierra Liona in	8. degr.
Item an yland called Ilha Verde in	7. degr. 30. min.

A note of the heights of certaine places from the coast of Brasill to the South sea.

Inprimis Cape Frio standeth in the latitude of	23. degr. 30. min.
Item the yland of S. Sebastian in	24. degr.
Item Port desire standeth in	47. degr. 50. min.
Item Seales bay standeth in	48. degr. 20. min.
Item Port S. Iulian standeth in	50. degr.
Item The white riuer standeth in	50. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape Ioy standeth in	52. degr. 40. min.
Item Port famine within the Straights of Magellan standeth in	53. degr. 50. min.
Item Cape froward within the Straights of Magellan standeth in	54. degr. 15. min.
Item Cape desire in the entring into the South sea standeth in	53. degr. 10. min.

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coast of Chili and Peru in the South sea.

Inprimis the yland of Mocha standeth in the latitude of	38. degr. 30. min.
Item the yland of S. Mary in	37. degr. 15. min.
Item the bay of *Valpares in	33. degr. 40. min. *Valparizo.
Item the bay of Quintero in	33. degr. 20. min.
Item Coquimbo in	29. degr. 30. min.
Item Morro moreno in	23. degr. 20. min.
Item Arica standeth in	18. degr. 30. min.
Item the bay of Pisca standeth in	13. degr. 30. min.
Item the bay of Lima standeth in	11. degr. 50. min.

Item Santos standeth in	9. degr.	20. min.
Item the bay of Cherrepe in	6. degr.	30. min.
Item the bay of Paica, in	5. degr.	4. min.
Item the yland of Puna, in	2. degr.	50. min.
Item Cape Sant Francisco to the North of the Equinoctiall, in	1. degr.	

A note of the height of certaine places to the Northwards of the
Equinoctiall line, on the coast of *New Spaine.*

Inprimis, Panama standeth in the latitude of	9. degrees,
Item the yland called Isla de Canoas, in	9. degr. 10. min.
Item Cape Blanco, in	10. degr. 10. min.
Item Rio Lexo, in	12. degr. 40. min.
* <i>De Guatulo.</i> Item *Aguatulco, in	15. degr. 50. min.
Item Acapulco, in	17. degr. 20. min.
Item Sant Iago, in	18. degr. 50. min.
Item Cape de los Corrientes, in	20. degr. 30. min.
Item the bay of Xalisco, in	21. degr. 30. min.
* <i>De tres Marias.</i> Item the ylands of the *Maries, in	21. degr. 20. min.
Item the yland of Saint Andrew, in	22. degr.
Item the ylands of Ciametlan, in	23. degr. 40. min.
Item, that the Cape of Santa Clara on the point of California is in	23. degrees.

A note of the heights of certaine places beginning from the ylands
of the *Ladrones* and passing by the *Philippinas*, the *Malucos*, *Iaua minor*,
Iaua maior, the Cape of *Bona Sperança*, and the yle of *Santa Helena*.

Inprimis, one of the ylands of the <i>Ladrones</i> called Guana standeth in	13. degr.	50. min.
Item Cape De Spirito Santo on the yle of Luçon standeth in	13. degr.	
Item the yland of Capul in	12. degr.	30. min.
Item that the yland of Seboyon standeth in	12. degr.	
* <i>De Panama.</i> Item that the Easterly end of the yland of *Pannay is in	11. degr.	
Item that the opening betweene the South head of Pannay and the South head of Isla de los Negros is in	10. degr.	10. min.
Item that the South-head of Isla de los Negros is in	9. degr.	10. min.
Item that the North-head of the yland Mindanao is in	7. degr.	50. min.
Item the South-head of Mindanao called Cape Cannel is in	6. degr.	40. min.
Item the Cape of Batochina is in		10. min.
*Item that 12. small ylands stand in	3. degr.	
Item the latitude of two other ylands is in	4. degr.	10. min.
Item the Westerly head of Iaua minor is toward the South in	8. degr.	30. min.
Item the Easterly head of Iaua maior is toward the South in	8. degr.	20. min.
Item Malaca standeth to the Northward in	2. degr.	
Item Cape Falso on the promontory of Africa, standeth in	34. degr.	20. min.
Item the Cape of Bona Sperança standeth in	34. degr.	40. min.
Item the yland of Santa Helena standeth in	15. degr.	40. min.
Item the Cape of S. Augustine standeth Southward in	8. degr.	40. min.

Soundings on the coast of *Barbarie* from Rio del Oro vnto
Cape Blanco.



Inprimis about 3. leagues off Rio del Oro you shall haue very faire shoul ding, fine white sand 18. fathoms, and so alongst vnto Cape Blanco two or three leagues off the shore you shall haue 18. and 20. fathoms. And when you come within one league of the Cape you shall haue twelue or thirteene fathoms, browne sand, very faire shoul ding. And if you will hall in with Cape Blanco, beware you come not within seven or eight fathoms of the Cape: for there lyeth a sand off the Cape.

Also about 7. or eight leagues off the Cape lyeth a long shoul next hand Southwest and by South off the Cape.

Soundings

Soundings on the coast of *Guiny*.

Item, Going unto Sierra Leona, hauing the cape Eastnortheast off you, 7 leagues off, you shall haue 22 fadome broken sand. And halling in you shall finde very faire shoalving. You may be bold to boztow on the Southermost shoze: but take heed of a rocke that lieth in the faire way a good birth off the shoze, but there is no feare of it: for it lieth aboue the water, and is distant two miles off the South shoze.

Item, You may be bolde to boztow hard by the rocke; for on the North side going in there lieth one long sand which runneth Southeast and Northwest, and lieth distant from the South shoze 2 leagues. And you shall anker in 14 or 15 fadoms hard by the shoze.

Also going unto the island called Illha Verde, the which island lieth 10 leagues to the Southward of Sierra Leona, the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast: and you shall haue betweene them 9 or 10 fadome. And if you will anker at the sayd island, you shall haue 5 or 6 fadome hard by the shoze.

Also you must haue especiall care of a great current that setteth alongst the coast of Guiny to the Eastward.

Item, And if you be bound unto the Southwards, you must go Westsouthwest off, for feare of the shoald that is called Madera Bomba, the which shoald is to the Southwards of the island.

Soundings on the coast of *Brasil*.

Item, Unto the Northwards of Cape Frio, the cape bearing southwest off you, about 17 or 18 leagues off, you shall haue 45 fadoms streamp ground: and running Southwest, you shall finde 32 fadoms blacke sand: and then running Westsouthwest into a deepe bay, which lieth tenne leagues to the Northwards of the cape, you shall haue 22 fadoms oaze: that depth you shall haue all alongst, except you be farre into the bay; and then you shall haue 16 fadoms all oazie.

Item, To the Northwards of Cape Frio, about 6 or 7 leagues, you shall haue many small islands.

Item, To the Northwards of the cape 6 leagues, you shall haue two small islands one mile distant the one from the other, and they are distant from the maine five leagues. And betweene those islands and the cape you shall haue very many islands hard aboord the maine.

Item, The cape bearing West of you two leagues off, you shall haue 55 fadoms oaze. Also you shall know when you are shot about the cape unto the Southwards, by deeping of the water.

Also if you will go for S. Sebastian from the cape, you must go West and South, and Westsouthwest among. And the distance from the cape unto S. Sebastian is 50 leagues. And being shot into the bay any thing nere the shoze, you shall haue 24 fadoms all oazie.

And halling in for S. Sebastian, you shall know it by two little islands which be round: and those islands lie from the island of S. Sebastian next hand East and by South; and are distant the one from the other about foure leagues.

Also off the Southermost end of S. Sebastian, there lieth one island about 6 leagues off; which island is called the Alcatrazza, and there lie foure little islands about it. Also you may know it by the trending of the land unto the Southwards.

Item, If you will go in at the Northermost end of S. Sebastian, you must take heed of a sand that lieth on the Northeast part of the island: but you may be bolde to boztow on the island: for the sand lieth off the maine side. Also you may anker on the Northermost part of the island in tenne fadoms; and the maine is distant from you where you shall ride two leagues off.

Item, If you will come in at the Southermost end of the island of S. Sebastian, your course from the Alcatrazza is Southwest & Northeast, and their distance is 6 leagues the one from the other.

Item, Unto the Southwards of the riuer Plaze, being in the latitude of 45 degrees and 60 leagues off the maine, you shall haue shoalving in 60 fadoms or 65 fadoms oazie sand: and then halling in for the shoze Westsouthwest 16 leagues, you shall haue 50 fadoms oaze, and you shall haue faire shoalving all along.

Item, In the latitude of 47; you shall see about one mile in length, not passing one league off the shoze, a ledge of broken ground, but no danger. Also you shall haue very faire shoalving all along the coast; and the land lying South and North vntill you come unto port Desire, which standeth in 48 degrees.

Item, If you will go into port Desire, on the North side there lieth one ledge of rocks about a league distant from the shoze. Also on the North side at the mouth of the harborow, there lie a couple of rocks, which are at halfe flood vnder water: but be bolde to boztow on the Southermost

most shoze; for there is no danger: and you shall haue no lesse then 6 fadoms water at a low water, the harborow lying East and West. Also you may know the harborow by one litle island that lieth Southeast off the mouth of the harborow, and it is distant 4 leagues. Furthermore you may know the harborow by an high rocke that standeth on the South side; and this rocke is very much like a watch tower. Also if you be any thing in, you may anker in 5 fadoms at a low water.

Item, It floweth there South and North, and higheth at spring tides 3 fadoms and an halfe water; and in the offing the flood setteth to the Northward.

Item, In the latitude of 48 degrees 50 minuts you shall haue 44 fadoms blacke sand about 5 leagues off: and about 3 leagues off you shall haue 25 fadoms, and great shingle stones.

Item, in the latitude of 49 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$ you shall haue sounding in 38 fadoms oazie sand.

Item, In the latitude of 51 degrees 10 minuts you shall haue soundings 4 leagues from the shoze in 44 fadoms small blacke stones.

Soundings within the entrance of the Streights.

Item, About 2 leagues from the Northmost shoze you shall haue 38 fadoms blacke sand, and all along you shall haue deepe water, not lesse then 18 or 20 fadoms in the faire way.

Soundings on the coast of *Chili* in the South sea.

Item, In the latitude of 36 degrees you shall haue soundings in 12 fadoms, 2 miles from the land, browne sand.

Item, In the latitude of 35 degrees, you shall haue soundings one league off from the land in 10 fadoms white sand.

Soundings on the coast of *New Spaine* in the South sea.

Item, In the latitude of 14 degrees to the North of the line, you shall haue soundings 4 leagues from the land in 30 fadoms, browne sand.

Item, From the latitude of 14 degrees vnto the latitude of 15 degrees, you shall haue faire shoalving 3 leagues from the land.

Soundings on the coast of *Africa* vnto the Eastward of the cape of *Buena Esperança* 40 leagues.

Item, To the Eastwards of the cape of Buena Esperança 40 leagues, in the latitude of 34 degrees and 10 minuts, 8 leagues from the land, you shall haue 65 fadome, and browne sand.

A note of the lying of the land vnto the Southward of *Port Desire*.

IN primis, Seales bay standeth vnto the Southwards of Port Desire 12 leagues Southsouthwest. Furthermore, vnto the Southwards of Seales bay 3 leagues, you shall haue very low land. Also more vnto the Southwards of Seales bay 7 leagues, in the heighth of 48 degrees 40 minuts, you shall see a rocke 5 leagues off the shoze, the land lying Southwest and by South.

Item, In the latitude of 49 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$, you shall see a small flat Island, about a league and an halfe off the shoze, the land lying Southwest and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 49 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$ vnto the latitude of 50 degrees, the land lieth South and by West, and is high land.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees vnto the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minuts, the land lieth Southwest and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, the land lieth South and by West, North and by East.

Item, In the sayd latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, there goeth in an harborow, which is to be knowen by a long beache that lieth on the South side of the harborow. Moreover, the sayd harborow standeth 12 leagues vnto the Northwards of Cape Ioy. Furthermore, from the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts vnto the latitude of 52 degrees 40 minuts (in which heighth standeth Cape Ioy) the land lieth Southsoutheast, and Northnorthwest.

Item, Comming from the Northwards, you shall see before you come to Cape Ioy, a very long beach, about the length of 8 leagues, being 5 leagues short of the cape vnto the Northwards. Also vnto the Southwards of the cape, you shall see another beach, about a league long, adioyning hard vnder the cape; about which beach is the entrance of the Streights of Magellan, the which Straights are in breadth five leagues ouer, from the cape vnto the South shoze, lying South and by East.

Item,

Item, From Cape Ioy, being the entrance of the streight of Magellan, unto the first narrow passage of the sayd streight; the course is West and by North, and East and by South, and are distant 18 leagues; the land being in breadth from the one side to the other one league.

Item, From the first narrow unto the second narrow passage, the course is West & by South, and East and by North; and the distance is 12 leagues: and in breadth the one side is from the other about two leagues over.

Item, From the second narrow unto the islands that be called Elizabeth, Bartholomew, and Penguin islands, the distance is 5 leagues, and the course is Southwest and Northeast: the islands being distant a league and an halfe the one from the other.

Item, From the sayd islands unto Port Famine is 16 leagues: the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast. Moreover, from Port Famine unto Cape Froward, the course is South and by West, and North and by East: and they are distant 8 leagues asunder.

Item, From Cape Froward unto S. Ieromes river, is 16 leagues: the course is Northwest and Southeast. Also from S. Ieromes river unto the bittermost land on the South side, the which is called Cabo Deseado, the course is Northwest & somewhat to the Northward, and are distant 30 leagues. So the whole length of the streight of Magellan is 105 leagues.

A note of the lying of the lands in the South sea.

IN primis, There stand in the latitude of 52 degrees and 50 minutes, three or foure islands, about 8 leagues from Cabo Deseado: the course is Northnorthwest, and Southsoutheast. And those islands stand in the mouth of the streight of Magellan, at the going into the South sea.

Item, From the latitude of 52 degrees 50 minutes, unto the latitude of 51 degrees, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees unto the latitude of 38 degrees and 30 minutes, the land lieth Northeast and by North, Southwest and by South.

Item, From the latitude of 38 degrees 30 minutes unto the latitude of 37 degrees 14 minutes, the land lieth North and South.

Item, From the island of S. Marie, being in the latitude of 37 degrees 14 min. unto the height of 36 degrees 14 minutes, in which height standeth The bay of Conception, the course is North-east and Southwest, and the distance 12 leagues.

Item, From the latitude of 36 degrees 40 minutes unto the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minutes, the land lieth Northeast and by North, Southwest and by South.

Item, From the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minutes unto the latitude of 33 degrees 30 minutes, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, In the latitude of 34 degrees you shall see about five miles off from the shore a banke of sand, on the which you shall haue but shoald water.

Item, From the latitude of 33 degrees 20 minutes unto the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minutes, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, From the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minutes unto the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minutes, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, In the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minutes, there lie two islands distant 4 leagues asunder, and about one league from the maine.

Item, From the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minutes unto the latitude of 23 degrees 30 minutes, the land lieth North and by East, South and by West.

Item, From the latitude of 25 degrees unto the latitude of 23 degrees and 30 minutes, the land is very high.

Item, From the latitude of 23 degrees unto the latitude of 22 degrees, the land lieth North-northeast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, From the latitude of 22 degrees unto the latitude of 18 degrees and 30 minutes, the land lieth North and by East, South and by West.

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees 30 minutes, unto the latitude of 18 degrees, the land lieth Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East.

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees unto the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minutes, the land lieth Northwest and Southeast: in which height there lie two or three islands, which islands lie off a place where are two townes called Paraca, and Pisca.

Item, From the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minutes, unto the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minutes, the land lieth Northnorthwest, and Southsoutheast.

Item,

The entrance
of the streights.

The end of the
streight.

The bay of
Conception.

33 deg. 20 min.
In which
height stand-
eth Quintero.
27 deg. 40 min.
In which
height stand-
eth Copiapo.

23 deg. 30 min.
In which
height stand-
eth Morro mo-
reno.

18 deg. 30 min.
In which
height stand-
eth Africa.

13 deg. 30 min.
In which
height stand
Paraca & Pisco.

21 deg. 50. min.

In which
height stand
the islands of
Lobos.

5. degrees.

In which
height stand
eth Paica.

2. deg. 50 min.

In which
height stand
eth the island
of Puna.

Item, From the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minutes, unto the latitude of 6 degrees, the land lieth North and by West, South and by East. Also you shall see two islands, which be called The Islands of Lobos, that stand in the latitude of 6 degrees.

Item, From the latitude of 6 degrees, unto the latitude of 5 degrees, the land lieth North-west and by West, Southeast and by East.

Item, From the latitude of 5 degrees unto the latitude of 4 degrees, the land lieth North-west and Southeast: in which height of 4 degrees standeth Cape Blanco.

Item, From the latitude of 4 degrees unto the latitude of 2 degrees 50 minutes (in which latitude of 2 degrees 50 minutes standeth the island of Puna) the course is Northeast and Southwest.

A note of the distance betweene certaine places on the coasts of Chili and Peru.

Leagues 25.

IN primis, From the island of Mocha unto the island of S. Mary, the course is North and South, and the distance is 25 leagues.

Leagues 12.

Item, From the island of S. Mary unto the bay of Conception, the course is Northeast and Southwest, and the distance is 12 leagues.

Leagues 80.

Item, From the bay of Conception unto the port of Valparaiso, the course is North-northeast and South-southwest, and the distance is 80 leagues.

Leagues 7.

Item, From the port of Valparaiso unto the bay of Quintero, the course is Northeast and by North, and Southwest and South, and the distance is 7 leagues. In which bay of Quintero there lieth one small island.

Leagues 72.

Item, From the bay of Quintero unto the bay of Coquimbo, the course is North-northeast, and South-southwest, and the distance is 72 leagues: in which height stand two islands.

Leagues 55.

Item, From the bay of Coquimbo unto the bay of Copiapo, the course is North-northeast and South-southwest, and the distance is 55 leagues: in which height standeth one island.

Leagues 70.

Item, From the bay of Copiapo unto the bay of Morro moreno, the course is North-northeast and South-southwest, and the distance is 70 leagues.

Leagues 90.

Item, From the bay of Morro moreno, unto the bay of Arica, the course is North & by East, South & by West, and the distance is 90 leagues: in which bay of Arica standeth one small island.

Leagues 120.

Item, From the bay of Arica unto the bay of Parraca, the course is North-west and Southeast, and the distance is 120 leagues: in which bay of Parraca stand three or foure islands.

Leagues 35.

Item, From the bay of Parraca unto the bay of Lima, the course is North-west and by North, Southeast and by South, and the distance is 35 leagues: in the bay of Lima is one island.

Leagues 90.

Item, From the bay of Lima unto the bay of Cherrepe, the course is North & by West, South and by East, and the distance is 90 leagues.

Leagues 45.

Item, From the bay of Cherrepe unto the bay of Paica it is 45 leagues, the course is 20 leagues West-northwest unto two islands that be called The islands of Lobos, and from thence unto the bay of Paica it is 25 leagues, the course is North and by East.

Leagues 25.

Item, From Paica unto Cape Blanco, the course is North and by West, South and by East, and the distance is 25 leagues.

Leagues 25.

Item, From Cape Blanco unto the island of Puna, the course is East-northeast and West-southwest, and the distance is 25 leagues: and you shall see one island that is called Santa Clara, which standeth 10 leagues to the Southward of Puna.

Leagues in all are 751.

A note of certaine places vnto the Northwards of the Line.

Leagues 60.

IN primis, From Cape Blanco unto Cape S. Laurence, the course is North & by East, South and by West, and the distance 60 leagues.

Leagues 40.

Item, From Cape S. Lorenzo unto Cape S. Francisco, the course is North & by East, South and by West, and the distance is 40 leagues.

Leagues 160.

Item, From Cape S. Francisco unto the cape that is called Cape Blanco, which cape is on the coast of New Spaine, the course is North-northeast and South-southwest, and the distance is 160 leagues: and you shall haue a great current that setteth out of the bay of Panama; and the sayd current setteth South out.

Leagues 8.

Item, From Cape Blanco unto the Port de Veles, the course is Northeast and Southwest, and the distance 8 leagues.

Leagues 17.

Item, From the Port de Veles unto the port of S. Iohn, the course is North-west and South-east, and the distance is 17 leagues.

Item,

Item, From the port of S. Iohn vnto Rio Lexo, the course is North-west, and Southeast, and the distance is 40 leagues.

Leagues 40

Item, From Rio Lexo vnto the gulfe of Fonsecco, the course is West-north-west, and East-southeast, and they are distant 14 leagues.

Leagues 14

Item, In the mouth of Rio Lexo there lieth one island, and you must goe in on the North-west part of that island; on the which island you may be bolde for to borrow on: and you must goe from that island Southeast by.

Item, That in the gulfe of Fonsecco you shall haue lying ten islands, whereof thre be peopled with Indians, whereon you may haue water, wood, and salt.

Item, On the West side of the gulfe of Fonsecco there is one towne of Indians, which is called Mapal, in which towne there is great store of beemes.

Item, From the riuer Lexo vnto the bay of Sonsonate, the course is East and West, and the distance is 60 leagues.

Leagues 60

Item, From the bay of Sonsonate vnto the port of Aguatulco, the course is North-west and by West, Southeast and by East, and the distance 160 leagues.

Leagues 160

Item, From the bay of Coppeleto vnto the port of Aguatulco it is 2 leagues, the course is West and by North, East and by South.

Leagues 2

Item, From the port of Aguatulco vnto the port of Angeles, the course is East and West, and they are distant 12 leagues.

Leagues 12

Item, From the port of Aguatulco vnto the port of Acapulco, the course is West & by North, East and by South, and the distance is 78 leagues.

Leagues 78

Item, From the port of Acapulco vnto the port of S. Iago, the course is West and by North, East and by South, and the distance is 80 leagues.

Leagues 80

Item, From the port of S. Iago vnto the port of Natiuidad, the course is East and West, and the distance is 7 leagues.

Leagues 7

Item, From the port of Natiuidad vnto port of the islands of Chiametla, the course is East and West, and the distance is 10 leagues.

Leagues 10

Item, From the islands of Chiametla vnto Cape de los Corrientes, the course is North-west and by West, Southeast and by East, and the distance is 30 leagues.

Leagues 30

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the bay of Xalisco, the course is North-north-east, and South-south-west, and the distance is 18 leagues.

Leagues 18

Item, From the bay of Xalisco vnto the port of Chiametlan, the course is North-north-east and South-south-west, and the distance is 30 leagues.

Leagues 30

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the islands called Las tres Marias, the course is North-west and Southeast, and the distance is 20 leagues.

Leagues 20

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the cape of Santa Clara on the point of California, the course is West-north-west, and East-southeast, and the distance is 108 leagues.

Leagues 108

A note from the coast of America vnto the Westwards.

Item, From the cape of Santa Clara vnto the islands of The Ladrones, the course is West and by South, East and by North, and the distance betweene them is 1850 leagues.

Leagues 1850

Item, That the Southernmost island of the Ladrones standeth in the latitude of 12 degrees and 10 minuts, and from thence vnto the Northernmost island, the course is North-north-east & South-south-west, and the distance betweene them is 200 leagues: and the said Northernmost island standeth in 21 degrees 10 minuts.

Item, From one of the islands of the Ladrones, which standeth in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minuts, which island is called * Guahaima, vnto the Cape de Spirito Santo, which cape is vpon one of the islands of the Philippinas, the course is West and to the Southwards, and the distance is 320 leagues.

Di. Guana.

Leagues 320

Item, From the cape of Spirito Santo vnto the mouth of the entrance of the Streights of the Philippinas, the course is West and by North, East and by South, and the distance is 15 leagues.

Leagues 15

Item, From the mouth of the Streights vnto the island of Capul, the course is South-west and by West 6 leagues.

Leagues 6

Item, From the island of Capul vnto the North head of the island called Masbat, the course is North-west and Southeast, and the distance betweene them is 15 leagues.

Leagues 15

Item, From the North head of the island called Masbat vnto the island called Seboion, the course is West-south-west and East-north-east, and the distance betweene them is 15 leagues.

Leagues 15

Leagues in all 2414

A note

A note of our course kept from the island *Seboion* vnto the Southwards.

- Leagues 22.** Item, From the island of *Seboion* vnto the East end of the island called *Pannay*, the course is Southeast and by South, Northwest and by West, and the distance is 22 leagues.
- Item, That off the Easter end of the island of *Pannay* there lie certeine small islands, vnto the number of 12 or more, and you shall haue shoald water among them.
- Leagues 18.** Item, From the Easter end of *Pannay* vnto a bay that is called *The bay of Lago grande*, on the same island, the course is Westsouthwest, and Eastnortheast, and the distance is 18 leagues.
- Leagues 6.** Item, From the bay of *Lago grande* vnto the island that is called *Ysla de los Negros*, is the distance of 6 leagues Southeast and Northwest.
- Item, From the bay of *Lago grande* vnto three small islands that stand in the latitude of 10 degrees, the course is South and by West 12 leagues. Furthermore, from those three islands vnto the Westernmost end of *Ysla de los Negros*, the course is Southwest and Northeast 10 leagues, where we were cleere of the islands of the *Philippinas*.
- Leagues 30.** Item, From the South end of *Ysla de los Negros* vnto the North head of the island called *Mindanao*, the course is South and North, and the distance is 30 leagues.
- Leagues 26.** Item, From the North end of *Mindanao* vnto the South head of the sayd island, which is called *Cape Cannal*, the course is South and by West, North and by East, and the distance is 26 leagues.
- Leagues 12.** Item, From the cape of *Cannal* betweene the South and the Westsouthwest about 10 or 12 leagues off you shall haue great store of small islands, about the number of 24 or more.
- Leagues 100.** Item, From the cape of *Cannal* vnto the cape of *Barochina*, the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast, and the distance is 100 leagues, and betweene them setteth a great current vnto the Eastward.
- Leagues 220.** Item, From the cape of *Barochina* vnto the West head of *Iaua minor*, the course is Southwest and by South, Northeast and by North, and the distance betweene them is 220 leagues.
- Leagues 18.** Item, From the West end of *Iaua minor* vnto the East end of *Iaua maior*, the course is West and by North, and East & by South, and the distance betweene them is 18 leagues: in the which course there lieth one island betweene them, which island is in length 14 leagues.
- Leagues 1800.** Item, From the East end of *Iaua maior* vnto the cape of *Buena Esperança*, the course is West and by South, and Westsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 1800 leagues.
- Leagues 30.** Item, That *Cape Falso* standeth 30 leagues to the Eastward of *Cape de Buena Esperança*, & off the sayd *Cape Falso* you shall haue shoalading 20 leagues off in 80 or 90 fadoms, & the course is from *Cape Falso* vnto the cape of *Buena Esperança* Westnorthwest and Eastsoutheast.
- Leagues in all are 2292.**

A note of the distance and course from the cape of *Buena Esperança* vnto the Northwards.

- Leagues 600.** Item, From the cape of *Buena Esperança* vnto the island of *Santa Helena*, the course is North-west, and Northwest and by West, and the distance betweene them is 600 leagues.
- Leagues 1200.** Item, From the island of *Santa Helena* vnto the island of *Flores*, the course betweene them is Northnorthwest, and Northwest and by North, and the distance betweene them is 1200 leagues.
- Item, From the island of *Flores* vnto the lands end of *England*, the course is betweene the Eastnortheast, and the Northeast and by East, and the distance betweene them is foure hundred and fifty leagues.

A note of the variation of our Compasse.

- I**N primis, The variation of our compasse on the coast of *New Spaine* in the South sea in the latitude of 12 degrees, was one point to the Eastwards.
- Item, the variation of our compasse betweene the cape of *California* and the islands of the *Philippinas*, was one point and an halfe vnto the Eastward, that was, that the North did stand North and by East, and halfe a point vnto the East.
- Item, The variation of our compasse betweene the islands of *Maluco* and the cape of *Buena Esperança*, was two points and an halfe at the most to the Westward, that was, that the North-northeast was our North.

A note

A note of our time spent in sailing betweene certeine places out
of England, 1586.

IN primis, We were sailing betweene England and the coast of Guinea from the 21 day of July unto the 26 day of August unto the haven called Sierra leona, where we watered and stayed untill the 6 day of September.

Of our abode
tenne dayes,
where we
watered.

Item, We departed from the coast of Guinea for the coast of Brasil the 10 day of September, and wee had sight of the coast of Brasil the 26 day of October, being five leagues to the Northwards of Cape Frio: and from thence wee were sailing unto the island of S. Sebastian untill the 31 and last day of October, where we watered and set by our pinnesse: and we anchored on the Northwest part of the island in tenne fadoms, and stayed there untill the 23 day of November.

Of our abode
four & twenty
dayes, where
we watered.

Item, The 23 day of November we departed from the island of Sane Sebastian, keeping our course South and by West unto the port that is called Port Desire, where we arrived the 17 day of December; in which port we graued our shippe: and we stayed there untill the 28 day of December, where we anchored in 5 fadoms.

Of our abode
eleven dayes,
where we gra-
ued our ships.

Item, The eight and twentieth day of December wee departed from the Port of Desire toward the Streight of Magellan, where wee arrived the third day of January: and wee remained in the Streights untill the foure and twentieth day of February; where we watered in many places on the South side, hauing the winde all that while betweene the Westsouthwest and the Northwest.

Of our abode
two & fiftie
dayes, where
we watered.

Item, We departed out of the Streights the 24 day of February toward the island of Mocha, which island we had sight of the 14 day of March.

Item, The 14 day of March at night we anchored in the bay of Marroccos; where we rode in 9 fadoms water.

Item, The 15 day of March we anchored in the island of Saint Marie, on the North part of the island in eight fadoms water, blacke sand, where we stayed foure dayes.

Of our abode
four dayes.

Item, The 19 day of March we departed from the island of Saint Marie, and the same day we anchored in the bay of Conception, where we stayed untill the next day: and there we rode in ten fadoms water, shingle stones.

Item, The 20 day of March we departed from the bay of Conception, and the thirtieth day of March we arrived in the bay of Quintero, where we watered: and there the first day of April we had twelue of our men slaine, being on land for water: and we stayed there five dayes: and we anchored in 7 fadoms water, white sand.

Of our abode
6 dayes, where
we watered.

Item, We departed from the bay of Quintero the 5 day of April, and we arrived at the bay of Arica the 24 day of April, and we anchored in 7 fadoms water.

Of our abode
three dayes.

Item, The 27 day of April we departed from the bay of Arica, and the third day of May we arrived in the bay of Pisca, and we anchored in 4 fadoms water in oaze.

Of our abode
two dayes.

Item, The 5 day of May we departed from the bay of Pisca, and the 12 day we anchored in the bay of Cherrepe, where we anchored in 7 fadoms water, in white sand.

Of our abode
five dayes.

Item, The 18 day of May we departed from the bay of Cherrepe, and the 20 day of May we arrived in the bay of Payta, where we anchored in 6 fadoms water.

Of our abode
one day.

Item, The 20 day of May we departed from the bay of Payta, and the 26 day of May we anchored at the island of Puna, and we anchored in 5 fadoms.

Item, From the island of Puna we departed the fourth day of June unto Rio dulce in the main, where we watered, and we anchored in 10 fadoms water, browne sand.

Of our abode
9 daies, where
we watered.

Item, The 12 day of June we departed from the place where we watered, being bound for the coast of New Spaine, and the 29 day of July wee arrived in the port of Aguatulco, where wee watered, and anchored in 6 fadoms water.

Of our abode
8 dayes, where
we watered.

Item, The 3 day of August we departed from the port of Aguatulco, and the 26 day of August we arrived at the port of S. Iago, where wee watered, and stayed there untill the second day of September, and anchored in 6 fadoms.

Of our abode
7 dayes, where
we watered.

Item, The 2 of September we departed from the port of S. Iago, and the 3 day of September we put into a port one league unto the Westwards of Natiuidad, where we anchored in 8 fadoms water.

Of our abode
one day.

Item, The 4 day of September wee departed from the port of Natiuidad, and the 7 day of September we put into the bay of Xalisco, where we anchored in 9 fadoms water, and the 10 day

Of our abode
three dayes.

of September we departed from the bay of Xalisco, and the 12 day of September we ankered at the island of S. Andrew, where we ankered in 17 fadoms water.

Of our abode
five dayes.

Item, The 17 day of September we departed from the island of S. Andrew, and the 24 day of September we put into the bay of Chiametlan, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water, and the 26 of September we departed from the bay of Chiametlan, and the 28 day wee ankered vnder the islands of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms.

Of our abode
2 dayes, where
we watered.

Item, The 9 day of October wee departed from the islands of Chiametlan, and crossing ouer the mouth of Mar vermejo, the 14 day of October we had sight of the cape of California.

Of our abode
twelue dayes,
where we wa-
tered.

Item, The 15 day of October we lay off the cape of S. Lucas, and the 4 day of Nouember we tooke the great and rich ship called Santa Anna, comming from the Philippinas: and the 5 day of Nouember we put into the port of S. Lucas, where we put all the people on shore, and burnt the Santa Anna: and we ankered in 12 fadoms water.

Of our abode
14 dayes,
where we wa-
tered.

Item, The 19 day of Nouember we departed from the port of S. Lucas, and the 3 day of Ianuary wee had sight of one of the islands of the Ladrones, which island is called The island of Iwana, standing in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minuts.

*Guaia.

Item, The 3 day of Ianuary we departed from the island of Iwana, and the 14 day of Ianuary we had sight of the cape of Spirito santo, and the same day we put into the Streights of the Philippinas: and the 15 day of Ianuary we ankered vnder the island of Capul, on the which island we watered and wooded.

Of our abode
nine dayes.

Item, The 24 of Ianuary we departed from the island of Capul, and the 28 day of Ianuary we arrived in the bay of Lago grande, which bay is in the island of Pannay, where there were Spaniards building of a new ship.

Spaniards
building of a
new ship in
the Philippi-
nas.

Item, The 29 of Ianuary wee departed from the bay of Lago grande, and the same day at night wee were cleere from the islands of the Philippinas, Haying our course towards the islands of Maluco.

Dayes 30.

Item, From the 29 day of Ianuary vnto the first day of March, we were nauigating between the West end of the island of Pannay and the West end of the island of Iaua minor.

Of our abode
eleuen dayes,
where we wa-
tered.

Item, The first day of March wee passed the Streights at the West head of the island of Iaua minor, and the 5 day of March we ankered in a bay at the West end of Iaua maior, where wee watered, and had great store of victuals from the towne of Polambo.

Iaua maior.
Dayes 56.
The cape of
Buena Espe-
rança.

Item, The 16 day of March wee departed from the island of Iaua maior, and the 11 day of May we had sight of the land 40 leagues vnto the Eastwards of the cape of Buena Esperança, the land being low land.

A note from the cape of Buena Esperança vnto the Northwards.

Of our abode
twelue dayes,
where we wa-
tered.

Item, The 21 day of May wee departed from the cape of Buena Esperança, and the 8 day of June we ankered on the North-west part of the island of Santa Helena, where we watered, and made our abode 12 dayes.

Dayes 14.

Item, The 20 day of June at night wee departed from the island of Santa Helena, and the 4 day of July we passed vnder the Equinoctiall line.

The space of
our nauigati-
on betweene
those lands
was threescore
& five dayes.

Item, The 20 day of June at night wee departed from the island of Santa Helena, and the 25 day of August in the morning wee had sight of the islands of Flores and Coruo in the latitude of 40 degrees.

Item, The 9 day of September 1588 wee arrived, after a long and terrible tempest, in the Narrow seas, in the haven of Plimmouth in safetie, by the gracious and most mercifull protection of the Almighty, to whom therefore be rendered immortall praise and thanksgiuing now and for ever. Amen.

A note of our ankering in those places where we arrived after our departure from England 1586.

Fadoms 10.

IN primis, Wee ankered in the harborow of Sierra leona in 10 fadoms water: and a North-west winde in that robe is the woozst that can blow.

Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker vnder the island that is called Ilha Verde in 6 fadoms water: and the winde being at the West-north-west is the woozst winde that can blow.

Fadoms 10.

Item, You may anker vnder the island of S. Sebastian on the North-west part in 10 fadoms: and a West-south-west winde is the woozst winde.

Item,

Item, You may anker in Port Desire in 5 fadoms water, and a West and by South winde is the worst.

Item, You may anker vnder Cape Ioy without the mouth of the Streights of Magellan in 7 fadoms water.

Item, You may anker within the Straights of Magellan, untill you come vnto the first narrowing in 25 or 30 fadoms water, in the mid way of the Streights.

Item, You may anker in the second narrow of the Streights in 16 fadoms water.

Item, You may anker vnder Penguin island on which side you please in 6 or 7 fadoms water.

Item, You may anker in Port Famine in 5 or 6 fadoms water, and a Southsoutheast winde is the worst.

Item, You may anker in Muskecoue, which coue is on the South side, and is 7 leagues to the Southwards of Cape Froward, and you shall ride in 12 fadoms.

Item, You may anker in Elizabeth bay, which bay is on the North side of the Streights in 8 fadoms water.

Item, From Elizabeth bay vnto Cabo deleado, you may anker on both sides of the Streights in many places.

A note of our ankering after we were entred into the South sea.

IN primis, You may anker in the bay of Mocha in 7 or 8 fadoms water, and there a North-east winde is the worst.

Item, You may anker on the North side of S. Mary island in nine fadoms water: and there a Northnorthwest winde is the worst winde.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Concepcion vnder one small island in 9 fadoms water, and a Northnorthwest winde is the worst winde in that bay.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Quintero in 7 fadoms water, and a Northnorthwest winde is the worst winde.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Arica in 6 fadoms, and in that bay a Westnorthwest winde is the worst winde.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Pisca and Paraca in five fadoms: and in that bay a North-northwest winde is the worst.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Cherepe in 8 fadoms, and there from the North-west vnto the Southeast it is open.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Paica in 7 fadoms water: and there a Northnorth-east winde is the worst winde.

Item, You may anker on the North-east part of the island of Puna in 4 fadoms: and a North-east winde is the worst.

Item, You may anker at Rio dulce, where wee watered, vnto the Eastwards of the island of Puna in 10 fadoms.

A note of what depths we ankered in on the coast of New Spaine.

ITem, You may anker in the port of Aguatalco in five fadoms water: and a Southsouthwest winde is the worst.

Item, You may anker in the port of S. Iago in 6 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the worst.

Item, You may anker in the port of Natiuidad in 8 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the worst.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Xalisco in 9 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the worst.

Item, You may anker on the North-west part of the island of S. Andrew in 17 fadoms water.

Item, You may anker vnder the island of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the worst.

Item, You may anker in the port of S. Lucas on the Cape of California in 12 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the worst.

A note of what depths we ankered in, among the islands of the Philippines.

ITem, You may anker on the Southwest part of the island of Capul in 6 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the worst.

Item, You may anker all along the South part of the island of Panna in shoald water, in the depth of 10 or 12 fadoms.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Lago grande in seven fadoms water, which bay is on the South side of the island of Panna.

Item, You may anker at the East end of Iaua maior in 16 fadoms water, and an East south-east winde is the woozst.

Item, You may anker on the North part of the island of Santa Helena in 12 fadoms water.

A note of our finding of the winds for the most part of our voyage 1586.

IN primis, From the 21 day of July vnto the 19 day of August we found the winde at Northnortheast, being in the latitude of 7 degrees.

Item, From the 19 day of August vnto the 28 day of September, wee found the wind for the most part betweene the West and the Southwest, being in 24 degrees.

Item, From the 28 day of September vnto the 30 day of October, we found the windes betweene the Northeast and the Eastnortheast.

Item, From the 30 of Nouember, from the island of S. Sebastian, vnto the 30 day of Nouember, we found the winde betweene the Southeast and the Southsoutheast, being in 36 degrees.

Item, From the 30 day of Nouember vnto the 6 day of December, we found the windes to be betweene the West and the Southwest.

Item, From the 6 day of December vnto the first day of January, we found the winds for the most part betweene the North and the Northeast, being then in the latitude of 52 degrees.

Item, From the first day of January vnto the 23 day of February, we found the windes to be betweene the Northwest and the Westsouthwest, wee being all that time in the Streighes of Magellan.

Item, From the 23 day of February vnto the first day of March, we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southeast, being then in the South sea in the latitude of 48 degrees.

Item, From the first day of March vnto the 7 day of March, we found the winde to be at the North and the Northnortheast in the latitude of 43 degrees.

Item, From the 7 day of March vnto the 14 day of March, wee found the windes to be betweene the South and the Southwest, in the latitude of 37 degrees.

Item, From the 14 day of March vnto the 28 day of May, we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southwest, in the latitude of 3 degrees to the South of the Line.

A note of the varying of our windes to the North of the Equinoctiall line on the coast of New Spaine.

Item, From the 28 day of May vnto the 5 day of July, we found the winds for the most part to be betweene the Southsoutheast, and the Southsouthwest, being in the latitude of 10 degrees to the Northward of the Line on the coast of New Spaine.

Item, From the 5 day of July vnto the 14 day of October, we found the windes for the most part to be at the Eastnortheast in the latitude of 23 degrees Northward, and almost vnder the tropicke of Cancer.

A note of the windes which we found betweene the coast of New Spaine and Islands of the Philippinas on the coast of Asia.

I^N the yeere of our Lord 1587 we departed from the cape of Santa Clara on the coast of California the 19 day of Nouember, and we found the winds to be betweene the East and the Eastnortheast, vntill the 29 day of January; departing then from the islands of the Philippinas, being in the latitude of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 29 day of January vnto the 19 day of March, wee found the windes for the most part betweene the Northnortheast and the Northwest, being then among the Islands of Maluco, in the latitude of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 19 day of March vnto the 20 day of May, wee found the windes for the most part betweene the South and the Eastsoutheast, being then betweene the Islands of Maluco, and the cape of Buena Esperança, in the latitude of 34 degrees to the South of the Line.

Item, From the 20 day of May vnto the 11 day of July, we found the winds for the most part betweene

betweene the South and the Southeast, being then betweene the cape of Buena Esperança, and and 15 degrees vnto the Southward of the line.

Item, from the 11 day of July vnto the 18 day of August, we found the winds for the most part betweene the Northeast and Eastnortheast, being then betweene the latitude of 15 degrees to the Southward of the line, and 38 degrees vnto the Northwards of the line.

A letter of M. Thomas Candish to the right honourable the Lord
Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Maiesties most honourable
Priny Councell, touching the successe of his voyage about the world.

Right honourable, as your fauour heretofore hath bene most greatly extended to-
wards me, so I humbly desire a continuance thereof: and though there be no
meanes in me to deserue the same, yet the bettermost of my seruices shall not be
wanting, whensoever it shall please your honour to dispose thereof. I am hum-
bly to desire your honour to make known vnto her Maiesty the desire I haue
had to do her Maiesty seruice in the performance of this voyage. And as it hath
pleased God to giue her the victorie ouer part of her enemies, so I trust yer long to see her ouer-
throw them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they haue mainteined and made their
warres, are now perfectly discovered: and if it please her Maiesty, with a very small power she
may take the spoile of them all. It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer mee to circumpasse the
whole globe of the world, entring in at the Streight of Magellan, and returning by the cape de
Buena Esperança. In which voyage I haue either discovered or brought certeine intelligence
of all the rich places of the world that euer were known or discovered by any Christian. I nau-
gated alongst the coast of Chili, Peru, and Nueua Espanna, where I made great spoiles: I burnt
and sunke 19 sailes of ships small and great. All the villages and townes that euer I landed at, I
burnt and spoiled: and had I not bene discouered vpon the coast, I had taken great quantitie of
treasure. The matter of most profit vnto me was a great ship of the kings which I tooke at Ca-
lifornia, which ship came from the Phillipinas, being one of the richest of merchandize that euer
passed those seas, as the kings register and merchants accounts did shew; for it did amount in va-
lue to * in Mexico to be solde. Which goods (for that my ships were not able to containe
the least part of them) I was inforced to set on fire. From the cape of California, being the utter-
most part of all Nueua Espanna, I nauigated to the Islands of the Phillipinas hard vpon the
coast of China; of which countrey I haue brought such intelligence as hath not bene heard of in
these parts. The stateliness and riches of which countrey I feare to make report of, least I
should not be credited: for if I had not known sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that
countrey, I should haue bene as incredulous thereof, as others will be that haue not had the like
experience. I sailed along the Islands of the Malucos, where among some of the heathen people
I was well intreated, where our countrey men may haue trade as freely as the Portugals, if they
will themselves. From thence I passed by the cape of Buena Esperança, and found out by the
way homeward the island of S. Helena, where the Portugals vse to relieue themselves: and from
that island God hath suffered me to returne into England. All which seruices with my selfe I
humbly prostrate at her Maiesties feet, desiring the Almighty long to continue her reigne among
vs: for at this day she is the most famous and victorior prince that liueth in the world.

Thus humbly desiring pardon of your honour for my tediousnesse, I leaue your lordship to the
cution of the Almighty. Plimmouth this ninth of September 1588.

Your honours most humble to command,

THOMAS CANDISH.

Certeine notes or references taken out of the large map of China,
brought home by M. Thomas Candish 1588.

The great kingdome of the Mogores is vpon the Northwell, and falleth vpon Ta-
nassar in beyond Malaca, and ioynech vpon Bengala: they are men of warre, and
vse no fight but on horsebacke: they go in their apparell like Portugals.

2 A city, wherein is captaine a Chinian, a man very deformed, hauing vnder
him many men of warre: he maketh warre both against the Tartarians and the
Mogores; lying betweene them: and lieth without the circuit of the wall.

AAAA 3

3 Certeine

3 Certaine hills, beyond which the Tartarians do inhabit, who here tofore were great friends with the Chinians, and now mainteine continuall warres against them, so great, that sometimes there are slaine in a battell 100000 of men adioyning upon Moscouie: and they haue in their warres all kinde of armour.

4 The prouince of Canlas hath 4 great cities, and 20 small cities, and 77 towne & castles: it containeth in length 55 leagues, it hath 362000 houses of great men that pay tribute, and 13900 men of warre: and hath 47000 horses, which are the kings, kept for his defence.

It is as colde
at Paquin as in
Flanders.

5 The great city of Paquin, where the king doth lie, hath belonging to it 8 great cities, and 18 small cities, with 118 towne and castles: it hath 418789 houses of great men, which pay tribute, it hath horsemen for the warre 258100. This city is in the latitude of 50 degrees to the Northwards, being there as colde as it is usually in Flanders.

6 The great city of Canton, wherein are many men of warre, to keepe that passage from the Tartars.

7 The prouince of Soychin hath 7 great cities, and 16 small, with 12 towne and castles, and one great city, to which many doe repaire to fight against the Tartars: it hath 17 leagues in length, and hath 164118 great houses, which pay tribute, and 96000 men of warre.

8 The prouince of Santo hath 6 great cities, and 14 small, with 90 towne and castles: it is 82 leagues long, and hath 77555 great houses, which pay tribute, 63808 horsemen, and 31000 footmen of warre.

9 The prouince of Oyman hath 7 great cities, and 13 small, and 90 towne and castles, being 470 leagues long, and 132958 great houses that pay tribute, 82800 men of warre. Out of this city commeth copper, quicke-silver, and blacke lead.

* At Quicheu,

10 The prouince of Cutchew hath 8 great cities, and 12 small, and 83 towne, which make armie to fight with the lawes, which do inhabit beyond Cauchinchina: it is 100 leagues broad, and hath 32920 horsemen and footmen, with 405670 great houses which pay tribute, wherof the men of warre are payed.

11 The prouince of Languyn hath 14 great cities, and 17 small, and 95 towne and castles: it is 120 leagues ouer, and hath 962818 great houses which pay tribute, it hath 208900 men of warre, wherof there are 52500 Tartar horsemen that take wages.

12 The prouince of Vquam hath 14 great cities, and 19 small, 150 towne and castles, and is 210 leagues broad, and 53161 houses that pay tribute, and 71600 men of warre.

13 The prouince of Som hath 7 great cities, and 11 small, and 105 towne and castles, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath houses that pay tribute 139567, and men of warre 345632.

14 The prouince of Essiran hath 11 great cities, and 75 small, and 80 towne and castles, and is 440 leagues broad, and hath great houses that doe pay tribute 1242135, and 339000 men of warre.

15 This lake lieth behinde Siam, and before Champa, and doth ioine with the Lappians, and from thence commeth all the water that serueth the kingdome of China: and the Indians & the Chinians doe report this lake to be the whole world, and so they paint the sea, the moone, and the starres within it.

16 The prouince of Canlay hath 13 cities, and a chiefe citie, and 73 towne and castles, and is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houses that pay tribute 1393629, and 12700 men of warre.

17 The prouince of Cuaula hath 12 great cities, 45 small, and 51 towne and castles: it is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houses that pay tribute 1306390, and men of warre both footmen and horsemen 100100.

18 The prouince of Vanam hath 14 great cities, and 36 small, and 34 towne and castles, and is 88 leagues broad, with 589296 great houses that pay tribute, and 15100 men of warre.

Garlions &
gaunt the Ja-
pons.

19 The prouince of Fuckin hath 8 great cities, and one principall city, and 54 towne and castles, and two great cities of garlison, to keepe watch upon the Japons, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath 5009532 great houses that pay tribute, and 4003225 men of the kings guard.

20 The prouince of Canton hath 40 great cities, and 7 small, and 77 towne and castles, and a city that putteth forth hundreds of ships for the keeping of Cauchinchina, and is 380 leagues in breadth, and hath 483383 great houses which pay tribute, and 39400 men of warre.

21 The port of Cauchinchina standeth in the latitude of sixteene degrees and a halfe to the Northward.

22 The citie Champa standeth in foureteene degrees to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall.

The prouince of Enam hath 7. great cities, and 13. small, and 90. townes and castles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296. great houses that pay tribute, and 15100. souldiers.

3 Horsemen 454528. 3 Footmen 74590573

The totall summe 7923785.

A brieue relation of a voyage of *The Delight* a ship of *Bristol* one of the consorts of M. *John Chidley* esquire and M. *Paul Wheele*, made vnto the Straight of *Magellan*: with diuers accidents that happened vnto the company, during their 6. weekes abode there: Begun in the yeere 1589. Written by *W. Magoths*.



The first of August 1589, the worshipfull M. John Chidley of Chidley in the countie of Devon esquire, with M. Paul Wheele and Captaine Andrew Mericke set forth from Plimmouth with three tall ships, the one called *The wilde man* of three hundred tunnes, wherein went for General the aforesaid M. John Chidley and Benjamin Wood as Master, the other called *The white Lion*, whereof M. Paul Wheele was captaine and John Ellis Master, of the burthen of 340. tunnes: the third *The delight* of Bristol, wherein went M. Andrew Merick as Captaine, and Robert Burnet Master, with two pinnesles of 14. or 15. tunnes a piece. The General in his ship had 180. persons: M. Paul Wheele had 140. in our owne ship we were 91. men and boyes. Our voyage was intended by the Straight of *Magellan* for the South Sea, and chiefly for the famous prouince of *Arauco* on the coast of *Chili*. We kept company together to the ples of the *Cannaries* and so forthward to *Cape Blanco* standing neere the Northerly latitude of 20. degrees on the coast of *Barbarie*, where some of our people went on shoare finding nothing to their content. Within 12. dayes after our departure from this place *The Delight*, wherein J. William Magoths was, lost the company of the other two great ships, and the two small pinnesles. Howbeit we constantly kept our course according to our directions along the coast of *Brasil*, and by the River of *Place*, without touching any where on land untill we came to *Port desire* in the latitude of 48. degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctial. Before we arrived at this place there died of our company by Gods visitation of sundry diseases 16. persons. Wee stayed in this harborough 17. dayes to graue our ship & refresh our wearied people, hoping here to haue met with our consorts: which fell out contrary to our expectations. During our abode in this place we found two little springs of fresh water, which were vpon the Northwesterly part of the land, & lighted vpon good store of seales both old and yong. From hence we sailed toward the Straight of *Magellan*, and entered the same about the first of January. And coming to *Penguin* pland within the Straight we tooke and salted certaine hogsheads of *Penguins*, which must be eaten with speed: for wee found them to be of no long continuance; we also furnished our selues with fresh water. And here at the last sending off our boat to the pland for the rest of our prouision, wee lost her and 15. men in her by force of foule weather; but what became of them we could not tel. Here also in this store we lost two anckers. From hence we passed farther into the Straight, and by *Port famine* we spake with a Spaniard, who told vs that he had liued in those parts 6. yeeres, and that he was one of the 400. men that were sent thither by the king of Spaine in the yere 1582. to fortifie and inhabit there, to hinder the passage of all strangers that way into the South sea. But that and the other Spanish colonie being both destroyed by famine, he said he had liued in an house by himselfe a long time, and relieved himselfe with his caloeuer untill our coming thither. Here we made a boat of the boards of our chests; which being finished wee sent 7. armed men in the same on land on the North shore, being wasted on land by the Sauages with certaine white skinned; who as soone as they came on shore were presently killed by an 100. of the wilde people in the sight of 2. of our men, which rowed them on shoare, which two onely escaped backe againe to vs with the boat. After this traiterous slaughter of our men, we fell backe againe with our ship to the Northeastward of *Port famine* to a certaine road, where we refreshed our selues with muskles, and tooke in water & wood. At this time wee tooke in the Spaniard aforesaid, and so sailed forward againe into the Straight. Wee passed 7. or 8. times 10. leagues Westward beyond *Cape Froward*, being still encountered with mightie Northwest winds. These winds and the current were so behement against vs, that they forced vs backe almost in two houres, as we were getting vp in 8. houres. Thus after wee had spent 6. weekes in the Straight struing against the furie of the elements, and hauing at sundry times partly by casualtie, and partly by sickness lost 38. of our bestmen, and 3. anckers, and now hauing but one ancker left vs, and small store of victuals, and, which was not the least mischiefe,

Chidley's voyage intended partly for Arauco in Chili, Cape Blanco.

The Delight lost the company of the rest of the fleet.

Port desire.

Two springs of fresh water found at Port desire.

They enter into the Straight of Magellan.

They loose 15. of their men by tempest.

A Spaniard taken at Port famine.

Seven of our men killed by the treason of the Sauages on the North shore.

They passed 7. or 8. times ten leagues Westward of Cape Froward.

**They retorne
homeward.**

**The yle of S.
Sebastian in 24.
degr. of south-
erly latitude
on the coast of
Brasil.**

**They land at
Monuille de
Hage 8. miles
West of Cher-
bourg.**

**The wracke of
the ship by the
malice of the
Normans.
They arrive
in England.**

diuers of our company raising dangerous mutinies: we consulted, though somewhat with the latest, for the safegard of our liues to returne while there was some small hope remayning: and so set saile out of The Streight homeward about the 14. of Februarie 1590. We returned backe againe by The riuer of Plate; and sailing neere the coast of Brasill we met with a Portugal ship of 80. tunnes, which rode at an anker vpon the coast, who as soone as she descried vs to chale her, incontinently weyed, & ran her selfe on ground betwene the yland of S. Sebastian and the maine land. But we for want of a good boat, and by reason of the foule weather, were neither able to boord her, nor to goe on shore. Thence in extreeme misery we shaped our course for the yles of Cape Verde, and so passing to the yles of The Açores, the Canaries being something out of our course; the first land that wee mette withall in our narrow sea was The yle of Alderney. And hauing now but five men of all our company left aliue, the Master and his two mates and chiefe Mariners being dead, wee ran in with Monuille de Hage eight miles to the West of Cherbourg in Normandie. Where the next day after our comming to an anker, hauing but one in all left, being the last of August 1590. by the foule weather that rose the anker came home, and our ship bzaue on the rocks: And the Normans which were commanded by the gouernour of Cherbourg (who came downe to vs that night) to haue layd out another anker for her, neglecting his commandement, suffered her miserably to be splitted, with desire to enrich themselves by her wracke. Within few dayes after this last mischance foure of vs being Englishmen departed from Cherbourg, and passed home for England in a barke of Weymouth, leauing the two strangers there behinde vs.

The names of vs sixe that returned of all our company were these.

- 1 William Magoths of Bristol.
- 2 Richard Bulth.
- 3 Iohn Reade.
- 4 Richard Hodgkins of Westburie neere Bristol.

The two strangers.

- 5 Gabriel Valerosa a Portugal.
- 6 Peter, a Briton.

A petition made by certaine of the company of the *Delight* of Bristol vnto the Master of the said ship *Robert Burnet*, one of the consorts of M. Chidley, being in the Streights of *Magellan* the 12. of Februarie 1589.



I haue thought good to shew vnto you (being our Master) our whole mindes and griefes in writing: that whereas our Captaine Matthew Hawlse, and Walter Streec doe beginne to take into the Captaines cabin this 12. of Febr. both bread and butter, (such as was put in for the prouision of the shippe and company) only to feed themselves, and a few others, which are of their melle: meaning thereby rather to serue vs, then to keepe vs strong and in health: And likewise vpon the same, hee hath taken into his cabin certaine furniture, as swords, calceuers and musquets: We therefore not well knowing their intents herein, except by certaine wordes cast out at vnwares, wee may coniecture, that your death, which God forbid, by them hath bene determiued: doe all most humbly desire you being our Master, and hauing charge of the shippe, and vs, this present voyage committed vnto you, to consider: First, that by Gods visitation wee haue lost 16. men, and that so much the rather because they were not allotted such necessary prouision, as was in the ship to be had. Also to consider the great losse of 15. of our men with our boat at Penguin-yland within the Streights of Magellan: and of 7. good and seruiceable men besides neere Port famine: and of thre anchors, and our Carpenter.ouer and besides all these calamities to consider how you haue (without all reason and conscience) bene overthwarted, disgraced, and outcountenanced by your mate Streec, and Matthew Hawlse: Also what danger you now are subiect vnto, your death hauing bene so often conspired, and what danger we should be in, if it were (which God forbid) effected. Furthermore, to weigh with your selfe the great want of many necessities in our ship: namely that we haue but 6. sailers, (besides your selfe and your mate Streec, whom wee dare not trust,) Also that wee haue but one anker, likewise the lacke of our boate and a Carpenter, of ropes, of pitch, treynails, bolts, and planks, and the want

of a skillfull Chirurgian. And whereas a biew being taken of our prouision there was found but five moneths victuals of bread, meale, greeces, and pease, and also but three moneths victuals of beefe, penguins and porke, three hogheads of wine, ten gallons of aquauitz (whereof the sicke men could not get any to relieue them,) foure hogheads of syder and 18. stiches of bacon, &c. the company hath but three stiches. Also the said Captaine Hawlse and Street haue taken and sealed vpon 17. pottes of butter, with certaine cheese, and an hoghead of bread at a time, and haue bene thereof possessed to their owne priuate vles: And haue not onely immoderately spent the companies prouision in butter, cheese, aquauitz, &c. but haue also consumed those sweete meates, which were layed vp in the shippe onely for the reliefe of sicke persons (themselves being healthy and sound, and withholding the said meates from others in their sicknesse) and euen at this time also (by reason of the small store of our prouision, wee being enforced to come to a shorter allowance) they the said Captaine Hawlse and your mate Street, doe finde themselves agriued at the very same allowance, wherewith other men are well contented. And although (besides our ordinarie allowance, and more then all the rest of the company) they onely haue their beakefasts permitted vnto them, yet they complaine that the company goeth about to famish them, whereas indeed they doe what lyeth in them to famish the company by feeding themselves fat, which doe no labour at all. These things being well weighed, you ought likewise to consider the long time that wee haue lien here in these Streights of Magellan, hauing bene at, and seuen or eight times, tenne leagues beyond Cape Froward, we haue had but a small gale of winde with vs: neither could wee come to an anchor, the water being so deepe: and (you know) the place is so dangerous, that wee were once embayed, and coulde scarce get out againe: And likewise, That fogges and mists are here already: Much more here will be, the winter and darke nights being at hand, & we hauing not so much as a boate to seeke out any roade to ride in, sauing a small weake boate made of mens chestes, in which it is not conuenient to goe on shoate in a foereine countrey, where wee must goe with force: and hauing but one anchor left vs, there is but little hope of life in vs, as you may sufficiently iudge, if wee should lose either the said anchor or our boate, and therefore wee dare not put the same in danger for feare of losing them. Also wee hauing lien here these five weekes and vppward, the winde hath continued in the North-west directly against our course, so that wee can no way hope to get through the Streights into the South sea this yeere, and if we could, yet our prouision is not sufficient, hauing spent so much thereof, in this our lingering abode. May wee haue scarcely victuals pough to cary vs home into England, if they bee not vled sparingly, and with very good gouernment. Therefore wee doe againe most humbly desire you to consider and haue regard vnto the premises, as you tender your owne safecie and the safetie of vs which remaine alieue, that wee may (by Gods helpe) retorne backe into England, rather then die here among wilde and sauage people: for if wee make any longer abode in this place, it will bee (without all doubt) to the vtter decay and losse, both of our selues, and of the shippe: and in returning backe, it may please God, that we may finde our fifteene men, and our boat at Penguin-land (although this bee contrary to the mindes of Matthew Hawlse, and your mate Street) and hauing found them, wee doe not despair in Gods mercie, but that in our retorne home-ward, hee will send vs purchase sufficient, if wee would ioyne our selues together in prayer, and loue one another. And thus doing (as wee shalbe bound) euen so wee will also heartily pray for the continuance of your good estate, and wel-fare, and for the length of your dayes, to the pleasure of Almighty God.

Lastly, wee doe most humbly beseech you to consider, that (after the losse of so many men, and all the casualties aforesaid, as we were taking in of water by Port Famine, our boate-swaine, the hooper, and William Magochs being on shoare) Matthew Hawlse did hallow to haue them in all the haste come on-board: saying therewithall these words: We that will come in this voyage, must not make any reckoning to leaue two or three men on shoare behinde him, whereas we had so lately lost all the foresaide men, hauing then but five sailers left vs on-board. Also the said Matthew Hawlse did cary a pistoll for the space of two dayes secretly vnder his gowne, intending therewithall to haue murdered Andrew Stoning, and William Combe, as by confession of Hawlse his man, William Martin, it is manifest: for the said William Martine reported vnto two of his friends, viz. Richard Hungate, and Emanuel Dornel, that he kneeled vpon his knees one whole houre before Matthew Hawlse in his owne cabin, desiring him, for Gods cause, not to kill either of them, especially because the said Stoning and Martin came both out of one towne. Also the said Hawlse, at our second time of watering in the place aforesaid, came into the Gunners roome to speake with you (your selfe with the master Gunner Thomas Browne, and his mate William Frier being then present) demanding of you, if he should send certaine men to Port famine being two leagues from the ship by land. Thomas Browne answered him presently, that he should send none

The Spaniards
taken in at
Port Famine.

none, for feare least the wind might arise, and by that meanes we should loose so many of our men more: to whom Matthew Hawlic replied that it was not material, for that he had made choyce of a company for the very same purpose, whose names were Emmanuel Dornel, Richard Hungate, Paul Carie, Iohn Davis, Gabriel Valerosa, a Portugall, and Peter a Britaine, and the Spaniards which we had taken in at the same place, at our first time of watering. And thus we end, desiring God to sende vs well into our native countrey. In witnesse whereof wee haue subscribed our names.

Thomas Browne, Gunner,
John Morrice, &c.

The last voyage of the worshipfull M. Thomas Candish esquire, intended for the *South sea*, the *Philippinas*, and the coast of *China*, with 3. tall ships, and two barks: Written by M. John Lane, a man of good obseruation, imployed in the same, and many other voyages.



We 26. of August 1591. wee departed from Plimmouth with 3. tall ships, and two barks, The Galeon wherein M. Candish went himselfe being Admirall, The Roebucke viceadmirall whereof M. Cocke was Captaine, The Desire Rere-admirall whereof was Captaine M. Iohn Davis (with whom and for whose sake I went this voyage) The Blacke pinnelle, and a barke of M. Adrian Gilbert, whereof M. Randolfe Cotton was Captaine.

Baya de Saluador.

A barke taken.

Cabo Frio.
Illa de Placencia.

Illa de S. Sebastian.

The towne of
Santos taken.

The 29. of Nouember wee fell with the bay of Saluador vpon the coast of Brasil 12. leagues on this side Cabo Frio, where wee were becalmed vntill the second of December: at which time wee tooke a small barke bound for the River of Plate with sugar, haberdash wares, and Negros. The Master of this barke brought vs vnto an yle called Placencia thirtie leagues West from Cabo Frio, where wee arrived the first of December, and rifled fire of seuen houses inhabited by Portugales. The 11. wee departed from this place, and the fourteenth we arrived at the yle of S. Sebastian: from whence M. Cocke and Captaine Davis presently departed with The Desire and the blacke pinnelle, for the taking of the towne of Santos. The 15. at euening we anchored at the barre of Santos, from whence we departed with our boates to the towne; and the next morning about nine of the clocke wee came to Santos, where being discovered, wee were enforced to land with 24. gentlemen, our long boat being farre a sterne, by which expedition wee tooke all the people of the towne at Masse both men and women, whom wee kept all that day in the Church as prisoners. The cause why master Candish desired to take this towne was to supply his great wants: For being in Santos, and hauing it in quiet possession, wee stood in assurance to supply all our needes in great abundance. But such was the negligence of our gouernour master Cocke, that the Indians were suffered to carry out of the towne whatsoeuer they would in open viewe, and no man did controule them: and the next day after wee had wonne the towne, our prisoners were all set at libertie, onely foure poore olde men were kept as paynes to supply our wants. Thus in three dayes the towne that was able to furnish such another Fleet with all kinde of necessities, was left vnto vs nakedly bare, without people and prouision.

The towne of
S. Vincent
burnt.

Eight or tenne dayes after master Candish himselfe came thither, where hee remained vntill the 22. of Ianuary, seeking by intreatie to haue that, whereof we were once possessed. But in conclusion wee departed out of the towne through extreme want of victuall, not being able any longer to liue there, and were glad to receiue a fewe canisters of Cassau meale; so that in euery condition wee went worse furnished from the towne, then when wee came vnto it. The 22. of Ianuary we departed from Santos, and burnt Sant Vincent to the ground. The 24. we set sail, shaping our course for the Streights of Magellan.

The seuenth of February we had a very great storme, and the eighth our fleet was separated by the fury of the tempest. Then our Captaine called vnto him the Master of our ship, whom hee found to be a very honest and sufficient man, and conferring with him he concluded to goe for Port Desire, which is in the Southerly latitude of 48. degrees; hoping that the Generall would come thither, because that in his first voyage he had found great reliefe there. For our Captaine could neuer get any direction what course to take in any such extremities, though many times hee had intreated for it, as often I haue heard him with grieue report. In sayling to this port by good chance we met with The Roe-bucke, wherein master Cocke had endured great extremities, and had lost his boate, and therefore desired our Captaine to keepe him company, for hee was in very desperate case. Our Captaine hoisted out his boate, and went aboard him to know his estate, and re-

turning

The last voy. of M. Th. Candish. Traffiques & Discoueries. 843

turning to be vs the hardnesse thereof, and desired the Master and all the company to be carefull in all their watches not to loose The Roe-bucke, and so wee both arrived at Port Desire the sixth of March.

They arrive at Port Desire.

The 16. of March The Blacke pinnesse came unto vs, but master Gilberts barke came not, but returned home to England, having their Captaine aboard the Roe-bucke without any provision more then the apparell that hee wore, who came from thence aboard our ship to remaine with our Captaine, by reason of the great friendship betwene them. The 18. the Galeon came into the road, and master Candish came into the harborough in a boat which he had made at sea; for his long boat and light-horseman were lost at sea, as also a pinnesse which he had built at Santos: and being aboard The Desire he tolde our Captaine of all his extremities, and spake most hardly of his company, and of diuers gentlemen that were with him, purposing no more to goe aboard his owne ship, but to stay in The Desire. We all sorrowed to heare such hard speeches of our good friends; but having spoken with the gentlemen of the Galeon wee found them faithfull, honest, and resolute in proceeding, although it pleased our Generall otherwise to conceive of them.

M. Adrian Gilberts barke returned for England.

A pinnesse built at Santos.

They fall with the Streights of Magellan.

The 20. of March we departed from Port Desire, master Candish being in The Desire with vs. The eighth of April 1592. wee fell with the Streights of Magellan, induring many furious stormes betwene Port Desire and the Streight. The 14. we passed through the first Streight. The 16. we passed the second Streight being ten leagues distant from the first. The 18. we doubled Cape Froward, which Cape lieth in 53. degrees and 1/2. The 21. wee were enforced by the fury of the weather to put into a small coue with our ships, 4. leagues from the said Cape, upon the South shoare, where wee remained until the 15. of May. In the which time wee indured extreeme stormes, with perpetual snow, where many of our men died with cursed famine, and miserable cold, not having wherewith to couer their bodie, nor to fill the bellies, but living by mushrooms, water, and weeds of the sea, with a small reliefe of the ships store in meale sometimes. And all the sicke men in the Galeon were most vnicaritably put a shote into the woods in the snowe, raine, and cold, when men of good health could scarcely indure it, where they ended their liues in the highest degree of misery, master Candish all this while being aboard the Desire. In these great extremities of snow and cold, doubting what the ende would be, he asked our Captaines opinion, because he was a man that had good experience of the Northwest parts, in his 3. severall discoveries that way, imployed by the marchants of London. Our Captaine tolde him, that this snowe was a matter of no long continuance, and gaue him sufficient reason for it, and that thereby hee could not much be prejudiced or hindered in his proceeding. Notwithstanding he called together all the company, and tolde them, that he purposed not to stay in the Streights, but to depart upon some other voyage, or else to returne againe for Brasil. But his resolution was to goe for the Cape of Buena Esperanca. The company answered, that if it pleased him, they did desire to stay Gods fauour for a winde, and to indure all hardnesse whatsoever, rather then to giue over the voyage, considering they had bene here but a smal time, and because they were within fourtie leagues of the South sea, it grieved them now to returne; notwithstanding what hee purposed, that they would performe. So hee concluded to goe for the Cape of Buena Esperanca, and to giue over this voyage. Then our Captaine, after master Candish was come aboard The Desire from talking with the company, tolde him, that if it pleased him to consider the great extremitie of his estate, the slenderesse of his provisions, with the weakenesse of his men, it was no course for him to proceed in that new enterprise: for if the rest of your shippes (said hee) bee furnished answerable to this, it is impossible to performe your determination: for wee haue no more sailes then mastes, no victuals, no ground-sackling, no corbage more then is ouer head, and among seuentie and five persons, there is but the Master alone that can order the shippe, and but foureteene saylers. The rest are gentlemen, seruicemen, and artificers. Therefore it will be a desperate case to take so hard an enterprise in hand. These perswasions did our Captaine not onely vse to master Candish, but also to master Cocke. In fine upon a petition deliuered in writing by the chiefe of the whole company, the Generall determined to depart out of The Streights of Magellan, and to returne againe for Santos in Brasil.

So the 15. of May wee set saile, the Generall then being in the Galeon. The eighteenth wee were free of the Streights, but at Cape Froward it was our hard hap to haue our boat sunke at our sterne in the night, and to be split and soze spoiled, and to loose all our oyes.

They returne from the Streights of Magellan.

The twentieth of May being thwart of Port Desire, in the night the Generall altered his course, as we suppose, by which occasion wee lost him: for in the euening he stood close by a winde to seaward, hauing the winde at Northnortheast, and wee standing the same way, the winde not altering, could not the next day see him: so that we then perswaded our selues, that hee was gone for

The occasion of losing the Generall.

for Port Desire to relieue himselfe, or that hee had sustained some mischance at Sea, and was gone thither to reinedy it. Whereupon our Captaine called the Generalls men vnto him, with the rest, and asked their opinion what was to bee done. Euery one sayde, that they thought that the Generall was gone for Port Desire. Then the Master being the Generalls man, and carefull of his masters seruice, as also of good iudgement in Sea-matters, tolde the company howe dangerous it was to goe for Port Desire, if wee shoulde there misse the Generall: for (saide hee) wee haue no boate to lande our selues, nor any cables nor anchorers that I dare trust in so quicke streames as are there: yet in all likelyhood concluding that the Generall was gone thither, wee stayed our course for Port Desire, and by chance mette with the Blacke pinnesse, which had likewise lost the flecte, being in very miserable case: so wee both concluded to seeke the Generall at Port Desire.

They come againe to Port Desire the 26. of May.

A quiet road.

A poole of fresh water on the South side of Port Desire.

Abundance of mulkies and smelts.

A dangerous muring.

The sixe and twentieth day of May we came to Port Desire, where not finding our Generall, as we hoped, being most slenderly victualled, without sailes, boate, oyes, nailes, cordage, and all other necessaries for our reliefe, wee were strooken into a deadly sorrow. But referring all to the prouidence and fatherly protection of the Almighty, wee entered the harbour, and by Gods fauour found a place of quiet roade, which before wee knewe not. Hauing moored our shippe with the pinnesses boate, wee landed vpon the South shore, where wee found a standing poole of fresh water, which by estimation might holde some tenne tunnes, whereby wee were greatly comforted. From this poole wee fet more then forty tunnes of water, and yet we left the poole as full as wee found it. And because at our first being in this harbour wee were at this place and found no water, we perswaded our selues that God had sent it for our reliefe. Also there were such extraordinary low ebbes as we had neuer seene, where by wee got mulkies in great plentie. Likewise God sent about our shippes great abundance of smelts, so that with hookes made of pinnes euery man caught as many as hee coulde eate: by which meanes wee preserved our ships victuals, and spent not any during the time of our abode here.

Our Captaine and Master falling into the consideration of our estate and dispatch to goe to the Generall, found our wants so great, as that in a moneth wee coulde not fitte our shippe to set saile. For wee must needes set vp a Smiths forge, to make boltes, spikes, and stayles, besides the repairing of our other wants. Whereupon they concluded it to bee their best course to take the pinnesse, and to furnish her with the best of the company, and to goe to the Generall with all expedition, leauing the shippe and the rest of the company vntill the Generalls returne: for hee had vowed to our Captaine, that hee would returne againe for the Streights, as hee had tolde vs. The Captaine and Master of the pinnesse being the Generalls men were well contented with the motion.

But the Generall hauing in our shippe two most pestilent fellowes, when they heard of this determination they utterly misliked it, and in secret dealt with the company of both shippes, vehemently perswading them, that our Captaine and Master would leaue them in the countrey to bee deuoured of the Canibals, and that they were mercilesse and without charitie: whereupon the whole company ioyned in secret with them in a night to murder our Captaine and Master, with my selfe, and all those which they thought were their friends. There were markes taken in his caben howe to kill him with mulkets through the shippes side, and bullets made of silver for the execution, if their other purposes shoulde faile. All agreed hereunto, except it were the boate-swaine of our shippe, who when hee knewe the matter, and the slender ground thereof, reuelled it vnto our Master, and so to the Captaine. Then the matter being called in question, those two most murderous fellowes were found out, whose names were Charles Parker and Edward Smith.

The Captaine being thus hardly beset in perill of famine, and in danger of murdering, was constrained to vse lenitie, and by courteous meanes to pacifie this furie, shewing, that to doe the Generall seruice, vnto whom he had vowed faith in this action, was the cause why hee purposed to goe vnto him in the pinnesse, considering, that the pinnesse was so necessary a thing for him, as that hee could not bee without her, because hee was fearefull of the shore in so great shippes. Whereupon all cried out with cursing and swearing, that the pinnesse shoulde not goe vntill the shippe went. Then the Captaine desired them to shewe themselves Christians, and not so blasphemously to behaue themselves, without regard or thanksgiuing to God for their great deliuerance, and present sustenance bestowed vpon them, alleaging many examples of Gods sharpe punishment for such ingratitude; and withall promised to doe any thing that might stand with their good liking. By which gentle speeches the matter was pacified, and the Captaine and Master at the request of the company were content to forgiue this great treachery of Parker and Smith, who after many admonitions concluded in these wordes: The Lord iudge betweene you and mee: which

which after came to a most sharpe reuenge euen by the punishment of the Almighty. Thus by a generall consent it was concluded not to depart, but there to stay for the Generalls returne. Then our Captaine and Master, seeing that they could not doe the Generall that seruice which they desired, made a motion to the companie, that they would lay downe vnder their handes the losing of the Generall, with the extremities wherein we then stood: whereunto they consented, and wrote vnder their handes as followeth.

The testimoniall of the companie of *The Desire* touching their losing of their Generall, which appeareth to haue beene vtterly against their meanings.

The 26 of August 1591 wee whose names bee here vnder written, with diuers others departed from Plimmouth vnder M. Thomas Candish our Generall, with 4 ships of his, to wit, The Galeon, The Robuck, The Desire, and The Black pinnesse, for the performance of a voyage into The South sea. The 19 of Nouember we fell with the bay of Saluador in Brasil. The 16 of December we tooke the towne of Santos, hoping there to reuictual our selues, but it fell not out to our contentment. The 24 of Ianuary we set saile from Santos, shaping our course for The Streights of Magellan. The 8 of Februarie by violent stormes the layde flecte was parted: The Robuck and The Desire arriued in Porte Desire the 6 of March. The 16 of March The Black pinnesse arriued there also: and the 18 of the same our admirall came into the roade; with whom we departed the 20 of March in poore and weake estate. The 8 of Aprill 1592 we entered The Streights of Magellan. The 21 of Aprill wee ankered beyond Cape Froward, within 40 leagues of The South sea, where wee rode vntill the 15 of May. In which time wee had great store of snowe, with some gustie weather, the wind continuing still at Westnorthwest against vs. In this time wee were inforced for the preserving of our victuals, to line the most part vpon muskles, our prouision was so slender, so that many of our men died in this hard extremitie. Then our General returned for Brasil there to winter, & to procure victuals for this voyage against the next yeere. So we departed The Streights the 15 of May. The 21 being thwart of Port Desire 30 leagues off the shoare, the wind then at Northeast and by North, at five of the clock at night lying Northeast, wee suddenly cast about lying Southeast and by South, and sometimes Southeast: the whole flecte following the admirall, our ship comming vnder his lee shot ahead him, and so framed saile fit to keepe companie. This night wee were seuered, by what occasion wee protest wee know not, whether we lost them or they vs. In the morning we only saw The Black pinnesse, then supposing that the admirall had ouerthot vs. All this day wee stood to the Eastwards, hoping to find him, because it was not likely, that he would stand to the shoare againe so suddenly. But missing him towards night, we stood to the shoareward, hoping by that course to finde him. The 22 of May at night we had a violent storme, with the wind at North-west, and wee were inforced to hull, not being able to beare saile, and this night we perished our maine tressetrees, so that wee could no more vse our maine top-saile, lying most dangerously in the sea. The pinnesse likewise receiued a great leake, so that wee were inforced to seeke the next shoare for our reliefe. And because famine was like to bee the best ende, wee desired to goe for Port Desire, hoping with seales and penguins to relieue our selues, and so to make shift to followe the Generall, or there to stay his comming from Brasil. The 24 of May wee had much winde at North. The 25 was calme, and the sea very lottie, so that our ship had dangerous foule weather. The 26 our fore-shrowdes brake, so that if wee had not beene neere the shoare, it had beene impossible for vs to get out of the sea. And now being here moored in Port Desire, our shrowdes are all rotten, not hauing a running rope whereto wee may trust, and being prouided onely of one shift of sailes all worne, our top-sailes not able to abide any streffe of weather, neither haue wee any pitch, tarre, or nallies, nor any store for the supplying of these wantes; and wee liue onely vpon seales and muskles, hauing but foure hogheads of porke within board, and meale three ounces for a man a day, with water for to drinke. And soasmuch as it hath pleased God to separate our flecte, and to bring vs into such hard extremities, that only now by his mere mercy we expect reliefe, though other wise we are hopelesse of comfort, yet because the wonderfull workes of God in his exceeding great fauour toward vs his creatures are farre beyond the scope of mans capacitie, therefore by him we hope to haue deliuerance in this our deepe distresse. Also soasmuch as those vpon whom God will bestow the fauour of life, with returne home to their countrey, may not onely themselves remaine blamelesse, but also manifest the truethe of our actions, wee haue thought good in Christian charitie to lay downe vnder our handes the truethe of all our proceedings euen till the time of this our distresse.

The manner how they lost their Generall.

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Given in Port Desire the 2 of June 1592. Beseeching the almightie God of his mercie to deli-
uer vs from this miserie, how or when it shall please his diuine Paternitie.

John Davis Captaine.
Randolph Cotton.
John Pery.
William Maber gunner.
Charles Parker.
Rouland Miller.
Edward Smith.
Thomas Purper.
Matthew Stubbes.
John Ienkinson.
Thomas Edwards.
Edward Granger.
John Lewis.
William Hayman.
George Straker.
Thomas Walbie.
William Wyeth.
Richard Alard.
Stephan Popham.
Alexander Cole.

Thomas Warkins.
George Cunington.
John Whiting.
James Ling.
The Boat-swain.
Francis Smith.
John Layes.
The Boat-swaines mate.
Fisher.
John Austin.
Francis Copstone.
Richard Garet.
James Euersby.
Nicolas Parker.
Leonard.
John Pick.
Benjamin.
William Maber.
James Not.
Christopher Haufer.

In the neere
Port Desire a
bounding with
seales and pen-
guins.

They depart
the second time
from Port De-
sire for The
Streights of
Magellan.

Certaine Isles
never before
discovered fifty
leagues north-
east off The
Streights.

The first and
second Streight
Cape Froward.
Saluage cooue.

After they had deliuered this relation vnto our captaine vnder their handes, then wee began to
trauell for our liues, and wee built vp a smiths forge, and made a colepit, and burnt coles, and
there wee made nasses, boltes, and spikes, others made ropes of a peece of our cable, and the rest
gathered muskles, and tooke smeltes for the whole companie. Thre leagues from this harbo-
rough there is an Isle with foure small Isles about it, where there are great abundance of seales,
and at the time of the yeere the penguins come thither in great plentie to breede. Wee concluded
with the pinnelle, that she should sometimes goe thither to fetch seales for vs; vpon which condi-
on wee would share our victuals with her man for man; whereunto the whole companie agreed.
So wee parted our poore store, and thee laboured to fetch vs seales to eate, wherewith wee liued
when smeltes and muskles failed: for in the nepe streames wee could get no muskles. Thus in
most miserable calamitie wee remained untill the sixt of August, still keeping watch vpon the hills
to looke for our Generall, and so great was our vexation and anguish of soule, as I thinke neuer
flesh and blood endured more. Thus our miserie daily increasing, time passing, and our hope
of the Generall being very colde, our Captaine and Master were fully perswaded, that the Gene-
rall might perhaps goe directly for The Streights, and not come to this harborough: where vpon
they thought no course more conuenient then to goe presently for The Streights, and there to stay
his coming, for in that place hee could not passe, but of force wee must see him: whereunto the
companie most willingly consented, as also the Captaine and Master of the pinnelle; so that vpon
this determination wee made all possible speede to depart.

The sixt of August wee set saile, and went to Penguin-isle, and the next day wee salted twentie
hogheads of seales, which was as much as our salt could possibly doe, and so wee departed for
The Streights the poorest wretches that euer were created. The seventh of August towarde
night wee departed from Penguin-isle, shaping our course for The Streights, where wee had full
confidence to meete with our Generall. The ninth wee had a sore storme, so that wee were con-
strained to hull, for our sailes were not to indure any force. The 14 wee were driuen in among
certaine Isles neuer before discovered by any known relation, lying fiftie leagues or better from
the shoare East and Northerly from The Streights: in which place, vntill it had pleased God of
his wonderfull mercie to haue ceased the winde, wee must of necessitie haue perished. But the
winde shifting to the East, wee directed our course for The Streights, and the 18 of August wee
fell with the Cape in a very thicke fogge; and the same night we ankered ten leagues within the
Cape. The 19 day wee passed the first and the second Streights. The 21 wee doubled Cape
Froward. The 22 we ankered in Saluage cooue, so named, because wee found many Saluages
there: notwithstanding the extreme colde of this place, yet doe all these wilde people goe naked,
and lue in the woods like Satyrs, painted and disguised, and flee from you like wilde beere. They
are very strong, and throw stones at vs of thre or foure pound weight an incredible distance. The

24 in the morning wee departed from this cooue, and the same day we came into the North-west reach, which is the last reach of the Streights. The 25 we ankored in a good cooue, within foureene leagues of the South sea: in this place we purposed to stay for the General, for the streight in this place is scarce three miles broad, so that he could not passe but we must see him. After we had stayed here a fortnight in the deep of Winter, our victuals consuming, (for our Seals stunk most vily, and our men died pitifully through cold and famin, for the greatest part of them had no clothes to defend the extremitie of the winters cold) being in this heauie distresse, our captaine and Master thought it the best course to depart from the Streights into the South sea, and to go for the Isle of Santa Maria, which is to the Northward of Baldinia in 37 degrees & a quarter, where we might haue reliefe, and be in a temperate clime, and there stay for the Generall, for of necessity he must come by that Isle. So we departed the 13 of September, & came in sight of the South sea. The 14 we were forced backe againe, and recovered a cooue 3 leagues within the streights from the South sea. Againe we put forth, & being 8 or 10 leagues free of the land, the wind rising furiously at Westnorthwest, we were inforced againe into the streights only for want of sailes; for we neuer durst beare saile in any stresse of weather, they were so weake: so againe we recovered the cooue three leagues within the streights, where we indured most furious weather, so that one of our two cables brake, whereby we were hopeles of life. Yet it pleased God to calme the storme, and wee vntied our sheates, tackes, halliers, and other ropes, and moored our ship to the trees close by the rocks. We laboured to recover our ankore againe, but could not by any means, it lay so deepe in the water, and as we thinke cleane couered with oaze. Now had we but one ankore which had but one whole Flouke, a cable spliced in two places, and a piece of an olde cable. In the middelt of these our troubles it pleased God that the wind came faire the first of October; whereupon with all expedition wee loosed our moorings, and weighed our ankore, and so towed off into the chanel; for wee had mended our boate in Port Desire, and had fine oares of the pinnesse. When we had weighed our ankore, we found our cable broken, onely one strand helde: then wee prayed God; for we saw apparantly his mercies in preserving vs. Being in the chanel, we riued our ropes, & againe rigged our ship, no mans hand was idle, but all laboured euen for the last gaspe of life. Here our company was deuided; some desired to go againe for Port Desire, and there to be set on shore, where they might trauell for their liues, and some stood with the Captaine & Master to proceed. Whereupon the Captaine sayd to the Master: Master, you see the wonderfull extremitie of our estate, and the great doubts among our companie of the truth of your reports, as touching reliefe to be had in the South sea: some say in secret, as I am informed, that we undertake these desperate attempts through blind affection that we beare to the General. For mine owne part I plainly make knowne vnto you, that the loue which I beare to the Generall caused mee first to enter into this action, whereby I haue not onely heaped vpon my head this bitter calamity now present, but also haue in some sort procured the dislike of my best friends in England, as it is not vnknowne to some in this company. But now being thus intangled by the prouidence of God for my former offences (no doubt) I desire, that it may please his diuine Maiestie to shew vs such mercifull fauour, that we may rather proceed, then otherwise: or if it be his wil, that our mortall being shal now take an ende, I rather desire that it may bee in proceeding then in returning. And because I see in reason, that the limits of our time are now drawing to an end, I do in Christian charity intreat you all, first to forgive me in whatsoeuer I haue bin grieuous vnto you; secondly that you wil rather pray for our General, then vse hard speeches of him; and let vs be fully perswaded, that not for his cause & negligence, but for our owne offences against the diuine Maiestie we are presently punished; lastly, let vs forgive one another and be reconciled as children in loue & charity, and not think vpon the vanities of this life: so shall we in leauing this life liue with our glorious redeemer, or abiding in this life, find fauour with God. And now (good master) forasmuch as you haue bin in this voyage once before with your master the general, satisfie the company of such truths, as are to you best knowne; & you the rest of the generals men, which likewise haue bin with him in his first voyage, if you heare any thing contrary to the truth, spare not to reprove it, I pray you. And so I beseech the Lord to bestow his mercy vpon vs. Then the master began in these speeches: Captaine, your request is very reasonable, & I referre to your iudgment my best care, & great pains taken in the generals seruice, my loue towards him, & in what sort I haue discharged my duety, from the first day to this houre. I was commanded by the general to follow your directions, which hitherto I haue perfourmed. You all knowe, that when I was extremely sicke, the General was lost in my mates watch, as you haue well examined: sickness which time, in what anguish and grieve of minde I haue liued, God onely knoweth, and you are in some part a witnesse. And nowe if you thinke good to returne, I will not gaine say it;

The north-west
or last reach of
the streights.

Their first en-
terance into the
South sea.
They enter the
South sea the
second time.

This Santos
standeth upon
the coast of
Peru in 9 deg.
of Southerly
latitude.

They enter the
South sea the
third time.

The blacke
pinnele lost
in the South
sea.

but this I assure you, if life may be preserved by any meanes, it is in proceeding. For at the Isle of Santa Maria I doe assure you of wheate, porke, and rootes enough. Also I will bring you to an Isle, where Pelicans bee in great abundance, and at Santos wee shall have meale in great plenty, besides all our possibilitie of intercepting some shippes upon the coast of Chili and Peru. But if wee returne there is nothing but death to be hoped for: therefore doe as you like; I am ready, but my desire is to proceede. These his speeches being confirmed by others that were in the former voyage, there was a generall consent of proceeding; and so the second of October we put into the South sea, and were free of all land. This night the winde began to blowe very much at Westnorthwest, and still increased in fury, so that wee were in great doubt what course to take: to put into the Streights wee durst not for lacke of ground-tackle: to beare sayle wee doubted, the tempest was so furious, and our sayles so bad. The pinnele came roome with vs, and tolde vs that shee had receiued many grievous Seas, and that her ropes did euery houre sayle her, so as they could not tell what shift to make: wee being vnable in any sort to helpe them, stood vnder our coarles in view of the lee-choze, still expecting our ruinous end.

The fourth of October the storme growing beyond all reason furious, the pinnele being in the winde of vs, strake suddenly ahull, so that we thought shee had receiued some grievous sea, or sprung a leake, or that her sayles failed her, because she came not with vs: but we durst not hull in that vnnmercifull storme, but sometimes tried vnder our maine coarle, sometime with a had-dock of our sayle, for our ship was very leeward, and most labour some in the sea. This night wee lost the pinnele, and neuer saw her againe.

The fift, our foresayle was split, and all to torne: then our Master tooke the mizzen, and brought it to the foremast, to make our ship worke, and with our spritsaile we mended our foresayle, the storme continuing without all reason in fury, with haile, snowe, raine, and winde such and so mighty, as that in nature it could not possibly be more, the seas such and so lofty, with continuall breach, that many times we were doubtfull whether our ship did sinke or swimme.

The tenth of October being by the accompt of our Captaine and Master very nere the choze, the weather darke, the storme furious, and most of our men hauing giuen ouer to trauell, we peelded our selues to death, without further hope of succour. Our captaine sitting in the gallery very penitue, I came and brought him some Rosa solis to comfort him; for he was so cold, that hee was scarce able to moue a ioint. After he had drunke, and was comforted in heart, hee began for the ease of his conscience to make a large repetition of his forepassed time, and with many grievous sighs he concluded in these words: Oh most glorious God, with whose power the mightiest things among men are matters of no moment, I most humbly beseech thee, that the intollerable burthen of my sinnes may through the blood of Iesus Christ be taken from me: and end our daies with speede, or shew vs some mercifull signe of thy loue and our preservation. Hauing thus ended, he desired me not to make knownen to any of the company his intollerable grieve and anguish of minde, because they should not thereby be dismayed. And so suddenly, before I went from him, the Sunne shined cleere; so that he and the Master both obserued the true eleuation of the Pole, whereby they knew by what course to recouer the Streights. Therewithall our captaine and Master were so reuiued, & gaue such comfortable speeches to the company, that euery man reioyced, as though we had receiued a present deliuerance. The next day being the 11 of October, we saw Cabo Deseado being the cape on the South choze (the North choze is nothing but a company of dangerous rocks, Isles, & shoals.) This cape being within two leagues to leeward off vs, our master greatly doubted, that we could not double the same: wherupon the captain told him: You see there is no remedy, either we must double it, or before noon we must die: therefore loose your sails, and let vs put it to Gods mercy. The master being a man of good spirit resolutely made quicke dispatch & set saile. Our sailles had not bene halfe an houre aboord, but the footrope of our foresaile brake, so that nothing held but the oplet holes. The seas continually brake ouer the ships poope, and flew into the sailles with such violence, that we still expected the tearing of our sayles, or ouersetting of the ship, and withall to our vtter discomfort, wee perceiued that wee fell still more and more to leeward, so that wee could not double the cape: wee were now come within halfe a mile of the cape, and so nere the choze, that the counter-suffe of the sea would rebound against the shippes side, so that wee were much dismayed with the horroz of our present ende. Being thus at the very pinch of death, the winde and Seas raging beyond measure, our Master beared some of the maine sheate; and whether it was by that occasion, or by some current, or by the wonderfull power of God, as wee verily thinke it was, the ship quickened her way, and shot past that rocke, where wee thought shee would haue shored. Then betweene the cape and the poynt there was a little bay; so that wee were somewhat farther from the shoare:

and

and when we were come so farre as the cape, wee peelded to death: yet our good God the Father of all mercies deliuered vs, and wee doubled the cape about the length of our shippe, or very little more. Being shot past the cape, we presently tooke in our sayles, which onely God had preserved vnto vs; and when we were shot in betweene the high lands, the wind blowing trade, without any inch of sayle, we spooned before the sea, three men being not able to guide the helme, and in five houres wee were put five and twenty leagues within the Streights, where wee found a sea answerable to the Ocean.

The Cape De-
leado most dan-
gerously dou-
bled, after they
had been nine
dayes in the
South sea.

In this time we freed our ship from water, and after wee had rested a little, our men were not able to mooue; their sinewes were stiffe, and their flesh dead, and many of them (which is most lamentable to bee reported) were so eaten with lice, as that in their flesh did lie clusters of lice as big as peason, yea and some as big as beanes. Being in this miserie we were constrained to put into a cooue for the refreshing our men. Our Master knowing the shoze and euery cooue very perfectly, put in with the shoze, and moored to the trees, as beforetime we had done, laying our ankoze to the seaward. Here we continued vntill the twentieth of October; but not being able any longer to stay through extremite of famine, the one and twentieth we put off into the chanell, the weather being reasonable calme: but before night it blew most extremely at Westnorth-west. The storme growing outrageous, our men could scarcely stand by their labour; and the Streights being full of turning reaches we were constrained by discretion of the Captaine and Master in their accounts to guide the ship in the hell-darke night, when we could not see any shoze, the chanell being in some places scarce three miles broad. But our captaine, as wee first passed through the Streights drew such an exquisite plat of the same, as I am assured it cannot in any sort be bettered: which plat hee and the Master so often perused, and so carefully regarded, as that in memorie they had euery turning and creeke, and in the deepe darke night without any doubting they conueyed the ship through that crooked chanell: so that I conclude, the world hath not any so skillfull pilots for that place, as they are: for otherwise wee could neuer haue passed in such sort as we did.

An excellent
plat of the
Streights of
Magellan.

The 25th wee came to an Island in the Streights named Penguin-isle, whither wee sent our boate to seeke reliefe, for there were great abundance of birds, and the weather was very calme; so wee came to an ankoze by the Island in seuen sadomes. While our boate was at shoze, and we had great shoze of Penguins, there arose a sudden storme, so that our ship did driue ouer a breach and our boate ranke at the shoze. Captaine Cotton and the Lieutenant being on shoze leapt into the boate, and freed the same, and threw away all the birdes, and with great difficultie recovered the ship: my selfe also was in the boate the same time, where for my life I laboured to the best of my power. The ship all this while lying vpon the lee-shoze, when wee came aboard, we helped to set sayle, and weighed the ankoze; for before our coming they could scarce hoist by their pardes; yet with much adoe they set their fore-coarse. Thus in a mighty fret of weather the seuen and twentieth day of October wee were free of the Streights, and the thirtieth of October we came to Penguin-isle being three leagues from Port Desire, the place which wee purposed to seeke for our reliefe.

Penguin-isle
within three
leagues of Port
Desire.

When wee were come to this Isle wee sent our boate on shoze, which returned laden with birdes and egges; and our men sayd that the Penguins were so thicke vpon the Isle, that shippes might be laden with them; for they could not goe without treading vpon the birds, whereat we greatly reioiced. Then the captaine appointed Charles Parker and Edward Smith, with twenty others to go on shoze, and to stay vpon the Isle, for the killing and drying of those Penguins; and promised after the ship was in harborough to send the rest, not onely for expedition, but also to saue the small stoze of victuals in the shippe. But Parker, Smith, and the rest of their faction suspected, that this was a deuise of the Captaine to leaue his men on shoze, that by these meanes there might bee victuals for the rest to recouer their countrey: and when they remembered, that this was the place where they would haue slaine their Captaine and Master, surely (thought they) for reuenge hereof will they leaue vs on shoze. Which when our Captaine vnderstood, hee bled these speeches vnto them: I vnderstand that you are doubtfull of your security through the peruerlenesse of your owne guilty consciences: it is an extreme grieue vnto me, that you should iudge mee blood-thirstie, in whome you haue seene nothing but kinde conuersation: if you haue found otherwise, speake boldly, and accuse mee of the wrongs that I haue done: if not, why do you then measure me by your owne vncharitable consciences? All the company knoweth indeed, that in this place you practized to the utmost of your powers, to murder me and the master causeles, as God knoweth, which euil in this place we did remit you: & now I may conceiue without doing you wrong, that you againe purpose some euil in byring these matters to repetition:

They enter
Port Desire the
third time.

Penguin Isle
scarce a mile
fro the maine.

Nine men lost.

A great multi-
tude of Salua-
ges with vi-
zards, or faces
like unto dogs
faces.

The river of
Port Desire but
20 miles passa-
ble by boate.

The great be-
nefit of the
herbe called
Scurupgrasse.

They stayed 7
weekes in Port
Desire.
A pper deuise
to make salt.

A ppoore allow-
ance of victu-
als.

but God hath so shortned your confederacie, as that I nothing doubt you: it is for your Masters sake that I haue so borne you in your vnchristian practizes: and here I protest before God, that for his sake alone I will yet indure this iniury, and you shall in no sort be preiudiced, or in any thing be by me commanded: but when we come into England (if God so fauour vs) your master shall knowe your honesties; in the meane space be voide of these suspicions, for God I call to witnes, reuenge is no part of my thought. They gaue him thanks, desiring to go into the harborough with the ship, which he granted. So there were ten left vpon the Isle, and the last of October we entered the harborough. Our Master at our last being here hauing taken carefull notice of euery creeke in the riuer, in a very conuenient place, vpon sandy oaze, ran the ship on ground, laying our ankors to seaward, and with our running ropes moored her to stakes vpon the shoze, which hee had fastened for that purpose; where the ship remained till our departure.

The third of Nouember our boat with water, wood, and as many as shee could cary, went for the Isle of Penguins: but being deepe, she durst not proceede, but returned againe the same night. Then Parker, Smith, Townesend, Purper, with five others, desired that they might goe by land, and that the boate might fetch them when they were against the Isle, it being scarce a mile from the shoze. The captaine bade them doe what they thought best, aduising them to take we apons with them: for (sayd hee) although we haue not at any time seene people in this place, yet in the countrey there may be Sauages. They answered, that here were great store of Deere, and Distiches; but if there were Saluages, they would deuoure them: notwithstanding the captaine caused them to cary weapons, calieuers, swordes, and targets: so the first of Nouember they departed by land, and the boate by sea; but from that day to this day wee neuer heard of our men. The 11 while most of our men were at the Isle, onely the Captaine and Master with five others being left in the ship, there came a great multitude of Saluages to the ship, throwing dust in the ayre, leaping and running like brute beasts, hauing vizards on their faces like dogs faces, or else their faces are dogs faces indeed. We greatly feared least they would set our ship on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereat we much maruelled: they came to windward of our ship, and set the bulkes on fire, so that we were in a very stinking smoke: but as soone as they came within our shot, we shot at them, & striking one of them in the thigh they all presently fled, so that we neuer heard nor saw moze of them. Whereby we iudged, that these Canibals had slaine our 9 men. When we considered what they were that thus were slaine, and found that they were the principall men that would haue murdered our Captaine & Master, with the rest of their friends, we saw the iust iudgement of God, and made supplication to his diuine Maiesty to be merciful vnto vs. While we were in this harborough, our Captaine and Master went with the boat to discouer how farre this riuer did run, that if neede should enforce vs to leaue our ship, we might know how farre we might go by water. So they found, that farther then 20 miles they could not go with the boat. At their returne they sent the boate to the Isle of Penguins; whereby wee understood that the Penguins dyed to our hearts content, and that the multitude of them was infinite. This Penguin hath the shape of a bird, but hath no wings, only two stumps in the place of wings, by which he swimmeth vnder water with as great swiftnes as any fish. They liue vpon smelts, whereof there is great abundance vpon this coast: in eating they be neither fish nor flesh: they lay great eggs, and the bird is of a reasonable bignes, very neere twise so big as a ducke. All the time that wee were in this place, we fared passing well with eggs, Penguins, pong Seales, pong Gullies, besides other birds, such as I know not; of all which we had great abundance. In this place we found an herbe called Scurupgrasse, which wee fried with eggs, vsing traine oyle in stead of butter. This herbe did so purge & blood, that it tooke away all kind of swellings, of which many died, & restored vs to perfecte health of body, so that we were in as good case as whē we came first out of England. We stayed in this harbour vntil the 22 of December, in which time we had dyed 20000 Penguins; & the Captaine, the Master, and my selfe had made some salt, by laying salt water vpon the rocks in holes, which in 6 daies would be kerner. Thus God did feed vs euē as it were with Manna fro heauen.

The 22 of December we departed with our ship for the Isle, where with great difficulcy, by the skilful industry of our Master we got 14000 of our birds, and had almost lost our captaine in labouring to bring the birds aboard: & had not our Master bene very expert in the set of those wicked tides, which run after many fashions, we had also lost our ship in the same place: but God of his goodnes hath in all our extremities bene our protector. So the 22 at night we departed with 14000 dyed Penguins, not being able to fetch the rest, and shaped our course for Brasil. Howe our captaine rated our victuals, and brought vs to such allowance, as that our victuals might last sixe moneths; for our hope was, that within sixe moneths we might recouer our countrey, though our sailes were very bad. So the allowance was two ounces & a halfe of meale for a man aday,

and

and to haue so twise a weeke, so that 5 ounces did serue for a weeke. Three daies a weeke we had
 oile, three spoonfulls for a man a day; and 2 dayes in a weeke peason, a pint betweene 4 men a day,
 and euery day 5 Penguins for 4 men, and 6 quartes of water for 4 men a day. This was our al-
 lowance; wherewith (we praise God) we liued, though weakly, and very feeble. The 30 of Ja-
 nuary we arriued at the Ile of Placencia in Brasill, the first place that outward bound we were at;
 and hauing made the shoale, our ship lying off at sea, the Captaine with 24 of the company went
 with the boat on shore, being a whole night before they could recouer it. The last of January at
 sun-rising they suddenly landed, hoping to take the Portugales in their houses, & by that meanes
 to recouer some Casau-meale, or other victuals for our reliefe; but when they came to the hou-
 ses, they were all razed, and burnt to the ground, so that we thought no man had remained on the
 Island. Then the captaine went to the gardens, & brought from thence fruits & roots for the com-
 pany, and came aboard the ship, and brought her into a fine creeke which he had found out, where
 we might moze her by the trees, and where there was water, and hoopes to trim our caske. Our
 case being very desperate, we presently laboured for dispatch away; some cut hoopes, which the
 coopers made, others laboured vpon the sailes and ship, euery man traouelling for his life, & still a
 guard was kept on shore to defend those that laboured, euery man hauing his weapon like wise by
 him. The 3 of February our men with 23 shot went againe to the gardens, being 3 miles from
 vs vpon the North shore, and fetched Cazani-roots out of the ground, to relieue our company in-
 stead of bread; for we spent not of our meale while we staid here. The 5 of February being moun-
 day, our captaine and master hasted the company to their labour; so some went with the Coopers
 to gather hoopes, and the rest laboured aboard. This night many of our men in the ship dreamed
 of murther & slaughter: In the morning they reported their dreames, one saying to another; this
 night I dreamt, that thou wert slaine; another answered, and I dreamed, that thou wert slaine;
 and this was general through the ship. The captaine hearing this, who like wise had dreamed ve-
 ry strangely himselfe, gaue very streight charge, that those which went on shore should take wea-
 pons with them, and saw them himselfe deliuered into the boat, & sent some of purpose to guard the
 labourers. All the forenoone they laboured in quietnesse, & when it was ten of the clocke, the heat
 being extreme, they came to a rocke neere the woods side (for al this countrey is nothing but thick
 woods) and there they hopped Cazani-roots, & dined: after dinner some slept, some washed them-
 selues in the sea, all being stripped to their shirts, & no man keeping watch, no match lighted, not a
 piece charged. Suddenly as they were thus sleeping & sporting, hauing gotten themselues into
 a corner out of sight of the ship, there came a multitude of Indians & Portugales vpon them, and
 slew them sleeping: onely two escaped, one very sore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we vn-
 derstood of this miserable massacre: with all speed we manned our boat, & landed to succour our
 men; but we found them slaine, & laied naked on a ranke one by another, with their faces upward,
 and a crosse set by them: and withall we saw two very great pinnelles come from the riuer of Je-
 nero very full of men; whom we mistrusted came from thence to take vs: because there came from
 Jenero souldiers to Santos, when the Generall had taken the towne and was strong in it. Of 76
 persons which departed in our ship out of England, we were now left but 27, hauing lost 13 in
 this place, with their chiefe furniture, as muskets, caliners, powder, & shot. Our caske was all in
 decay, so that we could not take in moze water then was in our ship, for want of caske, and that
 which we had was maruellous ill conditioned: and being there mozed by trees for want of cables
 and ankers, we still expected the cutting of our mozings, to be beaten from our decks with our
 owne furniture, & to be assailed by them of Jenero: what distresse we were now driuen into, I am
 not able to expresse. To depart with 8 tunnes of water in such bad caske was to sterue at sea, & in
 staying our case was ruinous. These were hard choises; but being thus perplexed, we made choise
 rather to fall into the hands of the Lord, then into the hands of men: for his exceeding mercies we
 had tasted, & of the others cruelty we were not ignorant. So concluding to depart, the 6 of Fe-
 bruary we were off in the chanell, with our ordinance & small shot in a readines, for any assault that
 should come, & hauing a small gale of winde, we recouered the sea in most deepe distresse. Then
 bemoning our estate one to another, and recounting ouer all our extremities, nothing grieved vs
 moze, then the losse of our men twise, first by the slaughter of the Canibals at Port Desire, and at
 this Ile of Placencia by the Indians and Portugals. And considering what they were that were
 lost, we found that al those that conspired the murthering of our captaine & master were now slain
 by saluages, the gunner only excepted. Being thus at sea, when we came to cape Frio, the winde
 was contrary; so that 3 weekes we were grievously bered with crosse windes, & our water consu-
 ming, our hope of life was very small. Some desired to go to Baya, & to submit themselues to the
 Portugales, rather then to die for thirst: but the captaine with faire perswasions altered their
 purpose

The Ile of Pla-
cencia in Brasill.

Ominous and
forewarning
dreames.

Thirteen men
lost at the Ile
of Placencia by
their owne ex-
treme negli-
gence.

Cabo Frio 30
leagues east off
the Ile of Pla-
cencia.

A most strange
and noisome
kind of worme
bred of unsal-
ted Penguins.

purpose of peelding to the Portugales. In this distresse it pleased God to send vs raine in such plenty, as that we were wel watered, & in good comfort to returne. But after we came neere vnto the sun, our dyed Penguins began to corrupt, & there bred in the a most lothsome & vgly worme of an inch long. This worme did so mightily increafe, and deuoure our victuals, that there was in reason no hope how we should auoide famine, but be deuoured of these wicked creatures: there was nothing that they did not deuoure, only yron excepted: our clothes, boots, shooes, hats, shirts, stockings: and for the ship they did so eat the timbers, as that we greatly feared they would vndoe vs, by gnawing through the ships side. Great was the care and diligence of our captaine, master, and company to consume these vermine, but the more we laboured to kill them, the more they increased; so that at the last we could not sleepe for them, but they would eate our flesh, and bite like Mosquitos. In this wofull case, after we had passed the Equinoctiall toward the North, our men began to fall sick of such a monstrous disease, as I thinke the like was neuer heard of: for in their ankles it began to swell; from thence in two daies it would be in their breasts, so that they could not draw their breath, and then fell into their cobs; and their cobs and pannes did swell most grievously, and most dreadfully to behold, so that they could neither stand, lie, nor goe. Whereupon our men grew mad with griefe. Our captaine with extreme anguish of his soule, was in such wofull case, that he desired only a speedie end, and though he were scarce able to speake for sorrow, yet he perswaded them to patience, and to giue God thanks, & like dutifull children to accept of his chastisement. For all this diuers grew raging mad, & some died in most lothsome & furious paine. It were incredible to write our misery as it was: there was no man in perfect health, but the captaine & one boy. The master being a man of good spirit with extreme labour boze out his griefe, so that it grew not vpon him. To be short, all our men died except 16, of which there were but 5 able to moue. The captaine was in good health, the master indifferent, captaine Cotton and myselfe swolne and short winded, yet better then the rest that were sicke, and one boy in health: vpon vs 5 only the labour of the ship did stand. The captaine and master, as occasion serued, would take in, and heaue out the top-sailes, the master onely attended on the sprit-saile, and all of vs at the capsten without sheats and tacks. In fine our miserie and weaknesse was so great, that we could not take in, nor heaue out a saile: so our top-saile & sprit-sailes were torne all in pieces by the weather. The master and captaine taking their turnes at the helme, were mightily distressed and monstrously grieved with the most wofull lamentation of our sick men. Thus as lost wanderers vpon the sea, the 11 of June 1593, it pleased God, that we arrived at Bear-hauen in Ireland, and there ran the ship on shore: where the Irish men helped vs to take in our sailes, and to moze our ship for floating: which slender paines of theirs cost the captaine some ten pounds before he could haue the ship in safetie. Thus without victuals, sailes, men, or any furniture God onely guided vs into Ireland, where the captaine left the master and three or foure of the company to keepe the ship: and within 5 dayes after he and certaine others had passage in an English fisher-boat to Padstow in Cornewall. In this maner our small remnant by Gods onely mercie were preserued, and restored to our countrey, to whom be all honour and glory world without end.

They arrive at
Bear-hauen in
Ireland the 11 of
June 1593.

The letters of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie sent in the yere 1596 vnto the great Emperor of China by M. Richard Allot and M. Thomas

Bromesfeld marchants of the citie of London, who were imbarqued in a fleet of 3 ships, to wit, *The Beare*, *The Beares whelpe*, and the *Beniamin*; set forth principally at the charges of the honourable knight Sir Robert Duddesley, and committed vnto the command and conduct of M. *Beniamin Wood*, a man of approoued skill in nauigation: who, together with his ships and company (because we haue heard no certaine newes of them since the moneth of February next after their departure) we do suppose, may be arrived vpon some part of the coast of China, and may there be stayed by the said Emperour; or perhaps may haue some treacherie wrought against them by the Portugales of *Macao*, or the Spaniards of the *Philippinas*.

ELizabetha Dei gracia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ & christianæ fidei contra omnes falsò Christi nomen profitentes inuidiissima propugnatrix &c. Altissimo, Serenissimoq; Principi, potentissimo magni regni Chinæ dominatori, summo in illis Asiæ partibus Insulisq; adiacentibus imperatori, & magno in orientalibus mundi regionibus Monarchæ, salutem, multosq; cum omni optimarum rerû copia & affluentia latos & felices annos. Cum honesti & fideles subditi nostri, qui has literas nostras ad serenitatem vestram perferunt, *Richardus Allot* & *Thomas Bromesfeld*, ciuitatis nostræ Londini in dicto nostro regno Angliæ mercatores, impensè a nobis efflagitauerint, vt eorum studia ad imperij vestri regiones

regiones (commercij gracia) nauigandi commendaremus: Cumq; regni vestri fortiter prudentiq; administrati fama, per vniuersam terrarū orbem disseminata & diuulgata, subditos hos nostros inuitauerit, non solum vt dominationis vestræ regiones inuisant, sed vt regni vestri legibus & institutis, dum in illis mundi partibus cōmorati fuerint, regendos se & moderandos permittant, prout mercatores decet, qui mercimoniorū commutandorum causa ad tam longē distitas, nec adhuc nostro orbi satis cognitās regiones, penetrare cupiunt, illud vnum spectantes, vt mercimonia sua, mercimoniorūq; quorundam, quibus ditionis nostræ regiones abundant, exemplaria quzdam siue specimina, serenitatis vestræ subditorumq; vestrorū conspectui offerant, & diligenter cognoscere studeant, si quæ aliæ sint apud nos merces quæ vestro vsui inseruiant, quas honesto & vbique terrarum licito commercij ritu alijs mercibus (quarum in imperij vestri regionib⁹, tam artis quam naturæ beneficio magna copia est) commutare possint. Nos exquisitis honestorum hominum precibus acquiescentes, quia nihil ex iustissimo hoc mercaturæ vsu incommodi siue dispendij oriturum, sed plurimū potius emolumentum vtriusq; regni tum principibus tum subditis prouenturum existimamus, dum earū rerum quibus abundamus exportatione, & aliarum quibus egemus inuentione, æquissimis precijs iuuari vtrinq; & locupletari possimus; Serenissimam Maiestatem vestram rogamus, vt subditis his nostris, cum mercimoniorum vendendorum & permutandorum gratia, ad imperij vestri stationes, portus, loca, oppida, ciuitates accesserint, eundi, redeundi, & cum subditis vestris negotiandi, plena & libera fiat potestas: Illisq; huiusmodi libertates, immunitates, & priuilegia, quæ aliorum principum subditis, apud vos mercaturam exercentibus, concedi solent, serenitatis vestræ clementia inuiolata conferuentur; & nos vicissim, non tantum omnia amicæ principis officia serenitati vestræ deferemus, sed ad maiorem communis inter nos subditosq; nostros amicitia & cōmercij propagationem, subditis vestris omnibus & singulis, si serenissimæ Maiestati vestræ ita visum fuerit, plenam & integram in ditionis nostræ quascunq; regiones veniendi, commorandi, negotiandi, & reuertendi, potestatem per præsentes has literas nostras libentissimè concedimus. Quæ omnia & singula regij nostri sigilli appositione communiri fecimus. Deus opt. max. cœli & terræ conditor, regiam Maiestatem vestram diutissimè seruet incolumem. Datz in Palatio nostro Grenouici xj. mensis Iulij Anno Christi 1596. annoq; nostri regni xxxviii.

The same in English.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, the most mightie defendresse of the true & christian faith against all that falsely professe the name of Christ &c. To the most high and soueraigne Prince the most puissant Gouvernour of the great kingdome of China, the chiefest Emperour in those parts of Asia and of the Islands adioyning, and the great monarke of the orientall regions of the world; wisheth health, and many ioyfull and happy yeeres, with all plenty and abundance of things most acceptable. Whereas our honest and faithfull subiects which bring these letters vnto your Highnesse, Richard Allot & Thomas Bromesfield, marchants of our citie of London in our foresaid kingdome of England, haue made most earnest suit vnto vs, that we would commend their desires and indeuours of sayling to the regions of your Empire for traffiques sake: whereas also the fame of your kingdome so strongly and prudently gouerned, being dispersed and published ouer the face of the whole earth, hath inuited these our subiects not onely to visite your Highnesse dominions, but also to permit themselves to be ruled and gouerned by the lawes and constitutions of your kingdome during the time of their aboad in those partes of the world, as it becommeth marchantes, who for exchange of marchandize are desirous to trauell vnto regions so farre distant and not hitherto sufficiently knowen vnto these nations of the world, hauing this regard onely, that they may present their wares and certaine examples of multers of diuers kinds of marchandizes, wherewith the regions of our dominions do abound, vnto the view of your Highnesse and of your subiects, & that they may indeuour to know, whether here be any other marchandize with vs fit for your vse, which (according to the honest & lawfull custome of traffique in all countreies) they may exchange for other commodities, whereof in the parts of your Empire there is great plentie both naturall and artificiall: We feeling vnto the most reasonable requests of these honest men, because we doe suppose that by this most iust intercourse of traffique, no inconuenience nor losse, but rather most exceeding benefite will rebound vnto the Princes and subiects of both kingdomes, while by the carrying forth of those commodities wherewith we abound, and the bringing home of others which we want, wee may on either side at most easie rates helpe and enrich one another; doe craue of your most soueraigne Maiestie, that these our subiects, when they shall come for traffiques sake vnto any the stations,

portes,

portes, places, townes or cities of your Empire, they may haue full and free libertie of egress and regress, and of dealing in trade of marchandize with your subiects; may by your Highnesse clemency most firmly enioy all such freedoms, immunities, and priuileges, as are vsually granted to the subiects of other Princes which exercise traffique in your dominions; and we on the other side will not onely performe all the offices of a well-willing Prince vnto your Highnesse, but also for the greater increase of mutuall loue and commerce between vs and our subiects, by these present letters of ours doe most willingly grant vnto all and euery your subiects (if it shall seeme good vnto your Highnesse) full and entire libertie vnto any of the partes of our dominions to resort, there to abide and traffique, and thence to returne. All and euery of which premisses we haue caused to be confirmed by annering hereunto our royall seale. God most mercifull and almighty, the Creator of heauen and earth, continually protect your kingly Maiestie. Given in our palace at Greenwich the 11 of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere of Christ 1596, and the eight and thirtie yeere of our reigne.

THREE SEVERALL TESTIMONIES CONCERNING the mighty kingdom of *Coray*, tributary to the king of *China*, and borthering vpon his Northeast frontiers, called by the Portugales *Coria*, and by them esteemed at the first an Iland, but since found to adioyne with the maine not many dayes journey from *Paqui* the Metropolitan citie of *China*. The more perfect discouery whereof and of the coast of *Tartaria* Northward may in time bring great light (if not full certaintie) either of a Northwest or a Northeast passage from *Europe* to those rich countries. Collected out of the Portugale Iesuites yeerely Iaponian Epistles dated 1590, 1591, 1592, 1594, &c.

The first testimony containing a resolute determination of *Vabaccondono* the great Monarch of all *Iapan*, to inuade and conquere *China* by the way of *Coray*, being a country diuided from the Iles of *Iapan* onely by an arme of the sea about twentie leagues broad, and abounding with victuals and all other necessities for the maintenance of the warres. Out of the Epistles of father Frier *Lewis Frois*, dated 1590.



Vabaccondono hauing subdued all the petie kingdomes of *Iapan*, in the yeere of our Lord 1590 (as father Frier *Lewis Frois* writeth in his *Iaponian Epistles* of the foresaid yeere) grew so proud and insolent that he seemed another *Lucifer*; so farre forth, that he made a solemne vow and othe, that he would passe the sea in his owne person to conquere *China*: and for this purpose hee made great preparations, saying, that since hee is become Lord of all *Iapan*, he hath nothing now to doe but to conquere *China*, and that although he should end his life in that enterprize, he is not to giue ouer the same. For he hopeth to leaue behinde him hereby so great fame, glorie, and renowne, as none may be comparable thereunto. And though hee could not conquere the same, and should end his life in the action, yet should he alwayes remaine immortall with this glorie. And if God doth not cut him off, it is thought verily, that hee will thoroughly attempt the same. And for his more secure passage thither, he is determined to leaue behinde him two *Gouernours* (after his maner) in the parts of *Miacó* with the administration of *Finqua*; and of those of his *Donarchie* he saith that he will take with him all the great *Iaponish* Lords, or at the least all his principall subiects, and leaue in his dominions such guard and garrisons as shall seeme best vnto him. And so hauing passed the winter, he meaneth to come to these partes of *Ximo*, for from hence he is to set forth his armie, & to passe to the land of *Coray*, which the Portugales call *Coria*, being deuided from *Iapan* with an arme of the sea. And although the Portugales in times past thought, that it was an Ile or Peninsula, yet is it firme lande, which ioyneeth vnto the kingdom of *Paqui*. And he hath now stricken such a terror with his name in the countrey of *Coray*, that the king thereof hath sent his ambassadoys hither to peeide vnto him a kind of homage, as he required; which ambassadoys are now in the city of *Miacó*. And by this Peninsula of *Coray* he may passe with his army by land in fewe dayes iourney vnto the citie of *Paqui*, being the principall citie where the king of *China* hath his residence. And as the *Chinians* be weake, and the people of *Iapan* so valiant and feared of them, if God doth not cut him off in this expedition, it may fall out according to his expectation.

Ximo.
Coray continēt
land with
Paqui.

From *Coray*
an armie may
passe by land
in fewe dayes
to *Paqui* the
chiefe citie of
China.

But

But whatsoeuer become of China, it is held for a certaintie, that his comming will cause great alterations in these partes of Ximo, especially in this kingdom of Figen, wherein are the principall domes of Arima and Omura, and all the force of our Christianity: and he told Don Protasio when he was with him once before, that he would make him a great man in China, and that he would remooue these lordes, and deliuer their governments vnto lordes that were Gentiles; which would be the ruine of all this Christianity; neither should we haue any place wherein to remaine. For, as it is the custome of Iapan in the alterations of estates and kingdoms (which they call Cuningaia) to remooue all the nobilitie and geniry, and to leaue onely the base people and labourers, committing them to the government of Ethnicks, wee shall hereby also leese our houses, and the Christians shall be disperfed with their lordes; whom sometimes he handleth in such sort, that he giueth them nothing to susteine themselves, and so they remaine with all their followers, as men banished, and vterly ruined.

The second Testimonie containing the huge leuies and preparations of Quabacondono; as also his warres and conquests, and the successe thereof in the kingdom of Coray. Together with a description of the same kingdom, and of their trafficke and maner of government: and also of the shipping of China, Iapan, and Coray, with mention of certaine isles thereunto adjacent, and other particulars very memorabile. Out of the Epistles of the aforesaid Father Fryer Luis Frois dated 1591, and 1592.

ABout this time Quabacondono determining to put his warre against China in execution, assembled sundry of his nobles and capitaines vnto whom he declared his intent: who, albeit they were all of a quite contrary opinion, yet all of them without any pretense of difficulty approued his determination. For he had giuen out that he would not abstaine from this warre, although his owne sonne should rise from death to life and request him; yea who soeuer would mooue any impediment or difficulty in that matter, hee would put him to death. Wherefore for certaine moneths there was nothing in all places to be seene, but prouision of ships, armour, munition, and other necessities for the warres. Quabacondono making a catalogue of all the lordes and nobles his subiects, willed euery one of them (not a man excepted) to accompany him in this expedition, inioynning and appointing to each one, what numbers they should bring. In all these kingdoms of Ximo he hath nominated 4 of his especiall fauourites; whom (to all mens admiration) he will haue to be heads ouer all these new kingdoms, notwithstanding that here are 4 others farre more mighty then they. Of whom (by Gods good prouidence) two are Christians, to wit, Augustine Eucunocaminondo gouernour of half the kingdom of Finga, & Cainocami the son of Quambioindono gouernour of the greater part of the kingdom of Bugen. The other two are Ethniques, namely Toranosuque gouernour of the halfe of the kingdom of Finga and Augustins mortall enemy; and Iconocami gouernour of the residue of the kingdom of Bugen, and an enemy both to Augustine and Cainocami. And Quabacondono hath commanded all the Christian lordes of Teximo to follow Christian gouernours. Whereupon the lord Protasius was there with 2000 souldiers; & Omurandono the lord of Ceuxima and Augustins sonne in law, which lately became a Christian, with a thousand. Also he appointed that the gouernours of Firando and Goto should follow Augustine, who albeit they were Gentiles, had many Christians to their subiects. Wherefore Augustine was to conduct 15000 souldiers, besides mariners, slaues, and other base people to cary the baggage of the army, all which being as great a number as the former, so soone as they arriued in the kingdom of Coray, were made souldiers, and bore armes. Vnto the said Augustine, Quabacondono, in token of singular fauour, granted the first assault or inuasion of the kingdom of Coray, to wit, that he onely with his forces might enter the same, the other lordes remaining in Ceuxima (which is 18 leagues distant from Coray) till they should bee aduertized from Augustine: which thing procured vnto Augustine great enuie and disbaite from them all; howbeit (as you shall forthwith vnderstand) it procured in the end most honourable vnto him. The other Christian gouernour Cainocami being but a yong man of 23 yeeres, he commanded the king of Bungo to follow with 6000 souldiers; so that with the 4000 which hee had before, his number amounted vnto 10000, besides mariners and others which caried burthens. This was muste to yf newes to vs, and to all the Christians. Of the Ethnick lordes Quabacondono appointed the gouernour of Riofogo together with Foranosuque to march with 8000: and likewise the king of Saceuma and Iconocami with as many. And amongst all he gaue the first and chiefe place vnto Augustine. All the other souldiers of Iapan hee caused to accompanie his owne person: the number of all together (as appeared out of a written catalogue) amounting to three hundred thousand persons; of whom two hundred thousand were souldiers.

The

A Description
of Coray.

The order prescribed in this whole armie was, that first they should make their entrance by the kingdom of Coray, which is almost an island, one ende whereof ioyneth vpon the maine lande of China; which though it be a seuerall kingdom of it selfe, yet is it subiect and tributarie vnto the king of China. And because this kingdom of Coray is diuided but by an arme of the sea frō Iapan, Quabacondono determined to subdue the same, for that it so aboundeth with victuals, that from thence he might the easier invade China. While all things were preparing, it was commanded, that at the chief port of Ximo called Nangoia, being twelue leagues distant from Firando, there should be erected a mightie great castle; where Quabacondono with all his fleet was minded to stay, till newes were brought of the successe of the aforesaid 4 gouernours or capitaines. Hee appointed also another castle to bee built in Fuchinoxima, which is another island situate betweene Nangoia and Ceuxima. And he built a third castle in Ceuxima, that his passage might be the more commodious. The charge of building these castles he imposed vpon the 4 aforesaid gouernours, and commanded the other lords of Ximo their associates to assist them; all which so applied that business, that in 6 moneths space it was wholly finished. The castle of Nangoia was enuironed with a double wall of square and beautifull stone, with broad and deepe ditches like vnto Miaco. The innermost wall being lesse then the other two was 100 fathom square, within the compasse whereof wer so many houses built both for the lordes, and their followers, and also for marchants shoppes, and victualers houses, distinguished with broad and direct streetes, that it seemed a faire towne. But (that which was much more admirable) all the way from Miaco to Nangoia, at the ende of euery dayes iourney, all the lords and gouernours, at the commandement of Quabacondono, built each one within his iurisdiction new and stately palaces from the ground, so that for 20 dayes together he lodged euery night with all his traine in one of those palaces. And because these things were done at the very same time when the expedition into the kingdom of Coray was in hand, all Iapan was so grievously oppressed (Quabacondono in the meane while being at no charges) as it was most intollerable. Yet is it incredible how ready euery one is to do him seruice: which appeareth by these magnificent stately buildings reared vp in so short a space, which in Europe would haue required a long time and huge expences. In the meane season it was commonly giuen out, that this enterprize of Quabacondono would haue most vnforsunate successe, as being a matter wrought by constraint, and that it would be an occasion of manifold dissensions in Iapan: for no man there was, but misliked of this warre: yea, all the lordes were in great hope, that some one man at length would step forth and restore their libertie; howbeit there is none as yet found, which dare put his had to that business. Wherefore they were all (though to their great griefe and lamentation) violently constrained to prosecute the enterprize. But Quabacondono being voyde of all anxiety, to the ende hee might encourage his followers, boasted that hee would make great alterations of kingdoms, and would bestow vpon them the kingdoms of Coray and China; and vnto the lord Proasius hee hath promised 3 kingdoms: but he with all the other lords giuing him great thanks, had much rather retaine a smal portion of their estate in Iapan, then to hunt after all those kingdoms which he promiseth.

And whereas Quabacondono had by proclamation published, that he would personally be present at Nangoia the 3 moone of this yeere; troups and armies of men began to resort from all the quarters of Iapan to these parts. Now were our afflictions renewed. For so long as Quabacondono remained at Miaco, we might stay in these parts of Ximo without any danger; but after he began to come this way, it seemed impossible for our state to continue whole and sound, and we were put into no small perplexitie. For the Christian lordes aduised vs, that sithence Quabacondono was come so nere, all our companie that liued in the Colledge, in the house of Probation, and in the Seminary, should depart to some other place. And the Christians from Miaco writ dayly vnto vs, that wee should pull downe our houses and Churches at Omura, Arima, and Canfaco, and that the fathers of Europe should return vnto Nangasacke in the secular habite of Portugals, but that the Iaponian Fryers should retire themselves vnto seuerall houses of Christians, that so they might al remaine safe and out of danger. But this remedy, as it was too grieuous and subiect to many difficulties, so did it afford vs but small comfort. In brief the Father visitor talking of this matter with Eucunocamindono, the lord Proasius, and Omurandono, before their expedition toward the kingdom of Coray, found them, as before, in the same fortitude of minde, being constant in their first opinion: neither would they giue any other counsel or direction, then that the fathers should keepe themselves secret, and should only forsake their houses at Arima, and Omura, wherein the Toni or great lordes would haue some of their kinsmen remaine. It was also thought convenient, that the number of the Seminary should bee diminished, and that of 90 there should onely remaine 50 in our scholes, namely such as studied the Latine tongue. With the Fa-
ther

ther Visicour there came vnto Nangasque certaine ffathers and ffriers, which were said to be of Fungo and Firando. For the sayde Father vnder the name of a Legate might retaine them with him moze openly.

About this time Quabacondono, that hee might with some pastime recreate his Nobles which accompanied him; and also might declare, with how great confidence and securitie of minde hee tooke vpon him this expedition for China; and likewise to obscure the most renowned fame of a certaine hunting and halwing performed of olde by that mightie Prince Ioritono, who was Emperour ouer all Iapan; hee determined to ordaine (as it were) another royall court of diuers kindes of fowle. Whereupon beeing accompanied with many great lordes and others, hee departed to the kingdome of Oiaren, where his game had so good successe, that hee caught aboue 30000. fowles of all sortes; amongst which were many falcons. Howbeit, for Quabacondono his greater recreation, and for the moze solemnitie of the game, there were also added many dead fowles, which the Iaponians with certaine poulders or compositions know how to preserve sweete in their feathers a long time. This game beeing ended, Quabacondono returned with great pompe vnto Miaco: before whom went great multitudes which carried those thousandes of fowles vpon gilded canes. Next after these followed many horsemen sumptuously attired, carrying a great number of Falcons and other birdes. After them were lead many horses by the reines, most richly trapped. Next of all were brought Colcis or Littiers very stately adorned: after which was carryed Quabacondono himselfe in a Littier of another fashion, like vnto those which in India are called Palanchins, which was made in China, with most curious and singular workmanship, and was presented vnto him by the Father Visicour, and seemed exceedingly to content him, for that in all actions of solemnitie hee vseth the same. Last of all followed a great troope of Princes and Nobles brauely mounted on horsebacke, and gorgeously attired, thereby the moze to delight Quabacondono, who in triumphant sort beeing welcomed by the way, with the shout and applause of infinite swarmes of people, entered the citie of Miaco.

It meane to keepe dead birds sweete in their feathers a long time.

Now when the time of sayling towardes China approached, Quabacondono determined first to proclayme his nephew Inangondono his successour, and gouernour of all Iapan, to the ende hee might supply his owne roome in the time of this warre. And therefore he commanded the Dairi to transerre vnto his sayd nephew the dignitie belonging to himselfe, calling him by the name of Taicusama, that is to say, Great lord. Which dignitie was in such sort translated, that albeit he assigned vnto his nephew large reuenues, together with that princely title, yet himselfe remained the very same that he was before. The day of the sayd translation being appointed, hee summoned all the Princes of Iapan to appeare, and to sweare obedience vnto this his nephew: Who with great pompe going vnto the Dairi to receiue that dignitie at his hande, had surrendered vnto him the Castle of Miaco, and the palaces of Quabacondono to dwell in.

Thus at the beginning of the third moone, he set forward on his iourney to Nangoia, hauing before giuen order, that Augustine should passe ouer into the kingdome of Coray, and that his other Captaines should remayne in Ceuxima. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the third Moone hee came vnto Nangoia, where the companies of the other lordes beeing numbered, were founde to bee 200000. persons, besides those that were conducted by the foure sayde gouernours. In the meane season Augustine with his forces, and with a Fleet of eight hundred Ships, arrived at Coray. In whose armie the lord Protasius excelled all others; for though hee had but the leading of 2000. souldiers, yet for the goodnesse of his armour, and the beautie of his ships, he was admired of all men. At their very first entrance they wonne 2. castles of the kingdome of Coray by maine force, wherein the Corayans reposed great confidence; for they were enuironed with mighty high walles, and defended with great multitudes of souldiers, and with a kinde of gunnes of 2. spannes and $\frac{1}{2}$. long, which in stead of bullets discharged with a terrible noise wooden arrowes headed with forked pointes of yron: but the sayd gunnes beeing able to hurt but a small distance off, and the Iaponians being furnished with brazen ordinance vnknewen vnto the Corayans, they presently braue them from their walles, and with ladders made for the same purpose of great canes, they forthwith scaled the same, and planted their ensignes thereon; the Corayans indeed for a short time making resistance, but after a while betaking themselves to dishonorable flight, 5000 men of their part being slaine, and of Augustines but 100. and 400. wounded. Augustine perceiuing that the Corayans could not endure any long assault, determined to take vpon himselfe, and his armie the whole burthen and honour of this warre, and not staying for the gouernours his associates, to march by into the heart of the kingdome, and to

A Fleet of 800. ships.

Short gunnes charged with forked arrowes.

CCCC

the wife of King Agoy

The significance
of Miaco.

the principall City; unto which determination all the lordes that were with him gaue their consent. This was (no doubt) a bolde, yea, and in some sort, a rash enterprize of Augustine: but yet it argueth a wise and valiant minde in him. But this long delay was so greivous to the Captaines which in Ceuxima expected the successe of the warre, that before they heard any newes at all concerning the surprize of the two Castles, they brought Augustine in suspicion among their friends, that hee ambitiously affected the honour of the whole warre. Which thing being knowne unto Quabacondono, he was so troubled in mind euen before he came to Nangoia, that suddenly hee commaunded the other Captaines to set sayle from Ceuxima. But when Quabacondono was come to Nangoia, and heard newes of the two Castles taken, and that Augustine pursuing the victorie proceeded on to wards the Miaco, that is to say, The kingly citie of Coray, and was determined to inuade the same also (all which Augustine himselfe wrote, and requested him to send the other captaines and commanders to assaile the kingdom on all sides, and to furnish the castles which he had taken and should take, with garisons of souldiers, because as yet he had not men enough to hold those fortresses which he had wonne) he was surprized with such unspeakable joy, as he affirmed openly, that in all Japan he had no subject comparable to Augustine: and that neither Nabunanga, nor himselfe euer knewe any man indued with so valiant and couragious a mind. I (saith he) knowing against whom and with what forces I waged warre, subdued by little and little all Japan unto me: but Augustine in so short a time and with so small forces, hath boldly set his foote in a forren region, and with most glorious victorie hath subdued the mightie kingdom of Coray. Wherefore (quoth he) I will reward him with many kingdoms, and will make him next unto my selfe the greatest Prince in all Japan. Hee added farther, that now his owne sonne seemed to be risen from the death; and that whosoever durst either disgrace or extenuate the deedes of Augustine, he would grievously punish him, not respecting whether hee did it vpon reason or malice. By this speech the name and report of Augustine grew so honourable amongst all men, that those which most enuied his estate, durst not speake one ill worde of him, but highly commended him before Quabacondono.

The length
and breadth of
Coray.

This kingdom of Coray extendeth in length about 100. and in breadth 60. leagues. And albeit the inhabitants in nation, language, and strength of body (which maketh the people of China to dread them) be different from the Chinians, yet because they pay tribute to the king of China, and exercise traffique with his subjects, they doe after a sort imitate the Lawes, apparell, customs, and gouernement of the Chinians. They border on one side vpon the Tartars, and other nations, with whom sometimes they haue peace, and sometimes warre: but with the Chinians they haue continuall peace. They are speciall good bow-men; but at other weapons, because they haue but few, and those bad, they are nothing so skilfull. Wherefore they are not comparable to the Iaponians, who by reason of their warres are continually exercised in armes, and are by nature more couragious and valiant, being furnished with pike-pieces, with lances, and with excellent swordes. Onely in shipping they are inferiour to the Corayans and Chinians, by reason of the hugeness of their Ships which they vse vpon the sea. Wherefore, if they were to toyne battels by sea, there is no doubt but that both the foresayde Nations would be too hard for them. But now because they knewe nothing of the coming of the Iaponian armie, or for that they doubted that their sea-forces were the stronger, or els because God was determined to punish them, he suffered them to be destitute of all the defence of their shipping, so that the Iaponians without any resistance landed vpon their dominions.

The people of
Coray and Chi-
na stronger in
shipping, then
they of Iapan.

Now the fame of Augustines victorie causing the armie notably to increase, and the Mariners, and many others which carped burthens (as they were trained by in warre from their childehood) bearing armes, while the Corayan captiues supplied their baser offices: so great a terrour possessed all the people of Coray where Augustine came, that all the castles and fortresses which hee passed by were forsaken by their garisons, and all men fled for refuge to the principall city. And while other commanders and Christians sent from Ceuxima and Nangoia shaped their course for Coray, Augustine had pitched his campe neere vnto the foresaid principall citie: of the which being come within 3. dayes iourney, he was encountered by 20000. men; whom at the very first assault, hauing slaine 3000. of them, hee put to flight. But appoaching very neere vnto the citie, and hauing passed a riuer, hee maintained a valiant conflict at a certaine narrow passage against 80000. Corayans, 8000. whereof were slaine, and a great number drowned in the riuer. Here while Augustine appointed all his troopes to remayne for two dayes, to the end they might somewhat refresh their wearie limmes, the king of Coray seeing himselfe besieged by his enemy, and that many other Iaponian lordes with strong armies inuaded his kingdom on all sides, determined to haue his citie strengthened with garisons, and to retire himselfe into the in-land of China.

The king of
Coray fleeth
out of his prin-
cipall citie.

China. Which by reason of the abundance of horses that he had, he was able right commodiously to performe. Whereupon the second or third day after, Augustine without any resistance entered the head-city, being presented with great store of victuals and gifts by them that remained therein. Thus Augustine, with other captaines his associates, became lord of the principall citie, and wonne all the honour of the victorie vnto himselfe: for albeit by this time the other captaines were come from Ceuxima, and many from Nangoia, yet they found all things performed to their hands.

Quabacondono being aduertised of this second victorie, yielded as much honour vnto Augustine as he could possibly deuise, speaking so highly to the commendation both of him, and of other Captaines his associates, as if but the tenth part of his faire promises come to effect, they shall be farre greater then they are, and Augustine (next vnto himselfe) shall be the principall person in all Iapan. And now he is become so famous in the Court, and throughout the whole kingdome of Iapan, that at all their meetings and assemblies there is no talke but onely of the valour and fortitude of Augustine, who in twentie dayes space hath subdued so mightie a kingdome to the Crowne of Iapan. And all the Nobles account him a most happy man, being astonished at the immortal renoume which he hath attained vnto by this exploit: yea, and Quabacondono sent forth with vnto him, as vnto the conquerour and vanquisher of the Corayans, in token of great honour, a two-edged sword and a horse, which among the Iaponians is a pledge of the most peerlesse honour that can possibly be done to a man: and this very gift did Nabunanga in times past send vnto Quabacondono, when hee had in any battell wonne any kingdome from Morindono. And by this great euent the power of the Christians God, and his prouidence towards his childe is knowne not onely to the Christians, but euen to the very Ethnicks themselves, for that in the heate of such extreme persecution it hath pleased his diuine Maiestie to lay the honour of all this warre vpon Christian lords. Wherefore we doubt not, but they will proue more mighty and famous then euer they were.

Hence it cometh to passe that the Portugals ship come from China, hath wintered in Iapan: by which occasion the presence of the father Visitor hath bene a great comfort not onely to vs, but to all the other Christians, who in regarde of the departure of so many men with Quabacondono and his captaines to the warres, thought they should haue bene left utterly forsaken and destitute, had not the father Visitor, in whom they reposed all their confidence, remayned here. But the singular prouidence and loue of God towards vs appeared in this, that hee would haue the sayd ship, contrary to their vsuall custome, to winter in Iapan. For when Quabacondono hauing obtained that victorie, was determined to returne vnto Ximo, they were all shrowded vnder the protection of the foresayd father; who hearing that hee was entered into Nangoia, caused Frier Iohn Rodoriguez and the gouernour of the Portugall ship to salute and welcome him. For the Christians of Miacó, which succeeded in their roomes that went for Coray, aduised him in their letters so to doe.

And it was very acceptable to Quabacondono to see the Portugals captaine General attended vpon by so many Portugals sumptuously attired, and comming with so many shippes in the company of Frier Iohn Rodoriguez: and hee asked the frier how the father Visitor did: And whether the presents to the Vice-roy liked him: As also, that hee tooke it in very good part that the father had wintered in Iapan, and that the frier should stay with him. Afterward writing an answer to the father, he declared therein the great fauour which he doze to the captaine of the ship. Whom, hauing familiarly entertained him for the space of 2. houres, hee dismissed with euident tokens of good will. After the Captaines returne, Frier Rodoriguez staying behinde about a moneth, attempted very often to speake with Quabacondono, of whom hee was alwayes most kindly vsed. Afterward by reason of sicknesse hee returned to Nangasacke; whereupon Quabacondono demanded why he was not cured at the same place where himselfe remained: Iacuinio answered, that heeing a stranger, hee was to bee cured with such diet and medicines, as were not there to bee had: with which answer hee was satisfied. Hence it is, that by often conferences which were made by reason of the ambassage, Quabacondono waxeth euery day more courteous and affable. And yet for all this, new occasions of troubles and afflictions are not cut off: for certaine it is, that Quabacondono hath giuen out, that if he haue good successe with his warre against China, he will make great alterations of estates, in assigning the kingdomes of Coray and China to the Christian princes, and placing in their roomes Ethnick lordes throughout Iapan: which thing might rebound to the ruine and destruction of all Christians heere, neither should the Christians finde in Iapan any place of refuge. And albeit Augustine had certainly informed the father Visitor of the sayde alteration of estates, and Iacuinio

had written unto Augustine, that Quabacondono had fully determined to alter the states or governments of Ximo, and so consequently the state of Augustine, and of the Christian princes of Arima and Omura; yea, and that the said two princes had notice thereof: yet almighty God with the eyes of his infinite mercy hath vouchsafed to regard the prayers of his faithful servants (who for this cause were most perplexed and sorrowfull) and to provide this remedie following.

The Corayans having intelligence, that their king and the forces which hee carried with him were in safety, went the greatest part of them, with as much victuals as they could get, and hidde themselves in the mountains and woods, remaining there with such hate and indignation against the Iaponians, that with promise of safe conduct they could by no meanes be drawn out of their starting holes. Wherefore albeit the Iaponians have all the castles and places of defence in their owne possession, yet because they want people to till the ground, and to doe them other necessary services, they cannot chuse but forgoe all that which they have woon. Moreover, the common high wayes are so pestered with thieves and murderers, that unless the Iaponians march in whole troopes all together, they are suddenly oppressed with swarms of Corayans issuing forth of the woods. Many of the Corayans also have retired themselves unto the neighbour islands, from whence with numbers of great ships, to the mighty losse of the Iaponians, they assaile their small and weake ones, and have already sunke many of them. Wherefore all the Iaponian lords which remaine in Coray have written unto Quabacondono, that his army must for a certaine time in no wise remoue from the place where it is, for auoyding of such imminent dangers as in proceeding further it may incurre. Upon these aduertisements Quabacondono being ready to take his journey to Coray, to diuide the whole kingdom, was hindered from his purpose, and sent most friendly letters to all his nobles, willing them to be of good cheere, for that he would not deale about altering of their estates, till 3. yeres were expired: whereupon they were eased of exceeding great care and griefe. For albeit there is no great trust to be giuen to his wordes, yet we hope that this yere he wil not meddle: what he wil doe afterward, God knoweth. In Coray at this present there are about 200000. Iaponian souldiers, who at the commandement of Quabacondono are diuided throughout the whole kingdom. Augustine lieth vpon the very extreame frontiers of China: but because the Chinians are separated from the kingdom of Coray with a mighty riuer of 3. leagues broad, and abound with great ships, and haue planted innumerable troopes of men vpon the shore, the successe of the warre remaineth most doubtfull and vncertaine. Neither doe wee know whether the Iaponians will proceede any farther this yere or no.

Islands neere
vnto Coray.

A mighty ri-
uer of 3. leagues
broad.

The third testimony of Coray, signifying (amongst other notable and politicall obseruations) the later successe of the warres of Iapan against Coray; and to what end Quabacondono still mainteineth garisons in that kingdom. Out of the Epistles of Father Organtino Brixiano, bearing date from Iapan Anno 1594.

The whole Empire of Iapan is now in the handes of this king Quabacondono: and (which hath not bene knowne since the first creation thereof) there is not the breadth of one foote throughout all the whole Island, which is not absolutely subiect vnto him. And hee reigneth in so great peace and tranquillitie, that if his successors follow the same course of government, there is no likelihood of future sedition or perturbation in any of the kingdoms. And doubtles the meanes which he vseth to establish continuall peace and concord among the Iaponians, are very great and effectuell.

One is, that after he hath passed his publique promise, he neuer putteth any of his aduersaries to death, which his predecessor Nabunanga performed not: for he hauing subdued any kingdom, would put all the lords and gouernours to the sword. But this king granteth vnto them not only life, but also yerely reuenues, whereby to maintaine themselves in an honest and meane estate: in which regarde they all rest contented, and willingly submit themselves.

Another is, in that he hath brought the husbandmen and peasants (by whose assistance & wealth all the petty-kingdoms were after a sort sustained) vnto such extreme pouerty, that they haue scarce wherewithall to keepe life and soule together: as likewise hee hath bereaued them of all kinde of weapons.

The third is, because hee hath most streighly forbidden all contentions, seditions, frapes, and skirmishes. If of whosoever be found culpable of this crime, they dye euery man of them on both parties. If any escape by flight, their kinsfolks are punished in their stead; and for lacke of them, their seruants; and for default of both, their next neighbours. If many were guilty, many are puni-

shed

shed and suffer death : but hence it cometh to passe, that many innocent persons are constrained to die. And this severitie is the cause, why there are at this present so seldome frapes and contentions in Iapan.

The fourth is, that in administering of iustice hee is most upright, without all respect either to his owne kinred, or to his ancient captaines, or the blood royall, or any of the Bonzj, hee they neuer so famous : and being once aduertized of a crime, hee pardoneth no man. And albeit himselfe is exceedingly addicted to women, yet will he permit none of his subiects to haue any concubines. For which cause not many dayes agoe, hee banished a Bonzio of great wealth, being in alliance and dignitie most neere unto himselfe. And being informed that all the Bonzj of Miaco kept concubines, hee would haue put them all to death, had not the gouernour of Miaco promised, that hee would undertake to keepe them from offending any more in that kinde. Wherefore hee caused all the Bonzj euery moneth to bee swoyne, that they should liue honestly vpon paine of death : as also hee hath swoyne the heads or superiours of all their religious houses vnder paine of death, to giue vp their names whom they most suspect of the foresayd crime. Hence it is, that all of them (if you regard their outward estate) liue in extreme feare.

The fift is, for that hee suffereth none of his souldiers, nor his great lordes to liue in idleness. If there be no warres for their employment, hee occupieth them in building of stately palaces, and in raising new fortresses, or in repairing and strengthening of olde, and also in performing other notable workes, to the ornament of Iapan, and to his owne lasting honour. So that at this present neere vnto Miaco there are thirtie thousand men employed about the building of one castle ; and in the citie of Bozacca about an hundred thousand : which employments afforde them neither place nor time to practise any rebellions.

The sixt is his altering of gouernments : for hee remooueth his gouernours from one extreme part of Iapan to another.

The seuenth, for that vnto his souldiers (besides the ordinarie pay continually allotted vnto them for their seruice) in time of warre hee alloweth victuals at his owne costes. Wherof it cometh to passe, that hee effecteth whatsoeuer hee thinkes good by their meanes. Neither hath hee hitherto waged any warre, wherein his enimie was not vanquished, according to his owne desire : this late warre of China onely excepted, which farre surmounted all his forces. Howbeit in the kingdome of Coray hee maintaineth as yet great garisons, as well to keepe his honour, as to constrain the Chintians to sue for peace.

The warre of
Iapan against
Coray and
China.

The eighth is, in that hee curbeth and restraineth persons of ambitious and aspiring mindes, who (as hee coniectureth) after his death might worke some inuouations in the common wealth, or disturbe the kingdomes.

The ninth is, because hee hath on no side within foure or fise dayes iourney of Miaco, any mightie or industrious captaine or gouernour.

The tenth and last is, for that hee hath brought his yeerely rcuenues to two millions of gold. By these courses and meanes, wee are in good hope that firme peace will bee established in all these kingdomes, and also that a fit way will be prepared, for the conuersion of all the great lordes vnto Christian religion.

A briefe note concerning an extreme Northerne prouince of Iapan called *Zuegara*, situate thirtie dayes iourney from *Miaco*, which argueth the Isle of Iapan to be of greater extension Northward, then it is ordinarily described in maps, or supposed to be : together with mention of a certaine nation of Tartars called *Iezi* inhabiting on the maine to the North of *China*, neuer heard of in these parts before : taken out of an Epistle written 1596 from Iapan by Fryer *Luis Frois* vnto *Claudius Aquapina*, &c. Printed in Latine at *Mentz* in *Germanie* 1599.



At many dayes ago was baptized a certaine honourable personage called Iohn Vongui the sonne of Taigarandono, who is gouernour of a certaine pryncedome situate on the borders of Iapan towarde the North, being distant from Miaco thirtie dayes iourney.

And after a fewe lines it followeth.

This Taigorandono being the most Northerly gouernour in all Iapan hath traffique with the *Iezi*, who are a nation of Tartars, which from the maine continent resort vnto the Isle of *Mateumai*, being about twelue or fiftene leagues distant from the foresayd Northerly pryncedome of *Zuegara* ; where they sell fishes, the skinnies of beasts, and certaine herbes of the

The Isle of
Mateumai.

Tezi a nation
of Tartars
dwelling on
the continent
to the North
of China using
cloth.

sea used by the Japonians for foode, with other such like commodities. On the other side the said Iezi Tartari buy of the Japonians, cloth to make them garments, with weapons and other instruments. These Tartars (they say) are a most barbarous kinde of people, of a browne colour, with long haire on their heads and beardes like the Moscouites: they liue by hunting and fishing, and neglect husbandry. This Northerly principedome of Zuegara (as the sayd gouernour reported to our Fathers) aboundeth with excellent grapes both black and white, which without the labour of man grow naturally in all places, and he promised the Fathers to bring some of these vines to Miaco, that they might be planted there.

Aduertisements touching the shippes that goe from Siuil to the Indies of Spaine: together with some notes of the Contractation house in Siuil.

The Pilot.

Our Pilot must be examined in the Contractation house, and allowed by such as be appointed for the examination of Pilots, that hee be a sufficient man to take the charge in hand, and that which belongeth thereunto, and to gouerne and lead the same ship directly by his onely commandement to such ports as are conuenient for the voyage that hee taketh in hand.

The Master.

You must haue a Master, that must giue in sureties to the value of 6000 dukats: and such as be his sureties must be landed men, and their lands worth to the value of that summe aforesayd, if the sayd ship be betweene three or foure hundred tunnes. And if hee be more or lesse of burthen, then he must giue sureties of a greater summe or lesse, according to the proportion of her burden.

He shall in all his voyage giue a iust and true account of all such goods, and marchandizes, as shall in all that voyage come into the ship: as also of such plate and money, as shall be registred in the Kings Register, appertaining to the King, or any other particuler marchant: and if any default be, hee or his sureties are to pay all such losses as thereof shall growe: as also to see the mariners payed well and truly, the third part of all such freightes, as the sayde shippe shall get going and coming.

The Purser.

The ship being freighted by her merchants, the Master shall take order that there be sufficient mariners aboard her to take in such lading from time to time, as the marchant shall send to her: And also the Purser must be a man sufficient of abilitie to take, & to giue account of all such goods, marchandize, silver and golde, as shall come in and out of the sayd shippe that present voyage, as also giue sureties of 1500 dukats at the least to come backe from the Indies in the said shippe, and not to tarrie there, if hee liue.

A Romager.

The Master must prouide a perfect mariner called a Romager, to raunge, and bestow all marchandize in such place as is conuenient: and that it be not put in place, where it may perish for lack that it be not fast, sure, and drie, according to the qualitie and forme of the sayd marchandize.

The Masters mate.

When it is all bestowed, and the shippe able to beare no more, then a mariner called the Counter-master, or Masters mate, hath charge to locke fast the hatches, that none of the marchants wines, or oyles, or any other kind of marchandize be robbed or spoiled by the mariners. And if it fortune that any be so spoiled, then the mariners are to pay for it out of the third part of all the whole freight of the shippe that doth appertaine to the sayd marchants.

The chiefe
Judges of the
Contractation
house.
Visitors being
skilfull maris-
ners.
The names
and markes of
men taken.

The shippe being laden, goeth to the port wherehence she saileth to goe towards the Indies called S. Lucar, and there one of the chiefe Judges of the Contractation house cometh downe to dispatch the shippes that goe together in that flecte. And that Judge goeth aboard euery ship, and with him hee doth carrie an expert mariner or two called Visitors of the shippes, to know whether the sayd shippe or ships be well tackled: whether they haue men sufficient: and in euery ship euery mans name is taken, and if he haue any marke in the face, or hand or arme, it is written by a Notarie (as well as his name) appertaining to the Contractation house, appointed for these causes. Also the Master is bound to bring backe euery mariner againe, and to leaue none behinde him there, vpon great paines, vntill he be a passenger appointed by the King at the court, and bringeth his licence from thence for the same purpose.

The Pragmatica
or orders of
the Contracta-
tion house.

The ship must be well appointed with ordinance of brasse, and yron, according to The orders of their house, of that there must want nothing, and euery ship is appointed according to her burthen in all kinde of artillerie, as peeces of brasse and yron, hand-guns, croshowes, pikes, swords, daggers, targets, and for all ordinance double shot, with powder, with new cables and ankers sufficient for the voyage. And moreouer it is ordeined, that the shippes haue double sailes, that is, that they be thorowly sayled, and moreouer all newe sayles of fore-sayle, and maine-sayle, of coarse, and

and bonnet netwe made, and kept in some dryefat or chest in the same ship; that if the weather take the one from them, the other may be in readines.

Euery ship must haue their master sworne before the sayd Judge of the Contratacion, that all this is in a readinesse in the shippe, as also so many netwe pipes of fresh water, so many buttes of good rackt wine, so many kintals of bread, so many iarrs of oyle, so many iarrs of Boijas of vineger, so much flesh, so much fish, and such quantitie of euery kinde of victuall, as the burthen of the shippe requireth, wherein euery shippe according to her greatnesse is appointed by The ordinances of the house: Also so many gunners, so many mariners, so many gromettes, so many pages, and so many souldiers. Then all these aforesaide matters being vnder Register by the notarie and all things prepared for the voyage, the Judge doeth command the masters to hoyle vp the yards acrosse vnto the howndes of the mastes; and many times, if they perceiue the shippe to be walty and ouerladen, as many couetous masters doe, then hee hangeth the boates in the fore and maine tackle, to see whether the sayd shippe will make any helde downewarde, in laying downe her side: if she doe helde, he commandeth bakes abourd, to discharge her of such lading, as is thought to be too much in her: and there can no ship depart before they cary the Register of the said Judges, howe that shee goeth by their order: and euery shippe carieth her owne Register, and in the Register the quantitie of al the goods that are laden in her, and if there be any more goods, they be forsayted in the Indies, both shippe and goods.

Proportion of victuals vpon oyle.

The Register of euery ship.

The masters are bound to keepe the course that the Admiral doeth leade, and euery shippe to follow her, and shee must goe alwayes in the Sea before all the rest of the flecte, and by night cary light that all may knowe where she goeth. The viceadmirall must come behinde all, and so euery shippe in the flecte before her: if any be ill of sayle, all are bounde to sit their sayles in such order, that they goe no faster then she doeth.

The two ships of waite to waite the flect in time of peace.

The Admiral and the viceadmirall goe neuer but halfe laden, but very well armed of men, and artillery, three times double and more then any of the other haue: because they may help to defend all the rest, if neede doe require: and the dead freight of these two shippes is alwayes boine vpon the whole goods that are laden in the flecte, as also at the least there be two hundred souldiers in euery of these two shippes besides the mariners, great gunners, gromettes, and other officers.

Note.

The voyages bee so appointed, that alwayes they goe and come in the best of Summer, and bee there all the winter in the ports to discharge their lading and recharge backe againe.

The ships that are Admirall and viceadmirall be neither the greatest nor the smallest shippes, but of 3 hundredeth or 4 hundredeth tonnes at the most: but they be very good saylers, and strong, chosen for the purpose, to sayle well and to beare good store of ordinance. In these two shippes are alwayes going and coming, two good knights men of warre, and Captaines and souldiers expert in the warres.

A Captaine in euery ship.

And in euery other ship is a Captaine, which ruleth in all causes of controuersie, or fights in the seas; the Pilot directeth onely in gouernment and leading the shippe to her port.

All the Captaines, Masters, Pilots, Maryners, and passengers, and all others bee obedient to the two shippes, so appoynted to passe: they doe, as in all other commandements what is by them appoynted, hauing power to hang, or doe any iustice vpon any man, as to them seemeth good at sea, and this is the last commandement vpon payne of death, if the General please.

Concerning the Contractation house, there are therein five Judges of the highest sort.

Five Judges.

There are visitours of shippes, as it is sayd before, to see whether the ships goe in order well, and sufficient in al things: and what manner of men the Masters of the ships and Pilots are, whether they be able to answere to all such articles, as the reader is able to obiecte vnto them, in matters of Nauigation: if they be not found sufficient, they are not admitted to take charge.

Four visitours. The reader of the arte of Nauigation.

The master must knowe whether the ship be sufficiently calked, tackled, and furnished in all things accordingly, as with mastes, sayles, cables, anklers, and all other necessary furniture: that at such time as any of the high iudges with their ordinary visitours appointed for such causes doe come, there be nothing found out of order or lacking, according to The booke of orders, which euery shippe proportionable to her burthen ought to haue, which is not vnknewen to any of the masters, being in writing common among them: and all the charge giuen to the Master and Pilot serueth onely to conduce the ship from port to port.

The booke of orders, called in Spanisly Pragmatica, common in writing among the masters.

The counter Master, or masters mate is obedient in all things whereunto hee shall bee commanded by the master and Pilote, and at his commandement are all the maryners of the ship.

The shippes commonly goe deeper laden from Spaine, then our shippes doe in any voyage.

The

The order of the *Carena* giuen to the ships that go out of *Spaine*, to the *Indies*.

The shippe of what burthen soeuer shee bee must giue a *Carena*, as they call it in the Spanish tongue, which is in English, shee must be thoroughly calked, and fortified, as well with carpenters to set knees into her, and any other timber & appertaining to the strengthening of a shippe, as with calking: which is to put occam into her sides; and that kinde of calking is not vsed, as ours is here in England: but first before they put in any threede of occam, they with certaine crooked yrons, with an hammer in one hande, and the crooked yron in the other, doe forcibly pull out all the olde threede that hath bene in the shippe the voyage before, and so driue in new.

Calking with
rhime plates
of lead.

If the seame of the shippe be worne to any bredth, as many olde shippes be, by reason of often raking them, vpon that seame there is clapt a piece of caste leade, nayled vpon the calking, and seame with spectall nayles, which leade is cast a handes bredth, and as thinne as may bee for the same purpose, and at every voyage it is taken off and renewed, and by that meanes their shippes are very stanch a yeere or two.

The Calker or
Carenero.

The *Carenero* or the Calker doeth giue in suerties, that if the shippe so cast ouer, as they doe commonly vse to cast them, in such sort as any man may goe drie vpon the keele, as I haue done, and without any butte, pipe, or any other kinde of timber vnder her sides, more then with counter-poyze of stones in her, made within certaine timber as though it were a chesse; and with the stones the *Carenero* doeth bring her as hee will, high and low, leaning, or rpling: and if shee miscarrie in her *Carena*, then is the *Carenero* bound, if it bee either by fire, water, or sinking, or any other misfortune, to pay for the valew of the ship.

The *Carena* of a shippe of one hundred tunnes being done so substantially as they vse to doe it, will cost two hundred Duckets, of two hundred tunnes, foure hundred Duckets, of three hundred tunnes, sixe hundred Duckets, and so according to the greatnesse of the shippe.

It would be done here in England for one third part of the money, by reason that the necessities that goe to it are better cheape here by much, and the calkers farre better cheape by two parts.

This *Carena* may not be giuen at any hand but in a riuer where no tempest can arise, as in this riuer of London in such a place, where at all times the sayd ship may ride as close as it may not be done in any dangerous harbour, where the winde may bring by the waues of the Sea, neither where the Sea may heaue and set.

The calking of Siuill is so substantially done, that in one day one calker doeth not thoroughly calke past one yarde and an halfe in one seame, or two pades at the most, and to that he doeth, the master calker is at hand to ouersee him, and this done, the *Carenero* doeth with his ballast set her upright, and so shee beginneth to lade.

Examen de los maestros y Pilotos, que nauegan en las flotas de *Espanna* para las *Indias* del mar oceano, escrito por *Pedro Dias Piloto*, natural de la Isla de la Palma. 1586.

Alonso de Chi-
nuez Piloto ma-
yor.



Rimeramente pide al Piloto mayor, que es al presente Alonso de Chinuez, que lo admita al examen, por quanto es natural y suficiente para ello.

Manda el Piloto mayor, que haga enformacion, de como es marinero, y platico de aquella parte, de que se quiere examinar. Luego presenta cinco o seis testigos de los Pilotos examinados, de como es buen marinero, y suficiente para ser Piloto, y como es natural de los Reynos De *Espanna*; y que no es de casta de Moro, ni Iudeo, ni Negro.

Rodrigo Zamora-
no Cathedra-
tico.

Y hecha la enformacion, presenta la al Piloto mayor. Y visto el Piloto maior la enformacion ser buena, manda que el Cathedratigo Rodrigo Zamorano lo admira a la Cathedra. Y alli se juntan a vezes quatorze o quinze que pretendē examinar, y acuden alli a vna casa, que El Cathedratigo tiene para aquello efeto, a las ocho de la manana, y estan dos oras, y otras dos a la tarde. El Cathedratigo tiene por costumbre de leer en la Cathedra vna ora, y otra ora ocupan en preguntarse los vnos a los otros muchas cosas conuenientes a la arte de nauegar en presencia del Cathedratigo. Y el que no responde a proposito, El Cathedratigo le emienda, y le dize de la manera que es cada cosa. Y este estudio dura dos meses, en los quales no ha de saltar de ir dos vezes al dia, como tengo dicho.

Y de-

Y despues de auer oido la Cathedra estos dos meses, van a la Sala del Examen, que es en la La Sala del examen. Contratacion. Y alli esta el Piloto mayor, y los de mas pilotos, qui son por lo menos veinte cinco: y alli estando todos assentados por su orden, manda el Piloto mayor, que lean las enformaciones; y despues de auer leidas las enformaciones o testimonios, pregunta el piloto maior al piloto y maestro, que se quiere examinar, de que parte de las Indias se quiere examinar? Y luego el piloto responde, que de Nueva Espanna, o de Nombre de Dios. Y otros, que no son platicos de estas tierras, dizen, que de Santo Domingo, y Puerto rico, y Cuba. Y luego demanda el Piloto maior, que tienda la carta en la mesa, y en presencia de los demas pilotos parta de la barra de San Lucar para las Islas de Canaria, y de alli para las Indias, hasta llegar a aquella parte de donde se examina, y buelue para Espanna, a tornar a la Barra de San Lucar, de donde partio.

Y el Piloto mayor le pregunta, Que si yendo nauegando por la mar le diese vn viento contrario, qué remedio haria para que su nao no trabajasse tanto en la mar? Y el le responde lo mejor que entiende. Luego le pregunta vno de los pilotos por las reglas del Sol, y de la Estrella del norte, y qué cuenta le hara en todo tiempo del anno? A lo qual ha de responder el piloto que se examina a todo aquello que le preguntaren. Y luego le pregunta otro por las fennas de las tierras que estuieren en el camino, hasta llegar al puerto de donde se examina. Y luego pregunta otro, que si con tormenta se le quebrasse los arboles, Que remedio haria? Y otros le preguntan, Que si la nao abriessse vn agua, a donde peligrassen las vidas, que remedio haria para tomarla con menos riesgo? Y otros le preguntan, que si le faltasse el timon, que remedio haria? Y otros le preguntan por la cuenta de la Luna, y de las mareas? Y otros le preguntan, Que si lo tomasse vn corsario, y lo dexasse sin carta y sin astrolabio, y otros instrumentos para tomar la altura del Sol y de la Estrella del norte, que orden tendria para hazer los? Otros le preguntan otras preguntas necessarias a vn marinero, que quiere ser piloto. A todo esto esta atento, respondiendo a todo. Y despues que todos le an preguntado todo lo necessario, le mandan, que salga fuera de la sala, para que a solas dé cada vno su boro debaxo de iuramento en vn libro, que prometen de dezir verdad. Y luego ponen dentro de vn vaso de plata, que alli esta para aquel efeto, tantas hauas, y tantos guaranços, como ai pilotos dentro de la sala: y va cada vno por su orden; y el que le parece que es suficiente, saca vna hua, y el que le parece, que no lo es, saca vn guaranço. Y despues que todos an sacado, mira el piloto mayor los botos que tiene; y si halla que tiene tantos botos en su fauor como en contrario, manda que haga otro viaje: y si tiene mas botos en su fauor, que en contrario, luego le dan vna carta del examen firmada del piloto mayor, y del Cathedratico, y del Escriuano, y sellada con el sello de la Contratacion. Y teniendo esta carta, luego da de presente al piloto mayor, y al Cathedratico, para guantes y gallinas, cóforme que cada vno puede, que es de ordinario dos o tres ducados. Y luego se puede concertar por piloto en qualquier nauio que quisiere, para aquella parte de donde se examina. Y si hallare en las Indias algun nauio que tenga piloto no examinado, lo puede botar fuera, y venir el piloto examinado en el nauio por el mismo concierto, que el otro piloto tenia hecho.

La manera de eleccion de los maestros, y pilotos.

Carta del examen.

Suelen llevar los pilotos de partido y concierto por vn viaje de yr y boluer, conforme que es el nauio. Si es de ciento tonelladas, dozientos ducados, y dozientos y cinquenta; y si es de quatrocientas o de quinientas, lleva de partido quinientos o quinientos, y cinquenta ducados: y si es mayor, lleva mas partido: y mas, todos los dias que estuuiere en tierra, quatro reales para su comida. Y las naos grandes siempre llevan los pilotos mas viejos, porque son mas experimentados y mejores pilotos que los mançebos, que comiençan a nauegar, y a ser pilotos.

Sueldo de los Pilotos.

El piloto no tiene mas trabajo ni mas cuidado que en la nauegacion: porque los maestros de los nauios tienen cuidado de fretar, y adereçar sus naos, y pagar a los marineros, y hazer todo lo que es menester para su nao: porque el piloto no viene a la nao, si no es quando los visitadores vienen a visitarla, si tiene todo lo necessario para el viaje.

Maestros, y sus officios.

Los visitadores son quatro hombres qui estan puestos por el rey, y estos son hombres muy entendidos, y vienen a visitar los nauios, antes que tomen carga, por ver si estan bien adereçados para hazer el viaje. Y despues que estan los nauios cargados, bueluen otra vez a visitarlos, por ver si tienen todas las cosas necessarias, conforme a la Prematica; y si tienen todos los marineros, y battimentos, y poluere, y artilleria, y balas, y todo lo de mas necessario para el viaje. Y si alguna cosa les falta, les mandan con graues penas que lo comprehen, antes que salgan del puerto.

Los quatro visitadores, y su officio.

Prematica.

Suelen llevar los nauios que van a las Indias vn escriuano que tiene cargo de tomar por memoria todas las mercaderias que se cargan en la nao, y tomar las marcas, para por ellas entregar

Escriuano, y su officio.

gar

gar la carga a sus duennos, despues de auer acabado su viaje: y sirue tambien, si vn hombre caesle enfermo, para hazer testamento y otros recaudos que se suelen hazer delante vn escriuano: y gana por su sueldo en vn viaje tanto como dos mariberos.

Primero nauio
de auiso.

Segundo nauio
de auiso.

Dos naos de
guerra.

Tiene el general de las flotas por costumbre, despues que llega a las Indias, de embiar vn nauio de auiso, para dar relacion al rey, de como ha llegado. Y despues que estan prestas para partir, despacha otro nauio de auiso, para hazer relacion, de como estan ya prestas para partir, con otras particularidades.

Van en las flotas dos naos grandes, la vna por Capitana, y la otra por Almiranta, cada vna de seiscientas y de setecientas tonelladas, que no lleuan mas que bastimentos y soldados para defensa de la demas flota: y lleva cada vna como docientos soldados: y estas se pagan de las mercaderias que vienen en la flota a vno por ciento, y algunas vezes a vno y medio por ciento.

Ay en la casa de la Contratacion de Seuilla vna tabla que sirue de Arancel, escrita con letras de oro; en que stan aualiadas todas las mercaderias que se embarcan para las Indias.

EN esta tabla se puede saber quantas botijas hazen vna tonellada de vino, y quantos quintales y quantos bariles, y quantos coffres sea vna tonellada.

Y todas mercaderias estan alli taxadas, para pagar los derechos al rey, y el flete al maestro.

Y alli esta puesto, que ningun maestro puede llevar a las Indias ningun passagero, ni frayle, ni clerigo, ni otras personas, ni estranieros de los reynos de Espanna, sin licencia del Rey.

Y mas, que no puede llevar mercaderias fuera de la Prematica, y todo lo que lleuaren, lo lleuen registrado, so pena de la vida.

Y mas, que ningun maestro ni piloto puede llevar instrumentos que no sean firmados por el piloto mayor Alonso de Chiaues, y el cosmografo Cathedratico Roderigo Zamorano: como son la carta, el astrolabio, la balestilla, y el regimiento.

Y mas, que yendo en la compannia de la flota, obedescan al General, y no hagan mas de lo que el mandare, so pena de la vida.

The same in English.

The examination of the Masters and Pilots which saile in the Fleets of Spaine to the West Indies: Written in the Spanish tongue by Pedro Dias a Spanish pilot taken by Sir Richard Grimme 1585.

IF they make suite vnto the Pilot maior (who at this present is called Alonso de Chiauez) that he would admit them to examination, because they are naturall Spaniards, and sufficient for the same.

Hereupon the Pilot maior commandeth the party to be examined, to giue information that he is a mariner, and well practized in those parts, about which he desireth to be examined. And then immediatly he bringeth five or six pilots before examined to giue testimonie that he is a good mariner, and sufficient to become a pilot, that he is a Spaniard borne, and that he is not of the race of the Moores, Jewes, or Negroes.

Having made this information, hee presenteth it vnto the Pilot maior. And the Pilot maior seeing the information to be good, willet the kings publique reader of nauigation (who is now Roderigo Zamorano) to admit him to his lectures. Whiche there doe resort foureteene or fiftene persons that desire to be examined: and they come to a certaine house which the kings reader hath appointed vnto him for the same purpose, at eight of the clocke in the morning: and then they stay two houres, and two houres likewise in the afternoone: in one of which houres Zamorano readeth vnto them, and in the other they ask one another many particulars concerning the art of nauigation in the presence of the said kings reader: and him that answereth not to the purpose the sayd reader instructeth more perfectly, and telleth him how euery thing is. And this exercise continueth two moneths, during which time the examinares must not faile to bee present twice in a day, as is aforesaid.

And hauing heard the kings reader those two moneths, they resort then vnto The hall of examination which is in the Contratacion house, where there are assembled the Pilot maior and diuers other pilots, to the number of 25 at the least; who all sitting there in order, the Pilot maior demandeth

The witness
of five or six
pilots.

The pilots admission to the lectures of the kings reader. They heare the kings readers lectures two houres a day for two moneths. Their disputations of the art of nauigation before the kings reader who is their moderator. The hall of examination.

demandereth of him that would be examined, of what part of the Indies he desireth to be examined: *¶* Heereto the examinee answereth, that he would bee examined concerning Nueva España, or of Nombre de Dios and Tierra firma. And others that are not experienced in those partes, craue to be examined of Santo Domingo, Puerto rico, and Cuba.

The manner of
the ponging
the pilots exami-
nation.

Then the Pilot maior commandeth the examinee to spread a sea-chart vpon the table, and in the presence of the other pilots to depart or shewe the course from the barre of Sant Lucar to the Canarie-Islands, and from thence to the Indies, till he come to that place whereof he is to bee examined, and then also to returne backe to the barre of Sant Lucar in Spaine, from whence he departed. Also the Pilot maior asketh him, if when he saileth vpon the sea, hee be taken with a contrary wind, what remedie he is to vse, that his ship be not too much turmoiled vpon the sea: And the examinee answereth him as well as he can.

Then one of the other pilotos opposeth him about the rules of the Sunne and of the Noctif-
starre, and how hee ought to vse the declination of the Sunne at all times of the yeere: whom the
examinee is bound to answer in euery thing that hee demandereth. Then another asketh him of
the signes and markes of those lands which lye in his way to that haue whereof he is examined.
And then another demandereth, that if his mastes should be broken by tempest, what remedie hee
would vse: Others aske him, if his ship should take a leake, to the hazarding of the liues of him-
selfe and his company, what remedie he would finde to stoppe the same with least danger: Others
aske him, what remedie, if his rudder should chance to faile: Others oppose him about the account
of the Moone and of the tides: Others aske him, if a Pirate should take him and leaue him de-
stitute of his Chart, his Astrolabe, and his other instruments seruing to take the height of the
Sunne and of the starre, what course hee would take in that extremitie: Others demand other
questions needfull for a mariner to know, which desireth to be a pilot. Unto all which the exa-
minee is very attentiu, and answereth to euery particular.

After they haue all asked him so much as they thinke expedient, they bid him depart out of the
hall, to the ende that euery one of them may seuerally bee sworn vpon a booke, that they will
speake the trueth. Then they put into a certaine vessell of siluer standing there for the same pur-
pose so many beanes, and so many peason as there are pilots within the hall: and euery one put-
ting his hand into the vessell in order, he that thinketh the partie examined to be sufficient, taketh
vp a beane, and he that thinketh him not sufficient, taketh vp a pease. And after that all haue ta-
ken out what they please, the Pilot maior looketh what voyces the examinee hath: and if he finde
him to haue as many voyces for him as against him, he commandeth him to make another voyage:
but if he hath more voyces for him then against him, then they giue him letters testimoniall of his
examination signed by the Pilot maior, by the kings reader, and the secretary, and sealed with the
seale of the Contractation house. And vpon the receipt of these letters testimoniall, the new pilot
giueth a present vnto the Pilot maior, and the kings reader, for their gloues and hennes, euery one
according to his abilitie, which is ordinarily some two or three ducats.

Letters testi-
moniall of en-
ty new pilots
examination
and approba-
tion, vnder the
hands of the
Pilot maior, the
kings reader,
and the secre-
tary, and seals
of the Con-
tractation
house.

And then he may take vpon him to be pilot in any ship whatsoeuer, vnto that place for which he
was examined: and if he finde in the Indies any ship vnder the charge of a pilot not before exami-
ned, he may put him out of his office, and may himselfe take charge of that ship for the same wages
that the other pilot agreed for.

The pilots wages for making a voyage outward and homeward is according to the burthen
of the ship. If the be of 100 tunnes, hee hath 200 or 250 ducats: and if the be of 400 or 500
tunnes, he taketh for his wages 500 or 550 ducates: and if the be bigger, he hath a greater allow-
ance: ouer and besides all which, he hath euery day while he remaineth on land, foure reals for his
diet. And the greater shippes are alwayes committed vnto the more ancient pilots, because they
are of greater experience and better skill, then the yonger sort which newly take vpon them to
be pilots.

The pilot undertaketh no farther trauell nor care, but in directing the course or navigation:
for the masters of the ships take charge of the freighting and preparing their ships, and to pay the
mariners, and to doe all things needfull for the ship. For the pilot commeth not vnto the shippe,
vntill the visitours come to visite the same, to see whether hee hath all things necessary for the
voyage.

The visitours are foure men which are appoynted by the king, and these are men of great un-
derstanding: and they come to visite the shippes before they take in their lading, to see whether
they be well prepared to make the voyage. And after the ships bee laden, they returne againe to
visite them the second time, to see whether they haue all things necessary, according to The orders
of the Contractation house: and whether they haue all their mariners, victuals, powder, shot, and
ordnance.

Four visit-
ours.

The orders
of the Con-
tractation
house.

ordinance, and all other things necessary for the voyage. And if they want any thing, they charge them upon grievous penalties, to provide the same before they set out of the haven.

The ships that goe to the Indies are wont eche of them to haue with them a Notarie, whose charge is to keepe a note of remembrance of all the marchandize which is laden in the ship, and to take the marks thereof, therby to deliuer the commodities in the ship to their particular owners, after they haue finished their voyage, and he serueth likewise to make willes, and other instruments, which are wont to be made by a Notarie, if any man chanceth to fall sicke. And his wages in the voyage is as much as the wages of two mariners.

The first barke
of Auiso.
The second
barke of Auiso.

The Generall of the fleetes vseth continually, after hee is arrived in the Indies, to send into Spaine a barke of Auiso, to aduertise the king of the state of his arriual: And after the fleetes be ready to come home, hee dispatcheth another pinnesse of Auiso to certifie them how the fleetes are now ready to set saile, with other particularities. There go with the fleetes two great ships, the one as Admirall, the other as Viceadmirall, of the burthen of 400 or 500 tunnes, which carry nothing but victuals and souldiers for the waiking of the rest of the fleet, and these are payd out of the marchandize, which come in the fleet, after the rate of one in the hundred, and sometime at one and an halfe in the hundred.

There is in the Contractation house of *Simil* a table which serueth for an *Arancel*, or table of rate or taxation, written in letters of gold, wherein the values of all kind of marchandize, which are imbarqued for the Indies, are set downe.

A table of
rates &c. set by
in the Con-
tractation
house.

By this table a man may know how many Botijas or iacres make a tunne of wine, or how many packes, or how many quintals, or how many barrels, or how many chests make a tunne.

And all marchandize haue their rates set downe, to pay the king his customes, and the Master his due freight.

And therein is set by in writing that no Master may carry any passenger to the Indies, without licence, especially no learned men, nor any fryer, or clergyman, nor any body else without licence of the king: nor any strangers not borne in the kingdomes of Spaine.

Moreouer, that they may not carry away any marchandize not comprized in the foresaid orders, vnder paine of death: and that all goods which they carry with them, they ought to carry the same registred; vnder paine of death.

Furthermore, that no Master nor Pilot may carry any Chart, nor Astrolabe, nor Crosse-staffe, nor regiment, without they bee signed and sealed by the Pilot maior Alonso de Chiauex, and the Cosmographer the kings reader Rodrigo Zamorano.

Moreouer, that going in company with the fleet, they doe and obey all such things, as their Generall shall command them, vnder paine of death.

Written by me *Pedro Dias* borne in the Ile of *Palma*
one of the *Canaries*, vpon the request and gratifica-
tion of *M. Richard Hakluyt*, in February 1586.



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